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The Select Monks of Robert Growley.

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The Select Morks

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Printer, Brehdencon of Dereford (1559-1567), Dicar of St Fawrence, Jewry, dr. dr.

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

EDITED

With Introduction, Notes, und Glossary,

ΒY

J. M. COWPER,

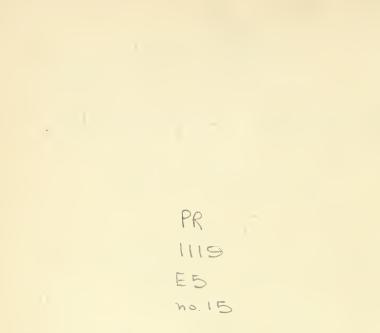
EDITOB OF 'ENGLAND IN THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH,' 'THE TIMES' WHISTLE,' ETC.

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Extra Scries,

XV.

JOHN CHILDS AND SON, PRINTERS.

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My Sister Liz,

OF CLYRO, RADNORSHIRE,

I DEDICATE THIS VOLUME OF THE WORKS

OF THE OLD

ARCHDEACON OF HEREFORD.

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

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

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

¹ Collier, Bib. Cat. i. 489. ² The Vision, etc., ed. Skeat, xxxi.

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

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

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

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

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

³ Lansd. MSS. 982, f. 104.

⁴ Parker's Correspondence, Parker Society, pp. 275-278.

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

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

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

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

² Lansd. MSS. 982, f. 104.

³ T. Corser, Collect. Ang. Poet., pt iv. p. 540.

⁴ Lansd. MSS. 982, f. 104.

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

dignities in a Church whose doctrines and polity his undiscerning zeal had a tendency to destroy." He seems to have preached anywhere, under any circumstances; at one time before Bonner's prison door, when the haughty prelate was confined in the Marshalsea,¹ at other times at Paul's Cross, as we have seen above; now to a "grett audyens" at a funeral, and soon after at Bow on occasion of the marriage of "Master Starke to the dowthur of Master Allen."² He closed his long and active but stormy career in 1588, when about 70 years of age, and was buried in the church of St Giles,³ 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 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 Eccles. 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 Bibl. Cat. i. 489; Skeat's Intro. to the V. of P. the Plowman; W. Carew Hazlitt's Hand-Book; and Corser's Collectanea Anglo-Poetica, pt iv.

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

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

¹ T. Corser, Collect. Ang. Poet., pt iv. p. 540.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Why "one and thirty" it is difficult to say, as there are "three and thirty" in addition to "The Boke to the Reader." First the 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 encouraged in his evil designs by the crowd of sycophants who hoped, and not in vain, that some of the crumbs which fell from him might drop into their laps. The simple people, encouraged with the prospect of seeing better days, acquiesced in the spoliation, and saw, when too late, how they had been deprived of their birthright without the poor consolation of the "mess of pottage" which is usually the reward of men who barter away that which their fathers have painfully gained.³ The poor expected to profit by the suppression of the 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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(2.) The Voyce of the Last Trumpet callyng al estats of

¹ See note, p. xxiv.

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

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

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

In the "Book to the Reader" Crowley confesses that though he barks at the faults of men, he is unwilling to bite if he can accomplish any good by barking. The aim of the Sermon is to inculcate a spirit of obedience and submission in those who are under subjection, on the principle that "whatever is, is best." In the Epigram on Beggars (p. 14) he would make the lazy work, and he exposes some of their tricks, but here he seems only to deal with those who 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

¹ Athenæ Oxon., fol. 126.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The physician is severely dealt with. Covetous of gain and ignorant, he neglected the poor for the sake of the rich. A quarter of a century later, in *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 elergy. 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 seventeenth century such athletic games were by no means "besceming of nobility."

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

² Neves out of Powles, &c., Sat. 3 (1576). ³ Sat. 2. ⁴ p. 42. CROWLEY. b

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

And the Times' Whistle:

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

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

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

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

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

¹ Newes out of Powles, &c., Sat. 2.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is needless here to go over the history of the country during the twenty years which preceded the appearance of the Way to Wealth (1530—1550). The suppression of the abbeys, the casting loose upon the country—often homeless and almost always friendless —the men and women who by their education and living were unfitted to cope with the outer world and earn their daily bread; 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 punctuation and the making the use of capital letters uniform are the only things to be desired in Mr Arber's most valuable Reprints.

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

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

¹ "It has been already shown that an essential and principal part of the first bestowal and purpose of those endowments which have now become entirely diverted to ecclesiastical purposes, or engrossed by lay 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 vast proportion of what was thus expressly given in trust for the poor. He got it under false pretences [quotes Coke, 4th Inst. p. 44]. He gave it to his favourites, in breach of honour, honesty, and his pledged faith. This monstrous pillage of the poor, and gross fraud upon the nation, produced an immediate effect. The real and deserving poor, robbed of what was thus from of old set apart to meet their true needs, were flung upon society. Vagrancy had thus everywhere a colourable excuse given to it, and soon largely increased. Instead of the true remedy being applied, and a part of what had been wrongfully misappropriated being restored, a new burthen was cast upon the country for the support of the poor as a class. Thenceforth 'pauperism' became a caste in England.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(5.) An Informacion and Peticion agaynst the oppressours of the pore Commons of this Realme is a Petition to the Parliament of. Edward VI. Of the many subjects which will have to be discussed, Crowley can see none demanding speedier attention than the oppressions under which the "pore commones" groaned, clergy and laity uniting to inflict the most eruel wrongs. Religious matters too demanded redress, because, while the people were ignorant and superstitious, the elergy 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 elergy of London setting the example.

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

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

The mischiefs which flowed out of "this more than Turkish tyranny" are graphically described. The honest householders reduced to the condition of menials; the honest matrons to the "needy rock and cards;" the men children of good hope, driven to handyerafts 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 !"

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

J. M. COWPER.

Davington Hill, Faversham, 1871.

N O T E S.

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

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

"GUILDHALL.

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

"Mr Alfred Oxley said he lived at 49, Gloucester-street, St John'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 she said that she was not drunk, she knew what she was about, and that it was her intention to commit the act.

"Sir Thomas Gabriel asked her why she did it.

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

"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 himself.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

" Inspector Foulger said they were.

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

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

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

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

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

"Inspector Foulger said that all round the City boundary there was ample accommodation for the men if they were permitted to avail themselves of it, and in many instances they would be able to live nearer to their duty than they were at present. For instance, a man living near Temple Bar might have to be on duty on Tower-hill, and, if permitted, might live just outside the boundary, within a few minutes' walk of his duty.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"The Prisoner was then remanded."

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

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

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

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

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

Dress, pp. 44, 45. In the "Epistle Dedicatorie" to the Anatomie of Abuses, the evils of the author's days are thus briefly touched upon : "For as your Lordship knoweth, reformation of manners and amendment of life was never more needful; for was pride (the chiefest argument of this book) ever so ripe? Do not both men and women (for the most part) every one in general, go attired in silks, velvets, damasks, satins, and what not? Which are attire only for the nobility and gentry, and not for the other at any hand. Are not unlawful games, plays, interludes, and the like, everywhere frequented? Is not whoredom, covetousness, usury, and the like, daily practised without all punishment of law or execution of justice?" p. xi.

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

Rent-raisers, pp. xx., 46,

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

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

Lawyers, p. 82; Judges, p. 84. Consult The Utopia, Ballads from MSS, England in the Reign of Henry VIII., Latimer's Sermons, Newes out of 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 Vane. She has been supposed to be the wife of the Sir Ralph Vane who was hung in 1551-2 as one of the principal adherents of the Duke of Somerset. She died 'at Holburne' and was buried at St Andrew's, Holborn, on the 11th June 1568. For letters addressed to her by John Bradford, see Foxe, edit. 1631, iii. pp. 331, 332, 339. See also Narratives of the Reformation, Camb. Soc., 1859, pp. 93, 94, 346. For further references consult the General Index to the Parker Society's Publications.

Poor in London, p. 116. "There is a certain city in Ailgna² called Munidnol³ where as the poor lie in the streets upon pallets of straw, and well if they have that too, or else in the mire and dirt as commonly it is seen, having neither house to put in their heads, covering to keep them from cold, nor yet to hide their shame withal, penny to buy them sustenance, nor any thing else, but are suffered to die in the streets like dogs or beasts, without any mercy or compassion showed to them at all."—Anatomie of Abuses, 1836, p. 50. Three hundred years have not remedied matters. The following are from the Standard of June 10 and June 28, 1871 :—

"BOW-STREET.

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

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

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

"Police-constable Sergeant, E division, stopped the boy at twelvo o'clock at night. He 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*. 2*s*., and had been stolen from a van belonging to Mr Reeve, florist, Acton.

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

"Prisoner.---I don't live nowheres.

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

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

"Mr Vaughan.-What does he say?

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

"Mr Vaughan.—Do you mean by that you sleep there every night? "Prisoner.—No, I don't sleep there every night. Sometimes I gits under other boards.

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

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

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

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

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

"The prisoner was then remanded for a week."

"MANSION HOUSE.

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

"The case was originally heard by Sir Robert Carden, about a week ago, and then, as now, excited considerable interest from being the first charge of the kind that had been preferred in the City of London sinco the Elementary Education Act came into operation. The complainant and only witness on the first occasion was Joseph Willes, who described himself as an industrial school officer to the London School Board. A week ago he found the boy wandering in Lower Thames-street about midday in a miserable plight, and asked him a few questions. The boy in reply said his mother had sent him out to beg, and that he was not to return home for a week; that his parents lived in the neighbourhood of tho New Cut, Lambeth; that his father was 'sometimes an engineer and sometimes a cab driver;' that he had never been to any school, and that while he had been from home he had slept at nights, with about 20 other boys, under some tarpauling, and among empty fish-boxes in Billingsgate-market. The witness, thinking it a case contemplated by the Industrial Schools Act, and desiring to reclaim the boy from the streets, to have him educated and taught a trade by which he might gain his own living, took him to the Seething-lane Police-station, and had him formally charged. Sir Robert Carden, before whom the boy was first brought, commended the witness very much for the course he had taken, and expressed a hope that many scores of poor destitute children would be taken from the streets of the City, and educated and taught some handicraft by which they might earn an honest livelihood, adding that he himself had for years in his own way been a 'boy's beadle,' long before that expression was in use. The case was eventually adjourned to admit of the attendance of the boy's parents, Mr Oke, the chief clerk of the Lord Mayor, doubting whether it was one which exactly came within the meaning of the Industrial Schools Act, according to which a child to be dealt with according to its provisions must be without home or settled place of abode, or proper guardianship, or visible means of subsistence. Meanwhile the boy was sent to the union.

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

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

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

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

Patrons, p. 118; Simony, pp. 118, 120. In 1585 it was said, "For even our plough boyes know it to be a common practise almost every where amongst patrons, that either they take a great summe of mony, or mony worth, as it were a fine, with such sleighty conveiance, as if they were iuglers, that no man shall espy them or any law prevent them, or make some reservation of the tithes and glebeland, as it were a rent, & many times all these practises be vsed togither, whose ravenous teeth, and also the paiment of the first fruites and tenthes, which the charge of their lawfull family, which the papists never knew, and also their tithes not paid them in so large a size as heretofore hath bene done, hath brought the churchmen ynto such an ebbe, that after their

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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 Supplication, To The High Court 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 *Froude's History*, v.

This present Parliament, p. 153. The Parliament here referred to was most likely that which met in January, 1549. Its first measure was "An Act for the Uniformity of Service," &c. This "Informacion and 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 H. VIII., c. 9, 1545. See Four Supplications, pp. 82, 84.

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[leaf 1]

O One and

thyrtye Epigrammes, wherein are bryefly touched so many Abuses, that maye and ought to be put away. Compiled and Emprinted by Robert Crowley, dwel= lynge in Elye rentes in Molburne, Anno domini,

1550.

i. Cor. xiiii. What so euer ye do, let the same be done to edifie wythall.

Gala. i.1

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

Orig. vi.

[Leaf 1, back, is a blank.]

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The Boke to the Reader.

[leaf 3]

F bokes may be bolde to blame and reproue The faultes of all menne, boeth hyghe and lowe, As the Prophetes dyd whom Gods Spirite did moue, Than blame not myne Autor; for right well I knowe Hys penne is not tempered vayne doctrine to sowe, But as Esaye hath bydden, so muste he nedes crye, And tell the Lordes people of their iniquitie. Nowe, if I do the worldelinges in anye poynte offende, In that I reproue them for their wyckednes, It is a plaine token they wyll not emende. I take all the wyse men of the earth to wytnes To them; therfore mine Autor biddeth me confesse,

If books may reprove faults

as the Prophets did, do not blame the Author.

8

4

Esai. 58. 12

He must tell the people of their sins.

If I offend men

16

24

it is clear they will not amend;

[leaf S, back]

TO THE READER.

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 them	20
holde them contente;	
He hath not written to them	
that 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 delite	
in wickednes to dwell;	
But when they heare their fault,	
are sorye they dyd so,	48
And louingely imbrace	
suche men as do them tell ;	
Reformynge euermore	
their lyfe by the gospell,—	52
To these men am I sente,	
And these, I truste, will take	
My warnynge in good parte,	
And their euill forsake.	56
Iohn .viii.	
He that is of God, heareth the	
worde of God.	
Finis.	

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

He has not written for such as will not amend,

except to tell them they will go

to the devil,

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.

Of Abbayes.

S I walked alone, and mused on thynges That haue in my time bene done by great kings, I bethought me of Abbayes, that sometyme I sawe, Whiche are nowe suppressed all by a lawe. O Lorde (thought I then) what occasion was here, To prouide for learninge And make pouertye chere ? The landes and the jewels that hereby were hadde, Would have found godly prechers, which might well have ladde The people aright that now go astraye, And haue fedde the pore, that famishe everye daye. But, as I thus thought, it came to my mynde, That the people wyll not see. but delyte to be blynde. Wherefore they are not worthy good prechars to haue, Nor yet to be prouided for, but styll in vayne to craue. Than sayde I (O Lorde God) make this tyme shorte, For theyr sake onlye, Lorde, that be thy chosen sorte.

Heaf 4, back, is a blank] [leaf 5] As I mused I thought of Abbeys I had seen, 60 but now are 64 suppressed. What an opportunity to provide 68 for learning was here! The lands would have maintained good preachers. 72 76 [leaf 5, back] But the people 80 are blind, and do not deserve them. 84

Math. 24

88

Of Alehouses.

TEdes must we have places for vitayls to be solde,	
for such as be sycke,	
pore, feble, and olde.	92
But, Lorde, to howe greate	U M
abuse they be growne!	
In eche lyttle hamlet,	
vyllage, and towne,	96
They are become places	50
of waste and excesse,	
And herbour for such men	
as lyue in idlenes.	100
And lyghtly in the contrey	100
they be placed so,	
· .	
That they stande in mens waye	104
when they should to church go.	104
And then such as love not	
to hear theyr fautes tolde,	
By the minister that readeth	700
the newe Testament and olde,	108
do turne into the alehouse,	
and let the church go;	
Yea, and men accompted wyse	
and honeste do so.	112
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.

We must have houses for refreshment.

But in each hamlet and town they have become 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 commendation of London.¹ London is not so bad.

In service time alehouses are shut up.

EPIGRAMS. BOWLING-ALLEYS.

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 holve the Sabothe in dede, That heareth Goddes worde, and helpeth such as nede.

Of Allayes.

Wo sortes of Allayes in London I finde ;---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.

132

Luke¹ xiii. He keeps it best who does works of need.

136

Two sorts of alleys in London-

140

bowling-alleys, in which men waste their goods.

144

A dispraise of London. Some live by the game, and pro-[leaf 7] 148 fess it as an art.

These and those who allow it

10

will go to their father Satan.	To Satan their sire,	
	for of God they are not,	
	Who commaundeth to laboure	
Exo. xxiii.	syxe dayes, ye wotte,	156
	And the seuenth he commaundeth	
	all menne to sanctifie,	
	In beynge well occupied,	
	and not idlelye.	160
Allayes	The other sorte of Allayes,	
agaynste kynde.	that be agaynste kynde,	
The other sort	Do make my harte wepe	
of alleys make a man weep.	whan they come to my mind.	164
In them are poor	For there are pore people,	
beggars innumer- able.	welmoste innumerable,	
	That are dryuen to begge,	
	and yet to worcke they are able,	168
	If they might haue al thinges	
	prouided aright.	
[leaf 7, back]	Alas! is not thys	
	a greate ouer syght ?	172
You Aldermen	Ye Aldermen and other,	
that take the rents,	that take Allaye rente,	
	Why bestowe ye not the riches,	
	that God hath you sente	176
	In woule or in flaxe,	
why don't you find work for	to finde them occupied,	
these poor ones?	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,	105
	in some maner thinge?	188

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

Of Almes Houses.

A merchant Marchaunte, that longe tyme hadde bene in straunge landis, country Returned to his contrey, 208 whiche in Europe standes. And in his returne, hys waye laye to passe hospital, By a Spittlehouse, no farre from 212where his dwelling was. He loked for this hospitall, but none coulde he se; but in its place he For a lordely house was builte 216 found a lordly house. where the hospitall should be. Good Lorde (sayd this marchaunt) [leaf 8, back] "Is the country is my contrey so wealthy, so rich that beg-That the verye beggers houses gars' houses are so fine?" 220 be builte so gorgiouslye?

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

192

Loke the definition of a Citic, you [leaf 8] that be 196 lerned. The City is a pack of people all seeking gain.

200

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

204

returning to his

had to pass an

24
24
24
28
32
36
40
14
د <i>و</i>

Of Baylife Arrantes.

A Baylife there was	
A in the weste contrey,	
That dyd as they do	
in all quarters, men saye.	248
He serued with one wryte	
an whole score or tweyne,	
And toke in hand to excuse them,	
havinge pence for his payne.	252

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.

And when he should warne a guest in sessions to appeare, He would 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, 260than would he say but, hem; But such as had no cheare, nor money to paye, Were sure to trudge 264to the sessions alwaye. Ye must gene him some thynge, to sowe his hadlande, Or else ye can haue no fauoure at his hande. 268Some puddyngis, or baken, or chese for to eate, A bushell of barley, 272some malt, or some wheate; His hadland is good grownd, and beareth all thynge, Be it baken or beffe. 276stockefyshe or lynge. Thus pore men are pold And pyld to the bare, By such as should serve them, 280to kepe them from care.

Of Bawdes.

He bawdes of the stues be turned all out ; ! But some think they inhabit al England through out.

He was sure to warn those who 256 did not pay him, but only said "ahem!" to his friends. [leaf 9, back] The baylefes had lande. You must give him somethingpuddings, bacon, cheese, barley, malt, wheat, beef, or fish. Thus the poor are robbed by those who should serve them.

> Bawds are turned out of the stews,

TWO SORTS OF BEGGARS.

[leaf 10] but they may be	In tauerns and tiplyng houses	
found in taverns, if officers would	many myght be founde,	
seek them.	If officers would make serch	
	but as they are bounde.	288
	Well, let them take heede,	
	I wyll say no more;	
	But when God reuengeth,	
	he punisheth sore.	292
It is horrible to	An horrible thynge	
fall into the Lord's hands.	it is, for to fall	
Hebr. [x.]	Into that Lordis handis,	
	that is eternall.	296
	Of Beggers.	
	THe beggars, whome nede	
Beggars whom	L compelleth to craue,	
need compels ought to have	Ought at our handis	
relief,	some reliefe to haue;	300
	But such as do counterfayt,	
	haueynge theyr strength	
but sham ones	To labour if they luste,	
should labour,	beyng knowne at the length,	304
	Ought to be constrayned	
	to worcke what they can,	
[leaf 10, back]	And lyue on theyr laboures,	
as befits Chris-	as besemeth a Christyan;	308
tians,	And if they refuse	
	to worcke for theyr meate,	
2 Thess. ¹ 3.	Then ought they to faste,	
If they refuse, let them fast.	as not worthy to eate.	312
iei inem 1886.	And such as be sore,	
	and wyll not be healed,	
The sick ought to	Oughte not in any case	
be cared for.	to be charished.	316

¹ Orig. 1 Tim.

14

I heard of two beggars that vnder an hedge sate, Who dyd wyth longe talke theyr matters debate. They had boeth sore legges, most lothsome to se; Al rawe from the fote welmost to the knee. " My legge," quod the one, "I thank God, is fayre." "So is myne," (quod the other) " in a colde ayre ; For then it loketh rawe, and as redde as any bloud, I woulde not 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 should 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;

Of twoe beggars. Two beggars sat talking under a hedge. 320324"My leg is fair," said one: " so is mine," said the other, 328 "in a cold air, for then it looks raw. [leaf 11] 332 If it were healed my living were gone, 336 340and I should have to work." 344" Let us be careful," said the other, "to keep 'em sore." 348

Another beggar

BEAR-BAITING.

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

He had gained 1s. 4d., and spent 1s. 6d. that day.

Bnt he must drink to make his tongue wag.

But still give to all.. If they deceive, you will have your reward.

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

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;	
For I gate but .xvi. d. to daye,	
and haue 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.

Hat follye is thys,	
to kepe wyth daunger,	
A greate mastyfe dogge	
and a foule ouglye beare?	376
And to thys onelye ende,	
to se them two fyght,	
Wyth terrible tearynge,	
a full ouglye syght.	380
And yet me thynke those men	
be mooste foles of all,	
Whose store of money	
is but verye smale,	384

And yet euerye Sondaye they will surely espende One penye or two, and yet give to the bearward 388 every Sunday. the bearwardes lyuyng to mende. Parise At Paryse garden, eche Sundaye garden. a man shall not fayle To fynde two or thre hundredes, for the bearwardes vaile. 392One halpenye a piece They give him a halfpenny, and they vse for to giue, perhaps that is all they have. When some haue no more in their purse, I belieue. 396 Well, at the laste daye, theyr conscience wyll declare That the pore ought to have The poor ought to have 400 what we can all that they may espare. spare. For God hath commaunded, [leaf 12, back] that what we may espare Eccles.1 4. Be genen to the pore, that be full of care. 104 If you give it, therefore, to se a beare fyght, Be ye sure Goddes curse wyl vpon you lyght. 408

Of Brawlers.

Brawler, that loueth A brawler is like a cur to breake the kinges peace, And seke his owne sorowe, his fansye to please, 412Is lyke a curre dogge, that setteth vpon that sets upon a mastiff, Eche mastyfe and hounde that he may light on. 416¹ Ecclesiasticus, CROWLEY. 3

THE FATE OF BRAWLERS.

He getteth hym hatered	
of euerye manne;	
And meteth with his maister	
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 worthy emembre	
in a commune wealthe,	
That to worcke other wo	
will lose his owne 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

He 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 manne	
the plage shall not cease;	
He shalbe styll plaged	
either more or les."	448

and meets with his master now and then.

He is profitable to the surgeon and the gaoler.

If he escape Tyburn he will hang in hell.

The son of Sirach says Eccl[e]s. [xx]iii.

a swearer shall be filled with iniquity.

[leaf 13, back]

Christe byddeth all his Christ told us to say yea and nay. 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 wycked suggestion of the deuyll." 456 But we can not talke But we can't talk without oaths. wythouten othes plentye. Some sweare by Gods navles. hys herte, and his bodye; 460And some sweare [by] his fleshe, Some swear by God's blood. his bloude, 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 :---468By cocke and by pye, some by cock and pye, and by the goose wyng; [leaf 14] By the crosse of the mouse fote, and by saynte Chyckyn. 472And some sweare by the Diuell, Math. v. some by the such is theyr blyndenes; devil. Not knowyng that they call these thynges to wytnes, 476 Of their consciences, in that they affirme or denve. So boeth sortes commit They all commit blasphemy. Moste abhominable blasphemie. 480

Of the Colier of Croydon.

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 haue bene a knight;	
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 Colyars	
haue had the fyrste sale,	
We have payed much money	
and had fewe sackes to tale.	500
A lode that of late yeres	
for a royall was solde,	
wyll coste nowe .xvi. s.	
of syluer or golde.	504
God graunt these men grace	
theyr pollyng to refrayne,	
Or els bryng them backe	
to theyr olde state agayne.	508
And especially the Colyar	
that at Croydon doth sell;	
For men thyncke he is cosen	
to the Colyar of Hell.	512

A collier at Croydon might have been a knight,

but he would not.

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.

Of Commotionars.

Hen the bodye is vexed, [leaf 15] When ill huthrough humors corrupted, mours corrupt the body To restore it to helth those humours muste be purged. 516For if they remayne, they wyll styll encrease Euery daye, more and more, and augment the disease ; 520 So that in short tyme it must decay, except God give the body muste decaye, health. Except God geue health by some other wave. 524Euen so doth it fare by the weale publyke, Whych chaunceth to be often So it is with the Commonwealth, diseased and sycke, 528 which is often diseased. Through the mischeuouse malice of such men as be Desyrouse to breake the publyke unitie. 532Eche publyke bodye The public body must be purged must be purged therfore, of its humours, Of these rotten humours. 536as is sayed before. Els wyll it decay, [leaf 15, back] else it will decay. as do the bodyes naturall, When rotten humours have infected them ouer all. 540But if the publyke bodye can not be purged well, If it cannot be purged, By force of purgation, as phisickes rules do tell: 544When bodyes be weake, and so lowe brought,

That by purgation,	
no health can be wrogh	nt: 548
Then must there be sough	nt
some easyar waye,	
To kyl the strength of the	ose humors :
thus doth phisicke saye	e. 552
When the swerde wyl not	t help e
in the common wealth,	
To purge it of Commotion	nars
and bryng it to health :	: 556
Then must discrete couns	ell
fynde wayes to kyll	
The powr of those rebelle	s,
and let them of theyr	wyll. 560
And that must be by che	rish yng
the humours naturall,	
And by quickenyng agay	ne
of the spirites vitall;	564
Whych, in the commune	wealth,
are the subiectes trew,	
That do alwaye study	
sedition to eschew.	568
When these men, through	
do growe and be strong	
Then can no Commotiona	
continew long.	572
For as, when the strengtl	
of ill humours is kylle	d,
In a naturall bodye	
they be sone consumed	l, 576
Or made of iuell good,	
as it is playne to se :	
So wyll it bytyde	
of such men as be,	580
In the Commune wealth,	,
geuen vnto sedition,	

some easier way must be found to kill these humours.

[leaf 16]

Natural humours, that is, true subjects, must be cherished.

When these are strong "commotioners" cannot continue.

.

When they see that they cannot do what they wish they will soon vanish, When they se they can not 584finyshe theyr intention. [leaf 16, back] And what is their power, Their power lies in the ignorance but the people ignoraunte, of the people. Whom thei do abuse 588 by their counselles malignaunt? When the hertes of the people be wonne to their prince, Than can no Commotioners 592 do hurte in hys prouince. If the people are If this wyll not help, loval seditious men can do no than God wyll take cure, harm. And destroy these Commosioners, 596 we may be right sure : Excepte the tyme be come that the bodye muste dye; For than there canne be found 600 no maner remedy. God grant that God graunte that our synne we be not past haue not broughte vs so lowe, cure. That we be paste cure : 604 God onelye doeth thys knowe ; And I truste to se healthe agayne, if the finall ende Be not nowe nere at hande ; whyche the Lorde shortelye sende. 608

Of Commen Drunkardes.

Saye lamenteth,Isaiah lamentsand sayeth, "oute, alas !Esaye .v.Muche wo shall betide you,612In eatinge and drinekynge,612

[leaf 17]

because the Jews rose up early to drink like beasts.

If he saw our drunkards he would see they did not rise early, but sat up late.

i. Cor. v.1

[leaf 17, back]

Paul tells us not to eat or drink with drunkards,

but, alas! our curates excel their parishioners in drinking.

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

DRUNKARDS AND LIARS.

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 worldes state,	
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
Well, Sainte Paule doeth warne	
all that be of pure mynde,	
To auoide drunckardes company,	
where so euer they do them finde.	632
Se ye neyther eate nor drincke	
wyth suche menne, sayeth he,	
That be geuen to drinkinge, .	
what so euer they be.	636
But, alas ! manye curates,	
that should vs thys tell,	
Do all their parishioners	
in drynckyng excell.	640

Of Commune Liars.

Olomon the sage, in Sapience doeth saye,	
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. For as the soule doeth the bodye excell, So is his treaspace greater, that doeth the soule quell. But lyars (alas !) are nowe muche set by, And thought to be menne in a maner necessarie To be entertayned of eche noble manne, Who are muche delighted wyth lyes nowe and than. But this delite will be sorowe. I feare me, at the laste; Whan the liar, for hys livinge, into paynes shall be caste.

Of Dicears.

Monge wyttye saiynges, this precept I finde,
To auoid and fle dice (mi son) haue euer in mynde.
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.
God knoweth to what ende he suffereth thys thing ; Liars are not punished, 648 6522 but are thought much of, [leaf 18] 6566 and are thought necessary to noblemen, 6664

Cato advised to flee dice-playing,

Cato.

668

which has stripped many.

> It has set up some,

676

[leaf 18, back]

GAMESTERS AND THEIR END.

Perchaunce to rewarde them		
wyth hel at their endynge.	6	180
For doubtlesse those goodes		
are gotten amisse,		
That are gotten from him		
that prodigall is;	6	84
And especially at the dyce,		
where boeth do intende		
To get others goods,		
or else hys owne to spende.	6	88
Nowe if prodigalitye		
or couetise be vyce,		
He cannot but offend		
that playeth at the dyce.	6	92
For be they two or mo,		
thys thyng is certayne,		
Prodigalytie and couetise		
do in them all raygne.	6	96
Besyde the wycked othes,		
and the tyme myspent,		
Wherof they thincke they nede not		
them selues to repent.	7	00
But thys I dare saye,		
that though dyceyng were no sin,		
Nor the goodis mysgoten,		
that men do ther at wynne;	7	04
Yet the othes that they swere,		
and the tyme myspent,		
Shall be theyr damnacion,		
vnlesse they repent.	7	08
Leaue of your vayne dyceyng,		
ye dycers, therefore,		
For vnlesse ye repent,		
God hath vengeaunce in store;	71	12
And when ye thynke least,		
then wyl he pour it oute.		

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. And make you to stoupe, be ye neuer so stoute. God will make them stoop unless they repent.

Of Double Benificed Men.

THe kynge of that realme, A certain king looked over some where instice doeth revgne, statutes which said beneficed Perused olde statutis. men should be resident. 720that in bokis remayne. And as he turned the boke, him chaunced to se, That such as have benifices [leaf 19, back] 724should resident be : And haue theyr abydyng, whyles theyr lyfe shoulde endure, Emong them, ouer whome 728 God hath geuen them cure. Then saved he to him selfe, "I thyncke well there is He thought no law was so little No lawe in thys realme observed. 732worse observed then this. Yet can there nothynge My flocke more decaye, Then when hyrelynges suffer My shepe go astraye." 736 Then called he his councell He called his Council, And tolde them his mynde, And wylled that they shoulde 740 some remedy fynde. Whoe, wyth good aduice, agreed on this thyng, That visitours should be sent, and sent visitors to punish all that 744 should disobey wyth the powre of the kyng, this law. To punyshe all such as herein dyd offende,

PUNISHMENT OF A PLURALIST.

[leaf 20]

The visitors found only one priest who would surrender none. Osee .iiii.

He was brought to the king, and pleaded the royal "grant of a plurality,"

and said if he had right he must keep them for his lifetime. [leaf 20, back]

"So shalt thou; for to-morrow thy body shall be divided, and part sent to each benefice,

Vnlesse they were founde	
thorowe wyllynge to amende.	748
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	
Menne having my power?	
Syr, what can you saye?"	760
" If it mai like your grace," (quod he)	
"loe, heare is to se,	
Your seale at a graunte	
of a pluralitie."	764
"Well," saide the kinge than,	
"I repente me of all yll;	
But tell me, maister doctoure,	
wil you haue your benifices styll ?"	768
"If your grace do me ryghte," (quod he)	
"I must have them my life tyme."	
"So shalt thou," (quod the kynge)	
"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,	
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	that all may take warning."
may take warnyng by the."	784

Of the Exchecker.

IN the weste parte of Europe In the West a king had a court there was sometyme a kynge, for the receipt of money. 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 such emen The officers took bribes. 792as should forfaytis pay. At the laste, to the Kyng this theyr falshode was tolde, By suche as about hym, were faythfull and bolde. 796 When the king Then dyd the Kyng sende heard of it he for these ministers ill, sent for them. And layde all theyr faltes 800 before them in a byll. Then were they abashed, and had nought to save, But cryed for hys perdon; They cried for 804 mercy, but he sent them away but he bade, "Awaye; Ye have borne wyth theues, and haue robbed me, And suffered my people 808 impouryshed to be. No statute coulde cause thoffendars to emende, Because you bare wyth them, 812 when they dyd offende. Awaye wyth them all, to prison to await lave them in prisone, judgment.

[leaf 21]

FLATTERERS WORSE THAN FOES.

Tyll we have determined,	
what shall wyth them be done."	816
What indgment they had	
I have not hearde yet;	
But well I wot they deserved	
a Tiburne typpet.	820

Of Flaterars.

A flatterer is	Flatterynge frende	
worse than an enemy.	is worse then a foe;	
	For a frende is betrusted,	
	when the other is not so.	824
ii. Re. iii.	Of an open enimie,	
	a man may be ware;	
	When the flatteryng frend	
	wyl worcke men much care.	828
If Abner had known Joab's	For if Abner had knowne	
heart	what was in Ioabs harte,	
	${f I}$ 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	
he would have avoided him,	As to be embraced of hym,	
avoided fillt,	and on his dagger to dye.	836
	Wherefore I aduertise	
	al men to be ware	
[leaf 22]	Of all flatterynge frendis,	
	that bring men to care.	840
Trust open ene- mies if you like.	As for open ennimies,	
mies n you nae.	trust them if ye wyll;	
	I can not forbyd you	
	to admyt your owne yll.	844
	Woulde God all men woulde	
	such flatterars trye,	

[leaf 21, back]

They deserved a Tyburn tippet.

' Trust open mies if you

As hange at theyr elbowes, 848 to get some what therby. But (alas !) nowe adayes, Now-a-days men of honour promen of honour do promote mote flatterers, Many a false flatterynge 852 and lewde harlot; Whych thynge may at the lengthe be theyr owne decaye; For if the wynde turne, who, if the wind tnrns, will leave 856 them, the flatterars wyll awaye. The swallowe in sommer wyll in your house dwell ; But when wynter is commynge, as the swallow leaves man in 860 winter, she wyll saye farewell. And when the short dayes begyn to be colde, Robinredbrest wil come home to ye, [leaf 22, back] and the robin in 864 the summer. and be very bolde ; But when summer returneth, and bushes wax grene, then Robyn your man 868 wyll no more be sene. So some of your flattera[r]s Some flatterers will remain wyll in prosperitie, while you are prosperous: be of your householde, and of your family; 872 And some other wyl, others will seek you when they when nede doth them payne, are poor. Sue to do you seruice, 876 tyll they be welthy agayne.

Of Foles.

THe Preachar sayeth thus, "a pore wytty ladde 31

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

THE CONDUCT OF FOOLS.

is better then an olde Kynge,	
whose wytte is but badde."	880
The wyse man in pouertie	
is ryght honourable,	
Whan the fole in his ryches,	
is worthy a bable.	884
Some foles there be of nature,	
that vnderstande nought;	
Some other vnderstand thynges,	
but have ever 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 doynges	
they wyll euer dyprease,	
For other can do nought	
that may theyr mynde please.	900
And, further, they thyncke	
it becometh them well,	
in euery mans matter	
them selfe to entermel.	904
And when they come in place	
where is any talke,	
No man shal fynde a tyme to speake,	
so faste theyr tonges shal walke.	908
Of theyr owne dedis and goodes,	
they wyll bragge and boaste,	
And declare all theyr mishaps,	
and what they have loste.	912
If ye tell them of theyr fautes,	
then wyll they nedes fyght;	

[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.

Ye must saye as they saye, 916 Be it wrounge or ryght. In fine, ye must prayse them, You must praise 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, 924For the losse of vayne toyes, wherin they delyte; And then, if ye reasone farre, If you reason 928 with them, they will fight. All beware, they wyll fyght. wise men shun All wise men, take hede, them. and shunne theyr companye, For of all other men, they are most vngodly. 932

Of Forestallars.

He fryses of Walis to Brystowe are brought; But before thei were wouen, in Walis they are bought; So that nowe we do paye foure grotes, or els more, For the fryse¹ we have bought for eyght pens heretofore. And some saye the would is bought ere it do growe, And the corne long before it come in the mowe. And one thyng there is that hurteth moste of all; ¹ Orig. "fryfe" OROWLEY. 3

[leaf 24]

Welsh friezes are bought before they are woven.

936

940

Some say the wool is bought before it is grown.

FORESTALLERS PUNISHED.

Reuersions of fermes are bought	
long ere they fall.	948
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 have 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.	968
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 awaye,	
He sent vs his seruaunt,	070
and thus dyd he saye.	976
Se that emong you	
none seke his owne gayne,	
But profyte ech other	980
wyth trauayle and payne.	200

Reversions of farms and benefices are bought.

[leaf 24, back]

Old tenants must pay well if they would remain.

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.

[leaf 25]

Of Godlesse Men.

Olye Dauid, that was David in his time saw wicked men, boeth propheth and kinge, Sawe in hys tyme (as appeareth by hys wrytynge) 984 Psalm xiv.1 That in those dayes there were men of wycked hert, That dyd all godlye wayes who perverted godly ways. 988 vtterlye peruerte. So now there are And so there are nowe, men more carnal the pitye is the more, than ever. That lyue more carnalye than euer men² dyd before. 992These men (sayeth kinge Dauid) in their hertes do saye, Surelye there is no God, They say there is no God, 996 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, [leaf 25, back] Not one doeth good; 1004 and therfore he sayes, That they think e there is no God, theyr worckis do declare, and their deeds declare it. For to do the thynge that good is 1008 they have no maner care. But what would Dauid saye, What would David say now? if he were in these dayes, When men wyl do ill, and iustifie theyr yl weyes? 1012 ² Repeated in orig. ¹ Orig. i.

WHAT GODLESS MEN SAY.

They leave 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 Esay	
doeth 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 them	
that call dearckenes lyght,	
Preferryng theyr fansey	
before 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,	1 040
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

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 have no souls.

The cause is God's,

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

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

1052

Of Idle Persons.

Dlenes hath ben cause Idleness causes much wickedness. of much wyckednes, As Ecclesiasticus Eccles, 33. doeth playnely wytnes, 1056Idle persons, therfore, can not be all cleare, As by the storie of Sodome, as was seen in Sodom, 1060 it doeth well appeare. But that we may come nere to our owne age, The idlenes of abbays and the abbeys. 1064 made them outrage. Yet let vs come neare, euen to the tyme present. And se what myschyfe Idle persons do inuent; 1068 Now idle persons hatch con-What conspiracies have ben wroght, spiracies. Wythin this lyttle whyle, By idle men that dyd the commons begyle; 1072[leaf 27] And what haue idle men alwaye practised, To breake the peace of prynces, that they myght be hyered. 1076 I wyll not save what the idlenes of priestes hath done, Nor yet the idlenes What the idleness of priests and of seruauntis in London. 1080 servants in London has done,

DUTIES OF MASTERS.

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.	1 084
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	5
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 newcs to inuente,

let every man see for himself.

Of this mannes doynge, and that mannes intente ; 1116 What is done in Fraunce, of Foreign parts, and in the Emperours lande; Fleaf 281 And what thyng the Scottes 1120do nowe take in hande ; What the Kynge and his counsell, do intende to do ; Though for the most parte which for the most part is 1124 untrue. it be nothynge so. Such men cause the people, that els woulde be styll, To murmour and grudge, Such men make the people whych thyng is very ill. 1128 murmur. Yea, sometyme they cause We save the experience of the people to ryse, thus of late. And assemble them selfe in most wyeked wyse. 1132In Plato hys common wealth, Plato expelled all poets and orators from his comsuch men shoulde not dwell, monwealth. For poetes and oratoures he dyd expell. 1136 Oh ! that these newes bryngars had for theyr rewarde, Newe halters of hemppe, They want new halters. to sette them forwarde! 1140

I Of Laye Men that take Tithes, and Priests that vse theyr Tit[h]es priuatly.

Han Iustice began in iudgment to syt, To punysh all such men as dyd fautes commit ; When Justice began to sit in judgment

[leaf 28, back]

1144

LEASEMONGERS.

Then was there a man	
before hyr accused,	
For tythes that he toke,	
and privately vsed.	1148
When dewe proufe was had,	
- and the thyng manifeste,	
The wyttnesses sworne,	
and the treaspace confeste;	1152
Then gaue 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 private,	
that commune shoulde be,	
He shall haue this instice,	
by the iudgment of me.	1160
Those pore men, that by the tithes	
shoulde be releved,	
Shal haue all his goodes	
emonge 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.

O ^F late a leasemongar of London laye sycke,	
And thynckyng to dye,	
his conscience dyd him pricke.	1172
Wherefore he sayde thus	
wyth hym selfe secretly,	
"I wyll sende for a preachar,	
to knowe what remedy."	1176

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,

Iacob ii.

and then he was hanged.

A leasemonger's conscience pricked him when he thought he was a-dying.

So he sent for a preacher.

EPIGRAMS. MERCHANTS.

But whilse he thus laye, he fell in a sloumber. and sawe in his dreame pore folke a greate number, Whoe sayde they had learned thys at the 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 leases them selues to aduaunce. Are sure to have hell by ryght inheritaunce.

Of Marchauntes.

F Marchauntes wold medle wyth marchaundice onely, And leave fermes to such men, as muste lyue thereby; Then were they moste worthy to be had in price, As men that prouide vs of all kyndes marchaundice. But syth they take fermes, to let them out agayne, To such men as muste have them, though it be to theyr payn: And to leauye greate fines, or to ouer the rent. And do purchayse greate landes, for the same intent :

1180 Then he dreamed that poor folks said they had learned to pay what landlords demanded,

1184

[leaf 29, back]

1188 because they would be rewarded in the resurrection, but leasemongers are sure of hell.

1192

If merehants would let farms alone it would be well.

1196

1200

But they take them and let them out again, raising the rents.

1204

[leaf 30]

1208

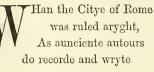
41

MONEY-LENDERS.

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 haue 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 mercye	
to suche as be merciles	1236

Of Men that have Divers Offices.

In Rome ambition was punished with exile,



1240

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 mercy.

Iacob .ii.

Ambition was punished wyth vtter exile; Yet were there some that dyd venter some whyle. But we reade not of anye that euer 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, Geue accountes of your baliwike, for come is the daye That ye muste leave youre offices, and walke your fathers waye.

Of Nice Wyues.

The sonne of Sirache of women doeth saye, That theire nicenes & hordom is perceiued alwaye By there wanton lokes, And lyftynge vp of eyes, And their lokinge ascoye, in most wanton wise. yet some ventured to return. 1244

1248 But none seem to have had two offices at once, as they do here.

1252

[leaf 31] .

At the last day Christ will de-256 *Lake .xvi*. mand an account of your stewardship.

1260

1264

The son of Sirach says, a woman *Eccles.* 26. may be known by wanton looks.

1268

1272

NICE WIVES DYE THEIR HAIR.

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

Eccles. xi[x].

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

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

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

Their caps are like a sow's maw;

[leaf S2]

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

one on each side as big as a ball.

Hyr face faire paynted, to make it shyne bryght, And hyr bosome all bare, and most whorelyke dight. 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; Vpon hyr whyte fyngers, manye rynges of golde, Wyth suche maner stones as are most dearly esolde. Of all their other trifles, I wyll saye nothynge, Leaste I haue but small thanckes, for thys my writynge. All modeste matrons I truste wyll take my parte, As for nice whippets, wordes shall not come nye my hert. I have tolde them but trueth, let them saye what they wyll; I have sayde they be whorelike, and so I saye.styll.

Of Obstinate Papistes.

A N obstinate papiste, that was sometyme a frier, Hadde of his friers cote so greate a desire, Their faces are painted, their bosoms bare.

1312

Their waists are braced in,

1316

and their bums like a barrel.

Shoes must not touch the dirt.

Rings on fingers.

1324 [leaf 32, back]

1328

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

1332

I have said they are whorelike, 1336 and so they are.

> A friar so desired to wear his friar's coat

1340

PAPISTS.-RENT-RAISERS.

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.

[leaf 33, back]

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 beggar	
this 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 frye[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 get	
the Bible boke burned,	
Into dispeyre theyr hope	
wyl shortly be turned.	1360
God graunte them the grace	
this hope to forsake,	
And their naturall prynce	
for theyr heade to take;	1364
Forsakinge the Pope,	
wyth al hys peltrye,	
Whiche of longe tyme	
they have sette so much by.	1368

Of Rente Raysers.

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

So that of tenne pounde he made well a score Moe poundes by the yere than other dyd before. 1376But when he was tolde When he was told it was danwhan daunger it was gerous to oppress his tenants, he To oppresse his tenauntes, said he could do 1380 as he liked with his own. 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. 1384But immediatlye, I trowe thys oppressoure fyl sicke But he soon died. Of a voyce that he harde, Luke .xvi. "geue accountes of thy baliwicke !" 1388

Of Vayne Wryters, Vaine Talkers, and Vaine Hearers.

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?

[leaf 34] As I lay restless

1392

Christ's saying about idle words came into my mind.

1396

Math. xii.

1400

What a case they are in who write and talk vainly !

1404

.

UNSATIABLE PURCHASERS.

ć

[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.

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,"

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 crowne	
of hys heade opened,	
Whose braynes wyth a stycke	
the talker styrred ;	1416
And he wyth boeth handes	
drewe the talkers tonge,	
So that wythout hys mouthe	
it was an handefull longe.	1420
The thirde was an herkener	
of fables and lyes,	
Whose eares were almost	
drawen vp to his eyes.	1424

Of Vnsaciable Purchasers.

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

Of Vsurars.

Certaine man had landes, little thoughe it were; And yet wold faine haue liued lyke a gentleman's peare. Of thys lande he made sale, and toke readye golde, And let that for double the rente of the lande that was solde. Than came there a broker, and sayde if he woulde do As he woulde aduise hym, he shoulde make of one 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 sufficiente¹ gage alwaye. Wyth a playne bill of sale; if the day be not kept, And se that ye do no causis accepte. ¹ Orig. suffitience CROWLEY. 4

[leaf 35] "Why, Jack, 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.

1452

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

1456

1460 [leaf 35, back]

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

1468

USURERS AND THEIR INTEREST.

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,	
To lyue lyke a Lorde,	
and make iolye chere."	1484
Than came there a Prophete,	
and tolde thys manne playne,	
That h[e]auen is no place	
for suche vnlawefull gayne.	1488
"Why, sir" (quod this Vsurar)	
"it is my liuynge."	
"Yea, sir" (quod this Prophet)	
"but it is not youre calling;	1492
You are called to live	
after 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,	1500
and youre cattell in the leyes;	1900
Whyche encrese wyth your landes	
you are bounde to employe,	
To the profite of all them	1504
that do dwell you bye.	1904

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

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

[leaf 36]

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

Psal. xv.

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

and with the increase you are to profit all who live near you. EPIGRAMS. PUNISHMENT OF USURERS.

Ye are not borne to your selfe, neither maye you take That thynge for youre owne, where of God did you make 1508 [leaf 36, back] But stuarde and baylife, that shall yelde a rekeninge At the Daye of Iudgmente At the Judgment you will learn 1512 whether you may for everye thyng. do as you like And do ye not doubte, Luke xvi. with your own. but then ye shall knowe, Whether ye maye your goodes at youre pleasure bestowe; 1516 And whether ye maye vse wayes wyeked and yl, To incraese your riches at your owne will. 1520But chieflye to lende To lend your money for usury youre goodes to vsurie, is a thing you will suffer for. Is a thinge that you shall Christ says the 1524 heathen do so." moste dearelye abye; For Christe saieth in Luke that the heathen do so. Take hede lest ye flytte Luke .vi. frome pleasure to woe." 1528

Finis.

¶ Cum p[r]iuilegio ad imprimendum solum.

.

The Voyce of

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

> The boyce of one criynge in the descrte. Luke .iii.

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

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> ¶ Cum priuilegio ad impri= mendum solum.

The Boke to the Readar.

.

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

The Contents of this Boke.

î.	The Beggars lesson	•••	•••		(p. 57)
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vi.	The Learned Mans lesso	n	•••	•••	(p. 74)
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The Beggars Lesson.

hoso woulde that all thynges were well, And woulde hymselfe be wyth out blame, Let hym geue eare, for I wyll tell The waye how to performe the same.

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

THE BEGGARS LESSON.

If God haue layede hys hande on the, And made the lowe in al mens syght, Content thiselfe with that degre, And se thou walke therin upryght.

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

4

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

8

If you are a beggar, be content.

12

16

Esaie. [xxvi.]

Trust in God, and He will feed you,

24 and give you what you need: Dan. xi[v.] as He did Daniel in the fions' den,

REMEMBER ELIJAH, JOB, AND LAZARUS.

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

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 craue 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 duetie.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 m[e] And learne some parte of di[s]cipline; For I am sent to enstruct th[e,] And teach the some godlie doctryne. ¹ Orig, ouetie. Luk. [xvi.] Remember Lazarus and the rich glutton,

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

72

You must not grudge or repine,

76

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

96 I am sent to instruct you, 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
[Lu]k .xvii.	Fyrst, consider that thy callyng	
Your calling is to work and obey.	Is to do seruice, and obey	
	All thy maisters lawful biddynge;	
	Bearyng that he shal on the laye.	104
If your master is	If he be cruel unto the,	
cruel, pray to the Lord,	And ouercharge the with labour,	
·	Cal to the Lord, and thou shalt be	
	Shortly out of his cruel power.	108
[Ex]odi .i.	Remember thou Iacobs kynred,	
and remember the Israelites in	That in Egypt were sore oppreste;	
Egypt,	But when they were most harde bested,	
	The Lorde brought them to quiete reste.	112
	They could not cry so sone, but he	
whom 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 wyl, I say, deliuer the	
He will deliver you out of	Out of bondage and seruitude,	
bondage,	And bringe to passe that thou shalt be	
	Maister of a great multitude.	120
	And bicause thou didest walke vpright,	
	Shewyng thy selfe obedyent,	
and make your servants obey	Thy seruauntes shall have styl in sighte	
you.	The feare of God omnipotent.	124
•	And like seruice as thou hast done,	
	Thou shalt have done to the againe :	
Mat. [vi.]	For sence the world was first begonne,	
and, [vii.]	Neuer true seruaunt lost his payne.	128
Jacob served 14	Iacob serued full fourtene yere,	
years, and Gen. [xxix]	And dealt truly with his maister,	
became rich,	As in the Bible doth appeare,	
	And was exceedinge 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.

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 have 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.

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

140

144

- *i Petr.* [*ii.*] It does not matter what your master is.
- 148

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

152

and call to mind Daniel's conduct.

156

160

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

164 [Eph]es.vi.

[Col]oss .iii.

but only for love, 168 not fear.

SERVANTS MUST NOT RUN AWAY.

	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
ou are sturdy	But if thou wilt be styl sturdy,	
will be ished,	And do thy seruice wyth grudgyng;	
	The Lord shall plage the worthely,	
	With manifulde kindes of scourginge.	176
put to	Thou shalt be put to drudgery	
lgery,	Many a daye, maugrea thyne head ;	
kept in	And be kepte stil in slauery	
ery.	Al thy life dayes, til thou be deade.	180
ou run away,	And if thou chaunce to renne awaye,	
will be ht, or get a	Either thou shalt be brought agayne,	
e master.	Or else, when thou doest chaunce to staye,	
	A worsse master shal the retayne.	184
	Once thou shalt be certeine of this,	
u refuse your	That, if thou refuse thy callyng,	
ng, you are to come to a	Of misery thou shalt not mysse,	
end.	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
ou have done,	For as thou didest thy maister serue,	
all men do u.	So shall al thy seruauntes serue the ;	
	And as thou didest his goodes preserue,	
	So shall thy goodes preserved be.	196
les, God	And beside thys, Gods wrath is bent	
shes the edient,	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	204
	¹ Orig. rgayne.	

If yo you puni

and drud

anđ slave

If yo you y caug wors

If yo callir sure bad e

As yo so sh to yo

Besid punis disob

and H punis wond Repent therfore, I the aduise, And seke thine owne saluation; And then thou must in any wise 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.

To make an ende : haue stil in minde Thyne estate and condition, And let thyne herte be styll enclynde 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. 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 ? ¹ Orig. diligenthy. 208

Repent, and do your duty reverently.

212

Refuse nothing that must be done:

216

be true, trusty, and don't trifle.

220

Remember your condition, and keep in it.

224

You that are a tiller of the ground, must not remain idle,

228

you must plow, plant, and sow.

232

If you desire to be a gentleman, you will gain God's anger.

236

YEOMEN SHOULD BE CONTENTED.

[J]ohn .x.	For Christes shepe do hear hys voyce,	
[E]xodi .xx.	Whych biddith the worke busily	
	Sixe days, and in the seuenth reioyce,	
	And geue somewhat to the nedy.	240
Beware of the	It doth also byd the be ware	
desire to be higher,	Of the desyre to be alofte :	
	For he that doth for honour care	
	Falleth in Sathans snares ful oft.	244
	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.	248
If you have	And though the Lord geue the plentye	
plenty, don't be Psal. 62	Of corne, cattell, and other thynge,	
greedy,	Be thou neuer the more gredy,	
Prou. 24	Nor set thy mynd on gatheringe.	252
	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,	And if wyth thy labour thou get	
don't set your mind on clothes	Money much more then thou doste nede,	
and dainty food,	Do not thy mynde on rayment set,	
	Neither on deynty fode to fede.	260
	Set not (I say) thy minde on pride,	
	Neither upon delicious fare,	
but remember	Neither forget at any tyde	
the poor, and be contented.	To geue the pore that thou mayest spare.	264
	But when thou hast sufficient	
	Of fode and honest apparrayle,	
	Then holde thy selfe therwyth contente,	
e. Tim. v[i.]	As wyth the wage of thy trauayle.	268
If you have	The reste (if ought remayne vnspent	
anything left, give it as God commands you.	Upon thyne owne necessity)	
	Bestowe as he that hath it sent,	
	Hath in hys word commaunded the.	272

And yf thou fynd not written there That *thou* mast heape thy chest wyth golde, To bye greate liuelode for thyne hyere, Howe darest thou then be so bold

Howe darest thou be bolde, I say, To heape up so much goulde in store, Out of the due that thou shouldest paye To them that be pore, sicke, and sore?

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 leaue 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 *thou* shalt builde Houses, and neuer 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 Wayes 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 be to late. CROWLEY. 5 276

How dare you hoard up riches!

280

Isaiah pronounces a woe upon all such.

Esaie .v.

284

288

292 Your great houses shall stand empty.

> [D]cu pxri[ii.] You shall never dwell in them,

296

because you have no mind to keep God's commandments.

300

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

. 308

But repent, and walk in your vocation.	And haue in thy mynde euer more,	
	Thys rule of thy profession,	
<i>i. Cor.</i> [<i>vii.</i>]	Whych is in dede Gods holy lore,	
	To walke in thy vocation.	312
If you should not	But if the Lorde do the not blesse	
prosper, still thank God.	In thy labours wyth greate plenty,	
	Yet thanke thou hym neuer the lesse;	
	Thou hast more then thou arte worthy.	316
If your rent is	If thy landelorde do reise thy rent,	
raised, pray for your landlord.	Se thou paye it wyth quietenes;	
	And praye to God omnipotent,	
	To tak from hym his cruelnes.	320
So shall you	So shall thou heape coles on his heade,	
obtain a blessing.	And purchase to thy selfe greate reste :	
	By the same man thou shalt be fedde	
	By whom thou wast bifore oppreste.	324
	For God, who ruleth ech mans herte,	
	Shal turne thy landlords hert, I saye,	
	And shall all his whole lyfe conuert,	
	So that he shall by thy greate staye.	328
If he is not	Or else, if he be not worthy	
worthy to repent, God will destroy	To be called to repentaunce,	
him,	No doubt thy Lorde wyll hym distroy,	
	Or take from hym his heritaunce.	332
and you will be	Sure thou shalt be he wyll the set ¹	
set free.	Free from thy landlords tyranny;	
	For he dyd neuer yet forget	
	Any that walked orderly.	336
If you 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
it will be all th e worse for you.	And wher before thou paidst great rent,	
	Thou shalt now lose thy house and all;	
	Bicause thou couldest not be contente	
	With patience on him to cal.	344
	¹ Orig. looks like see.	

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

Math .x.	For though man may thy body kyl, Yet oughtest thou not him to feare ;	
	For he can do thy soule none yll : Wherfore be bold, do not dispaire.	384
Be bold to confess Christ- He can save you from all ill,	Be bold, I say, Christ to confesse Wythout feare of this worldly paine;	
.	For when thou shalt be in distresse, Christ shal acknowledge the agayne.	388
Luke .xxi and will acknowledge you, if you conquer.	Christ shal acknowledge the, I say, If thou conquire by sufferyng ;	
	And do thy selfe hereupon stay, That thou must walcke in thy callynge.	392
Fut if you lift your hand Ma. xxvi against the king,	But if thou do lyfte up thy sword Agaynst thy kynge and soueraine,	
5	Then art thou indged by Gods word As worthi therwith to be slayne.	396
or repine against him, [,]	Yea, thou maist not grudge or repine Against thy kynge in any wise,	
	Though thou shouldst se plaine with thine eien That he were wicked past al sise.	400
<i>Pro .viii.</i> remember he is appointed by	For it is God that appointeth Kinges and rulers ouer the route :	
God, and,	And with his power he anointeth Them for to be obeyede, no doubte.	404
if he is evil, to punish your sins.	If they be euil, then thinke thy sinne Descruith that plage at Gods hande;	
	And se thou do forthwyth bigynne Thyne owne wickednes to wythstande.	408
Korah and Dathan rebelled,	Corah and Dathan dyd rebell, And thought <i>that</i> thei them selues culd poynt	
	A better prieste in Israell Then Aaron, whom God dyd annoynte.	412
	But what came of their phantasie ?	712
and more	Was not distruction theyr ende? God dyd distroye them sodenly,	
and were destroyed.	Bicause thei woulde his workes emende.	416

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

If thou wylt kepe thy selfe alway Wythin the boundes of thine estate. 69

and you will have

452 your desire of wicked magistrates.

YOU PRIESTS ARE IGNORANT.

You'il go to hell if you will change.

Thus leaue I the, wyth threatenyng	
To the thy soulles damnation,	
If thou, mislykynge thy callynge,	
Wylt nedes change thy vocation.	450

The Lewde or Vnlerned Priestes Lesson.

Listen, Sir John, and I will say something to	Whom communly men cal syr Iohn,	
you.	Gene care, for I wyll saye somethynge	
	Concernyng thy vocation.	460
You are ignorant,	Thou art a man voide of knowledge,	
and without good qualities.	And eke of all good qualities,	
-	Only mete for to dych and hedge,	
	Or else to plant and graffe mens trees.	464
You are not an	Thou art not, as thou woldst be calde,	
offerer of sacrifice,	An offerer of sacrifice ;	
	For though thy crowne were iiii tymes bald,	
	Yet canst thou not so bler our eles.	468
	For it is plaine in holy wryte,	
for none can offer	That none can offer sacrifices	
for sin, [H]ebru .x.	For sinne, either in flesh or sprite,	
	Though he be boeth learned and wyse;	472
since Christ was	For Christe was once offered for all,	
offered for all, [H]ebru. ix	To satisfie for all our synne,	
	And hath made fre that erste were thral,	
	The faythful flocke of Iacobs kynne.	476
	To offer sacrifice therfor,	
	Thou arte not called, I tell the playne;	
[<i>R</i>] <i>om .vi</i> .	For Christe lieueth for euermore,	
aud He can no more be slain.	And can no more for vs be slayn.	480
more be stath.	Thy state therfore, and thy callyng,	
	Is none other than for to wyreke,	
[Thr]eneiii.	And not to liue by forestallyng,	
[Pr]ov .v.	And name thy selfe one of the kyrcke.	484

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

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

And if thou have any lyueyng, So that thou nede not to laboure; Se thou apply the to learnynge Wyth all thy busy endeuoure.

But to thys ende se thou study, That, when thou hast the truth learned, Thou maist profite other thereby, Whom in tyme paste thou hast harmed.

And se thou go not idelly From house to house, to seke a place To saye men a masse secr[e]tly, Theyr fauoure thereby to purc[h]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 thou 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.

If you desire to live for ever. don't seek masses. [L] phe .iiii. 488 Give over tippling and gambling, [E] phes.v. 492 i Tim i[v.] 496 and apply yourself to learning, that you may 500 profit others. Do not say 504 masses in secret, leading men to think popish customs will be restored. 508 If you can do good by teaching ABC, do so. 512 Always do as much good as you can. 516If you reject

labour and knowledge, you are worse than a Jew.

520 Rom. x.

And walke in thy vocacion.

¶ Repent therfore, I the aduise, And take wholsome councell bityme ; And take good hede in any wise, That knowledge double not thy crime. 524Thus leaue I the, makynge promes To make for the petition, That thou mayst leve thy popyshnes,

I will pray that you may leave your popishness.

528

The Scholars Lesson.

	(ome hither, young man, vnto me;		
	U Thou that arte brought up in learnyng	e, `	
Give ear, young	Geue eare awhile; I wil teach the		
man, .	How thou shalt walke in thy callynge.		532
and observe that	First mark wherfore scholes were erecte,		
schools we re founded	And what the founders did intende;		
	And then do thy study directe,		
e	For to attaine vnto that ende.		536
	Doubtles this was al their meaning,		
for such learning	To haue their countrei furnyshed		
as the country had need of.	Wyth all poyntes of honest learnynge,		
	Whereof the publyke weale had nede.		540
-	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
When you have	And when thou art determined		
decided what knowledge to get,	What knowledg thou wilt most apply,		
get it at once,	Then let it not be loytered,		
	But seke to get it spedily.		548
and do not idle.	- Spende not thy tyme in idlenes,		
	Nor in vayne occupation ;		
	But do thy selfe wholly addres		
	To walke in thy vocation.		552

Se thou do not thy mynde so set On any kynde of exercise, That it be either stay or let To thy studye in ani wise:

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

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.

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 studye perfecte and sounde, And walke in thy vocacion.

Let not tyme passe the idelly, Lose not the fruite of any houre; Or else suffer hym to supply Thy place, that wyll hym endeuoure.

Thou doest but rob the commone wealth Of one that would be a treasur; Better thou were to lyue by stelth, Then for to worke such displeasure. 556

For field sports and music no man can blame you.

560

Archery, casting the bar, tennis, and such games,

564

serve for recreation, if used moderately.

568

572

If you did not occupy your living another would, who might do better.

576

Make your study 580

Do not be idle;

584

if you arc, you only rob the commonweaith.

There is no need	¶ But haply thou wylt say agayne,	
for you to resign your living,	Shall I surrender my lyuyng ?	
	Shall I not therupon remayne,	
	After I haue gotten learnyng?	592
	¶ Yesse thou maiste kepe thy lyuyng still,	
	Tyll thou be called other wise;	
but you must	But if thou wylt regarde Gods wyll,	
keep yourself [L]uke .xix.	Thou must thyself styll exercise.	596
exercised,	When thou art thorowely learned,	
and must teach	Then se thou teach other thy skyll,	
others, $[L]uke .xix.$	If thou wylt not be reconed	
	For a seruant wycked and ill.	600
	¶ Teach them, I saye, that thou dost se	
	Wyllynge to learne thy discipline,	
and let your life	And vnto them se thy lyfe be	
be as a book before them,	A boke to laye before theyre cine.	604
	Let them neuer se the idle,	
	Nor heare the talke vndiscretely;	
	And by all the meanes possible,	
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.	Thou learned man, do not disdayne, To learne at me, a symple wyght,	
	Thy greate abuses to refrayne,	
	And in thy callyng to go ryght.	616
	Thou arte a man that sittest hye	
	In the simple mans conscience;	
If you live dissolutely, you	To lyue therfore dissolutly,	
are an offence to the simple.	Thou shouldste be vnto them offence.	620

¶ Offence, I say, for thou shoulde think All that thou doste to be 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 mens syght,

For it is thy vocation To leade other the redy waye; Howe 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 wythouten dreade.

Thou must thy selfe humiliate, And acknowledge thy wycked sinne, And stryue to enter the streyt gate, Where fewe men do fynde a waye in.

¶ 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 For Christes congregation. 624 Math [aviii.]

Amend your life and serve as a light to others.

628

i. Corh [*iv.*] If you lead men astray, you are an abomination.

636

You must humble yourself, and aeknowledge your sin. Mat. [vii.] 640

644 You cannot do this while you are seeking promotion from man.

648

You must confess your unworthiness.

652

John. x

You must venture your life 656 for Christ.

.

	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 .vii.	Geue eare, I saye, therefore thou fole,	
Give ear, you fool, and learn your	And learne thy fyrst lesson agayne :	
first lesson again,	Enter into Gods holi schole,	
	And do not hys doctryne dysdayne.	664
	He wylleth the fyrst to apply	
	Thy mynde to knowledge, and to take	
[L]uke .vi.	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	Teaching them how they should repent.	672
eyes.	If thou wylt that thei do repente,	
[T]ite . ii .	Repent thou fyrst, that they may see	
	That the whole some of thyne intente	
	Is to make them like vnto the.	676
If you wish	For, if thou wylt them to refraine	
others to repent and forsake their	Mur[t]her, thefte, whoredome, & inceste,	
sins,	If they se these thynges in the raigne,	
	They wyl al thy doctryne deteste.	680
	If thou forbid them gluttononye,	
	And wil them the flesh for to tame,	
you must set	They wil defie the vtterly,	
them an example.	If they se the not do the same.	684
If you speak of	If thou tel them of apparayle.	
their apparel, you must be	Or of ought wherin is excesse,	
faultless yourself.	Then wil they say, thou doest but rayle,	
	Unlesse thou be therin faultles.	688
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?	692

76

Maye 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.

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 serve the cure, That shall excel the in learninge, More then thou dost me, I am sure; And also in godly lyueynge.

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

Alas! that ever we should se ' The flocke of Christ thus bought & solde, Of them that shoulde the shepherdes be, To leade them saifly to the folde.

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

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.

And fyrste, before all other thynges, Seke thou to fynde good ministers, And appoynt them honest lyuynges, To be the peoples instructers. 696

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

700

He can set others to serve the eure as learned as you are;

704

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

708

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

712

Take to one cure and be faithful,

716

then none can blame you.

720

If you are a prelate, look to your office;

724

seek for good ministers;

728 [i] Tim .v.

have none in	
whom is any	
vice.	

[Ez]ech .33.

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

Do not trust to any trifler,

and see that the young are instructed.

If you are called to be the prince's counsellor,

be bold to speak the truth,

and exhort him to leave his sins,

and tell him his faults with all submission.

Let none haue cure wythin thy see,	
In whome any greate vice doth reigne;	
For where mislynyng curates be,	
The people are not good certayne.	732
And for them all that do perishe	
Through thy defalte, thou shalt answere;	
Wherefore, I do the admonishe	
To loke earnestly to thys geare.	736
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.	744
Now if so be thou be called,	
To be thy Princes councelloure,	
Beware thou be not corrupted	
By the vayne desyre of honoure.	748
Be not carful how for to holde	
Thy selfe styll in autoritie ;	
But to speake truth be euer bolde,	
Accordyng to Goods veritie.	752
¶ Winke not at faltes that thou shalt se,	
Though it be in thy Souerayne;	
But do as it becometh the :	
Exhort hym all vice to refrayne.	756
If thou perceyue him ignoraunt	
In any parte of hys dutie,	
Se thou do hym not checke or taunte,	
But tell hym wyth sobrietie.	760
Tell hym his falte, I say, playnly,	
And yet wyth all submission;	
Lesse thou do seme to speake vaynly,	
Forgettyng thy vocation.	764

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

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

The Phisicians Lesson.

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

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.

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

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 have respect to the ryche man, I woulde not now thou shouldest refuse To helpe the pore man if thou can.

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. 768

Thus I have told you your duty.

772

Attend, Master Physician, and mark my words well.

776

780

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

784 but you kill him.

788

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

792

even when he has nothing with which to pay.

796 [T]ob .ii.

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

[Ma]	th.	ix.
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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, your trust shall fail.

What authority have you for neglecting the poor?

What right have you to charge for looking at water,

when you cannot tell whether a man is ill or not?

And if thou do on him thy cure,	
For hys sake <i>that</i> geue herbes their strength,	
Thou shalt vndoubtedly be sure	
He wyll rewarde the at the length.	800
Thys maister of hys doth regarde	
Mercie so much, that he hath tolde	
All hys that they shal have rewarde	
For geuynge water thyne and colde.	804
And thinckest thou that he wyll not	
Rewarde them that geue medicine ?	
Thou hast no such mistruste, I wot,	
In hys promise that is divine.	808
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 bolde,	
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.	824
And shewe by what right thou maist take	
Two pence for the sight of water,	
When thou knowest not therbi to make	
The sicke man one farthinge better.	828
Yea, if a man should try the wel,	
To proue what thy counnyng can do,	
He should fynde that thou canst not tell	
Whether the man be sycke or no.	832

¶ I graunt the water sheweth somthyng, But not so much as thou 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 doeth 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 synne To cause pore men theyr goods to wast.

But now, I saye to the, repent, And do thy selfe henseforth applyo To vse the gifte God hath the sent, To the profite of thy contrey.

Let not lucre make the professe Before 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, Both for thy laboure and expence. CROWLEY. 6

something, but not much. 836 840 If you only guess, but chance to hit the truth, your labour is not worth much. 844 You only guess to win money. 848 Repent, and apply yourself to profit your country. 852 856 Strive to ease the sick and remedy 860 infection. Help the poor and needy, and

864

[M]ath .16.

[L]uk.10. God will recompense you.

868

Water may show

LAWYERS ARE SO GREEDY.

If you will not listen,	But if thou wylt not take my rede,	
	But folowe after lucre styll,	
	I wyll put the out of all dreade	
	Thy last rewarde shall be full ill.	872
	For when cruel death shall the styng,	
when you die	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,	
you will despair	Thou wylt of Gods mercie dispare,	
of God's mercy.	And so perishe eternally.	880
T ake heed while	Take hede therfor, take hede by time,	
you have time.	Let not slyppe this occasion;	
	But spedily repent thy cryme,	
	And walke in thy vocation.	884

The Lawiars Lesson.

	Towe come hither thou manne of lawe,	
	And marcke what I shall to the saye,	
	For I intende the for to drawe	
	Out of thy moste vngodly waye.	888
	Thy callyng is good and godly,	
	If thou wouldste walke therin aryght;	
	But thou 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,	
	For Gods wrath is agaynst the bent,	
•	If thou wylt not my warnyng take.	900

Your calling, the Law, is good if you walk aright, but you are so greedy,

there is no limit to your desires.

God's wrath is bent against you. Fyrst call vnto thy memorye For what cause the laws wer fyrst made; And then apply the busily To the same ende to vse thy trade.

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 vexe 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 thou canst not tel At the firste whose cause is better.

Thou knowest not at the first, I graunt, But whye wylt 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 client seketh not his owne,

It were a godly way for the To knowe the ende ere thou began, But if that can bi no meanes be, To make shorte sute do what thou can.

If thou be a mans atturney, In any court where so it be, Let him not waite and spende money, If his dispatch do lie in the. Remember why laws were first made.

904

They were made to relieve the oppressed.

908

912

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

916

You say you don't know whose matter is right;

920

but why are you retained before you learn the cause ? 924

> I do not blame you for this plea, when neither party's right is known.

928

932

If you are attorney for any man, don't delay his case,

	Apply his matter earnestly,	
	And set him going home againe,	
e no more	And take no more then thy dutie;	
ur due. x[iv.]	For God shall recompence thi paine.	940
re a	If thou be calde a counseller,	
or, don't ler ;	And many men do seke thy read;	
	Se thou be found no triffeller,	
	Eyther for money or for dreade.	944
	But weigh mens matters thorowlie,	
	And se what may be done by right,	
e poor as	And further as well the neadie	
the rich ; $[xix.]$	As thou woldest do the man of might.	948
no man's	Se thou have no respect at all	
	To the person, but to the cause ;	
	And suffer not such a truth to fall	
	As thou findest grounded on good lawes.	952
ng-doer	If any man do the desyre	
im,	Him to defend in doinge wronge,	
	Though he woulde geue the triple hire,	
	Yet geue none eare unto his songe.	956
man's	Fear not his power, though he be king,	
out fear 1.	A duke, an earle, a lord, or knight ;	
	But euermor in thy doinge	
	Haue the Lordes fcare present in syght.	960
re a	If thou be indge in commune place,	
eware of	In the kinges bench, or Exchequier,	
arl. 22.	Or other courte, let not thy face	
	Be once turned to the briber.	964
blind	Beware that bribes blinde not thy sight	
;ht.	And make the that thou canst not se	
	To judge the pore mans cause aryght,	
xvi.	When it is made open to the.	968
3 . <i>xx</i> .	Why shouldest thou stil admyt delaies	
no delays.	In matters that be manifest?	
	Why doest thou not seke all the wayes	
	That may be to rid the oppreste?	972

and tak than you Luke a

If you a counselle be a triff

assist th well as : Leuit.

respect : person.

If a wro: wishes y defend h don't.

Fear no power, l the Lord

If you a judge, b bribes,

[i] Pa

lest they your sig

Deut

Eccles Admit 1

.

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 have no more to say to the, But warne the that thou be contente To lyue 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 haue his sute deferred longe.

Now if thou be Lord Chauncelloure, As censor ouer al the rest; Se thou do thy best endeuour To see al open wronges redrest.

And of this one thynge take good hede, That amonge them that do appeale, Thou do not, for fauoure or mede, Suffer any falsely to deale.

Beware of them, I saye, that vse First for to tempt the commune lawes, And yet the indgement 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, And graunt not an iniunction To eche false harlot by and by.

Graunt thou not an iniunction To him that doth nought else entende, But, by subtile inuention, His owne falsehode for to defend. 976 I warn you to be content with your fees, 980 and to see that

Leuit. xix and do justice to

all men.

984 the poor are not oppressed.

If you are Lord Chancellor, see all wrongs redressed,

988

and show no favour.

> Beware of such as refuse to abide by the laws.

996

1000

Be careful in granting injunctions.

1004

MERCHANTS NOT TO SEEK LARGE PROFITS.

You may see your duty in God's word,

So I leave you.

I nede not to tel any more Of thy duetie; thou maiest it se In Gods sacred and holye worde,¹ If thou wylt there to applie the. 1012 Thus leave I the, thou man of lawe, Wyshing the to be as wyllyng To folowe, as I am to draw The backe agayne to thy callynge. 1016

The Marchauntes Lesson.

ho b uy and ay mar <u>k</u> ords,	Now marke my wordes thou marchaunte marchau	l,
	I wyll enstruct the, if I can,	
	How thou maiste vse thy callynge well.	1020
ler for	Fyrst se thou cal to memori	
end all re made.	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,	
o maintain	Is to maintaine the publike state	
blic state.	In the contrei where thei shal be.	1028
your trade	¶ Apply thy trade therfore, I sai,	
fit your Y•	To profit thy countrey with al;	
	And let conscience be thy stay,	
	That to pollinge thou do not fal.	1032
import	If thou venter into straunge landes,	
ble things, poor have	And bringe home thynges profitable;	
nt a lable rate.	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,	
do not,	Yet if thou do so, that thy ware	
ill be ned in th e	May beare high price, thou shalt be shente.	1040
	¹ Orig. lorde.	

You wh sell ma my wor

Conside what en men ar

It is to the pub

Apply 3 to profi country

If you profitat let the them a reasona

> If you you wi punish 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 icopardye.

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.

But thy richesse was genen to the, That thou mightest make provision, 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.

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 have 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.

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.

1044

God gave you riches

1048

that you might make necessaries for your country,

1052

and when you have brought any good thing home,

1056

1060 you should thank Him for your prosperity.

> But I write in vain.

1064

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

1068

They smell out unthrifty heirs;

1072

they have farms round London;

y have their	They have thier spies vpon eche syde	
es on every e.	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	1
me think	Which some men thinke is by the meane	
buying and ling of farms	That fermes be found such marchaundise.	1084
ise white meat be so dear.	For what is it when the pore man,	
	That erst was wont to pay but lite,	
e poor man	Must now nedes learne (do what he can)	
ist now pay ible rent, or	To playe eyther double or quite.	1088
it. e collier and	If ye aske of the coliar,	
odmonger	Why he selleth hys coles so dere,	
	And rightso of the wodmongar,	
	They say marchauntes have all in fere.	1092
their prices	The wood, say thei, that we have bought	
doubled.	In tymes paste for a crowne of golde,	
	We cannot haue, if it be ought,	
	Under ten shyllynges ready told.	1096
m ashamed of	I am ashamed for to tell	
e abuses among erchants,	Halfe the abuse that all men se,	
	In such men as do by and sell,	
	They be so bad in eche degre.	1100
I will do what	I wyl therfore do what I can	
an to teach u your	To make plaine desiaratyon,	
eation.	How thou, that art al marchauntman,	
	Maist walke in thy vocation.	1104
ade for the	Applye thy trade, as I have tolde,	
off your antry,	To the profyt of thy contrey,	
	And then thou maiste ¹ eer be bolde	
	That thy Lord God wil guide thy wai.	1108
en you will not ed to take ases of grounds.	Thou shalt not nede to purchase landes,	
	Neyther to take leases in groundes,	
	That, when thou hast them in thyne handes,	
	Thou maist for shyllinges gather poundes.	1112
	¹ Orig. maisse.	

the spie

 \mathbf{S}_{0} the sell eau to

 $\mathbf{T}\mathbf{h}$ m.u dor qui Th W 00

say are

I a the me

so Iс you **V**00

 \mathbf{Tr} \mathbf{pr} eou

the neo lea Thou shalt not nede to bie or sel Benefices, which should be fre, To true preachers of Gods gospell, To helpe them 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.

Thou 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 should they be gentelmen ?

There be already men inowe That beare the name of gentil bloud; Tell thou me the*n*, what nede haste thou So vainly to bestow thy good?

For thou 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 ? You may neither buy and self benefices,

1116

nor lend for unlawful gain.

1120 Luke. vi

If you have enough, why desire more?

1124

Marry your daughter to your equal,

1128

and bind your sons apprentice.

1132

There are plenty of gentlemen.

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?

BE JUST AND SHOW MERCY.

[M]at. vii. Do as you would be done by,	Do thou as thou wouldest be done by,	
	As very nature doth the teache,	
	And let thy loue and charitie	
	Unto all the Lordes creatures reach;	1152
	And if any man stande in nede,	
[<i>L</i>] <i>uke</i> , <i>vi</i> .	Lende hym frely that thou maiste spare,	
and lend to the needy.	And doubtlesse God wyll be thy mede,	
	And recompence the in thy ware.	1156
Be just, open,	Be inste, playne, and not disceytefull,	
and merciful, [M] ath. v.	And shewe mercie vnto the pore,	
and God will increase your	And God, that is moste mercifull,	
store.	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.	1164
But if you refuse to do as I have	But, if thou do refuse to walke	
told you,	In thy callyng, as I haue tolde,	
	Thy wisdome shalbe but vaine talke,	
	Though thou be both auncient and olde.	1168
	Saye what thou wylt for to defende	
	Thy walkynge inordinately,	
you certainly will	Thou shalt be certen, in the ende,	
be damned in the <i>Mat. vii.</i> end.	To be damned eternally.	1172
	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.

1180

gentlemen,

You that are born Thou that arte borne to lande and rent, L And arte cleped a gentleman, Geue eare to me, for myne intent Is to do the good if I can.

90

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 dice, to carde, or to reuell, If thou do once take a pleasure, In vseyng 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 worldly thinge.

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

Thou shalt delite for to defende The pore man that is innocent, And cause the wicked to amend, And the oppressour to repent, are set to rule yeur countrymen.

You must get knowledge, 1184 Eccl v[ii.]

> for ignorance can be no excuse. Rom. [xiv.]

Mat. iv.

1188

Get knowledge, and live up to it.

1196

You will see you have no time to spare in feasting.

1200

You will have no leisure for gambling,

1204

bunting, costly building, or apparel.

1208

You must strive to walk upright;

1212

and delight in defending the poor,

92 MEN MAY NOT USE THEIR OWN AS THEY LIKE.

and in doing your duty.	Thou shalt haue delite in nothyng	
	Sauinge in doynge thy duty ;	
	Which is, vnder God and thy kyng,	
	To rule them that thou doest dwel by.	1220
You are not	Thou shalt not think <i>that</i> thou maist take	
allowed to do as $\lceil Ro \rceil m. 14.$	Thy rente to spend it at thy wyll,	
you like with your own.	As one that should no recknyng make	
	For ought that he doth well or yl.	1224
	But thou shalt fynd <i>that</i> thou art bound,	
	And shalt answer much more strayghtly,	
[Lu]ke .xii.	Then the pore men that tyl the ground,	
2 2	If thou regard not thy duty.	1228
You may not	Thou shalt not fynd that thou maiest reise	
raise your rents at will—	Thy rent, or leavy a great fine	
	More then hath bene vsed alwayes;	
	For that only is called thyne.	1232
	For as thou doest hold of thy kyng,	
you must allow	So doth thy tenaunt holde of the,	
your tenants to live.	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 thou abate the linynge	
	Of thy tenaunt and cause him rue?	1240
Knowledge will	For knowledge wyl tel the, that thou	
tell you to do as you would be	Must do as thou wouldest be done by;	
done by, Mat. vi	And ryght so wyl she tel the how	
11111. 10	Thou maiste discharge al thy duty.	1244
and to be content	She wyl teach the to be contente	
with your inheritance.	Wyth that thou haste by herytage;	
, interitance, ,	And eke to lyue after thy rente,	
	And not to fal into outrage.	1248
If you can afford	If thou maye despend xl. pound,	
to spend 40%, you may not live up	Thou maiste not lyue after three score ;	
to 607.	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 A 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 succour 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.

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 thy 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. 1256

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

1260

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

1264

In short, knowledge will teach you your duty—

1268

	without it you
1070	can't be called
1272	a gentleman,

because you have nothing within you to subdue your passions.

1280

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

1284

and dress and gamble till you 1288 have spent all.

GET KNOWLEDGE, AND FEAR GOD.

If you have no knowledge you will be worse than a slave.	To make an ende; vnlesse thou haue	
	Knowledg remaynyng in thy breste,	
	Thou shalt be worse then a vile slaue	
	That doth all honestie deteste.	1292
Study always to	Get the knowledg, therfore, I saye	
know your duty, and to fear God.	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,	
[P]salm .33	Set the Lords feare bifore thy face,	
	To guyde the in all thy doynges,	
	That thou delyte not in trespace.	1300
He who delights	For he that doth delyte in synne	
in sin will never get knowledge,	Shall neuer gouerne hys lyfe wel,	
	Nor any godly knowledge wynne;	
	For wisdoume wyl not with him dwel.	1304
so seek her till	Then seke for knowledg busilie,	
you find her. Sapie [vi]	And leaue not off tyll she be founde;	
- 14 M	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 the fear of	Let them agre and ende their plea,	
God and knowledge	Before thou do appoint the state.	1312
	By theyr aduise suruei thy laude,	
guide you in all	And kepe thy courtes both farre & nere,	
things,	And se they do fast by the stande,	
	In thine housekeping and thy chere.	1316
and have them	Haue them present before thine eies,	
ever in mind.	In al thy dedes what so they be;	
	In cessions, and eke on assise,	
	Let them not be absent from the.	1320
Let them rule your family,	Let them rule all thy familie,	
	And eke enstruct thy childrene yonge;	
	That they may thyne office supply	
	When with hys darte death hath the stong.	1324
	¹ Orig. lare,	

And last of all, leaue them to guyde Thy chyldren and theyr families; That thy house and floke may abyde, And rule the route in godly wise.

No more to the I haue to saye But that thou kepe Gods feare in syght And make it the guyde of thy waye As well by bryght daye as by nyght.

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.

¶ The Maiestrates Lesson.

Northous 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, And 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.

For to punyshe wyth equitie, Is, and aye shalbe, bisemeyng; Whereas to shewe extremiti, Is founde rather a bloude suckeyng. If any man be accusede Se thou hear him indifferently, And let him not be punished, Tyl thou knowe his cause thorowly. and your children's children, 1328

1332

So doing you shall obtain the bliss of heaven.

1336

You who are • called magistrates

1340

and have the bridle-rein in hand,

1344

look at the balance as well as at the sword,

1348

and punish with equity.

1352

Be impartial in your judgment.

THE DUTIES OF MAGISTRATES.

	If he haue wrought against the lawes,	
	So that iustice woulde have him dye,	
	Then in thy ballaunce laye his cause,	
	And iudge him after equitie.	1360
If a man err	If he dyd it of ignoraunce,	
through ignor- ance or poverty,	Of nede, or by compulsion,	
	Or else by fortune, and by chaunce,	
	Then must thou vse discretion.	1364
consider what	Consyder what extreme node is,	
extreme need is,	And howe force may the weake compel,	
	And how fortune doth hit and misse,	
	When the intent was to do well.	1368
and that wit-	And though the euidence be plaine,	
nesses may lie.	And the accusars credible;	
	Yet call to mynde the elders twayne,	
Dani [xiii.]	That Daniell found reproueable.	1372
	¶ And if thou fynde them false, or va yne ,	
	Forged to worcke theyr brother yll,	
	Then let them suffer the same paine	
	That he should have had by their wyll.	1376
I might say	Much myght be sayde in this matter	
much under this head,	Out of the workes of writers olde,	
	And, for to proue it the better,	
	Many late stories might be tolde.	1380
but I leave it to	But I leave this to the study	
your 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	Whych is to scanne the euidence,	
evidence, and examine accusers,	And eke to try the accusars all,	
	Thoughe they be men of good credence,	
	Leste happly the iuste be made thral.	1392

More ouer it behoueth the, I[f] thou wylt walke in thy callyng, To se that all good statutes be Executed before al thynge.

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

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

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

Se thou therfore to thy dutie In this behalfe, both daie and night, And let none break such lawes freli, But let them know *that* lawes haue might.

Let them al know, I say, that thou Art set to minister iustice, And that thou madest therto a vowe At the takeing of thine office.

Wincke not at thynges *that* be to plaine, Lest godly knowledge fle the fro, And thou flyt into endeles payne, At such time as thou must hence go.

For if thou wilt not minister Iustice to them that do oppresse, What are the people the better For the when they be in distresse?

The heavenly housband man, therfore, Who planted the, vice to suppresse, Shall drye thy rote for evermore, And geve the vp to wyckednes. CROWLEY. 7 and to see the statutes enforced,

1400

because neglect of statutes makes a realm decay,

1404

and brings oppression upon the poor.

1412

Let men know you are set to administer justice.

1416

Do not wink at things which are too plain.

1420

If you will not administer justice,

1424

1428

OFFICES MUST NOT BE SOLD:

n. xv re of the eance of	Beware of thys vengeaunce betyme,	
	Lest it come on the sodaynly,	
	When thou wouldest faine repeat thy cryme,	
	But shalt despeire of Goddes mercy.	1432
	For what thing causeth men despeire	
	Of Gods mercy at their last ende,	
conscience	But their conscience, that saieth thei were	
nake you ar.	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 Gods mercye.	1440
e more to	Yet haue I more to say to the	
et.	Concernyng thy vocation,	
	Which, if it grow styl, must nedes be	
	Double abhomination.	1444
	For he that bieth must nedcs sel:	
	Thou knowest alreadye what I meane;	
	I nede not wyth playne wordes to tel,	
	If sinne haue not blinded the cleane.	1448
hat you	Se vnto it, I the aduise,	
no offices sold.	And let not offices be solde;	
	For God wyll punyshe in straite wyse	
	Such as wyth him wyl be so bolde.	1452
vill not	He wyl not aye suffer his flocke	
it His flock devoured	Of wolfes to be so deuoured,	
lves.	Neither shall they that would hym mocke,	
	Escape his handes vnpunyshed.	1456
	His arme is as stronge as it was	
ember	When he plaged Kyng Pharao	
aoh . <i>xiiii</i> .	In Egipt, and can bring to passe	
	Al that he listeth now also.	1460
	He spent not al his power vpon	
n.] .iiii.	The Kyng Nabuchodanozer;	
Vebuchad- Ir,	He shal neuer be found such one,	
	That he should not haue mighte in store.	1464

Jhor bewar venge God;

your will n despa

I hav say y

See tl allow to be

God v permi to be of wo

Reme Phara *Exo*

[*Da* and N nezza

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.

Yet one thynge more I must the tell, Which in no wyse thou 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 subjects 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.

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

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

The Womans Lesson.

hoso thou be of woman kinde, That lokest for saluation, Se thou have ever in thy mynde, To walke in thy vocation. [Hebru]e .2. into His hand.

1468

If you profess the Gospel, 1472

and take heed that you fall not

you must not seek power.

1476

Study to rule your own subjects well.

1480

Defend your own country from invasion,

1484

and do not invade other lands,

1488

[i] Reg. xiii.

1492

All women should walk in their vocation.

WOMEN ARE NOT TO DYE OR PAINT.

If you have no husband, improvo your manners.	If thy state be virginitie,	
	And hast none housband for to please,	
	Then se thou do thyselfe apply	
i. Cor. vii.	In Christen maners to encrease.	1500
	If thou be vnder a mestres,	
If you have a	Se thou learne hir good qualityes,	
mistress, servø her readily.	And serue hyr wyth al redines,	
	Haueyng Goddes feare before thine eies.	1504
	If thou se hir wanton and wilde,	
	Then se thou cal vpon God styl,	
	That he wyl kepe the vndefilde,	
	And kepe from the al maners yl.	1508
Avoid idle talk	Auoyde idle and wanton talke,	
and niee looks.	Auoyde 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,	That nature gaue it to endure;	
	Laye it not out as doeth an whore,	
	That would mens fantacies allure.	1520
nor paint your	Paynte not thy face in any wise,	
face,	But make thy maners for to shyne,	
	And thou shalt please all such mens eies,	
	As do to godlines enclyne.	1524
but be modest,	Be thou modeste, sober, and wise,	
learn your duties,	And learne the poyntes of houswyfry;	
	And men shall haue the in such price	
	That thou shalt not nede a dowry.	1528
and try to please God.	Studye to please the Lorde aboue,	
	Walkynge in thy callyng vpryght,	
	And God wil some good mans hert moue	
	To set on the his whole delite.	1532

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

Acknowledge that he is thyne heade, And hath of the the gouernaunce; 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 worcke in hand.

And in no case thou maist suffer Thy seruauntes or children to play; For ther is nought that may soner Make them desire to renne 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 wycked, In no case do thou wyth them beare.

If you have a husband. 1536 [i C]or .xi. let him guide 1540 you. Be industrious, 1544and keep your children and servants from idleness. 15481552But do not be too severe. 1556If you are above mixing with your servants, 1560 spend your time in reading. 1564See that your children are well

1568

brought up.

If your husband	And if thine housbande do outrage	
does wrong, admonish him mildly,	In any thinge, what so it be,	
	Admouish 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 lineing,	
	And certenly thou shalt be sure	
	Of life that is euerlastinge.	1580
For though the	For though the first woman did fall,	
first woman fell,	And was the chiefe occasion	
	That sinne hath pearsed through vs all,	
	Yet shalt thou have saluation.	1584
you shall be	Thou shalt be salfe, I say, if thou	
saved if you are obedient,	Kepe thy selfe in obedience	
	To thine housband, as thou didest vow,	
	And shewe to him due reuerence.	1588
and do all in	But in fayth must all this be done,	
faith.	Or else it doeth 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
But if your	Nowe, if thyne housbande be godly,	
husband is godly,	And have knowleged better then thou,	
learn of him,	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 do all that	Of su[c]h thinges as do the behoue;	
he approves.	And se thou observe thorowlye	
[i Ti]mo, v.	Al such thinges as he shal aproue.	1604

Seke to please him in thine araye, And let not newe trickes delyte the ; For that becometh the alway, That with his minde doth best agre.

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.

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.

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 ech gallaunt fassion, And wilt agayne when he is deade.

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.

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 deuelles mynysters, Sent to destroy al honestye, In such as wyl be their hearars, And to theyr wycked reade applye. 1608

Delight not in tattlers—

1612

they are worse than the devil;

1620

they will teach you to scold your husband,

> and tell him of your tricks before you knew him.

1628

1632

I am ashamed of these gossips,

1636

for they are the devil's ministers.

LEARN OF SARAH WHOSE DAUGHTER YOU ARE.

i. Pet. iii. But do you learn of Sara,

Gene. wvi. who always obeyed her husband.

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.	1644
She was alway obėdyent	
To hir housband, and cald hym lorde,	
As the boke of Godes testament	
Doeth in most open wyse record.	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

Amen.

Imprynted at

London bi Robert Crowley dwellinge in Elie rentes in Holburn. The yere of our Lord .M. D. xlix. the laste daye of December. Autore eodem Roberto Croleo. ¶ Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.

.

I Pleasurg Ind Payne, Heauen and Hell: Remembre these foure, and all shall be well.

¶ Compyled by Roberte Crow= ley, Anno Domini, MDLF.

Solum.

- I I that be my fathers blessed ones come and posses the hyngdome that was prepared for you befor the beginning of the worlde.
- ¶ Goe ye curssed sorte into the enerlastyng fyre that was prepared for the Jeuill and his Ingelles.

Math, xxb,

.

[Page 3]

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

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

you.

they will begin to which they have [Page 4]

DEDICATION.

cent togither. For so shal they also deserve the Lordis wrath, & in the ende be plaged by some other that God shal styr vp to reuenge the iniurye done to the innocent sorte. Moued therefore wyth the desyre to se the wealth of my contrey by the pacifyng of Gods ire, which (no doubt) wyl fal vpon this realme very shortly, if oppression and gredye couetise cease not, I haue, so playnely as I coulde, set forth in thys litle boke the terrible iudgment of God (which no doubt of it is at hande), that if there remayne any feare of God in mens hertis, it may cause them to staye at the least waye, and not to procede any farder in the inuentyng of newe wayes to oppresse the pore of thys realme, whoes oppression doeth alredy crye vnto the Lorde for venge-The Lorde work in the hertis of the rych, that ance. 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 vengeance can not ta*rye longe. For the Lorde hath promised

to reuenge his people in haste. This Lord preserue your good Ladiship to hys good pleasure in thys lyfe and geue you blysse in the lyfe to come. So be it.

Your Ladyships at commaundement, Robert Crowley.

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]

[Page 6, blank]

Hen 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 have 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, Proceedynge from a faythfull mynde.

¹ Two lines of the original are put into one.

[Page 7] When Christ Mat. xvi. comes to judgment He will call His friends to enjoy what they

 enjoy what they have been secking.

7 Mat. vii.

He will bid them come and possess Mat. xxv.the kingdom prepared for them,

11

[Page 8] Rom. viii.

because when He was hungry they fed Him.

Mat. xxv.

18

They shall remain ever with Him, and see God. 21 *i. Cor. xiii.*

Mat. xxv.

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

and treated Him courteously.

LORD, WHEN SAW WE THEE IN PRISON ?

When He was naked, they	¶ "So, when I was naked and bare, Hauynge no clothes my fleshe to hyde,	
Mat. xxv. clothed Him.	From your owne backs then dyd you spare, And gaue me clothes for backe and syde, So that I myght the colde abyde.	32
	But if you lackt sufficient,	35
When He was sick and in [Page 10] prison, they com- forted Him,	Then dyd you my greate lacke lament. "Infyne, when I was weake and sycke, And had no conforte aboute me, To come to me you dyd not stycke,	29
and visited Him, Mat. xxv. and ransomed Him.	And succour my necessitie. And when it chaunced me to be In prisone, and could not get oute,	39
	To raunsome me you went aboute."	42
Mat. xxv. The just will ask when they ever saw Him in	¶ Then shall the iuste answere agayne And saye, "O Lorde, when sawe we the	
need P	In prisone, or in other payne Through extreme nede and pouertie ?	46
Is He not Lord of and and sea?	Arte not thou Lorde of lande and see ? What ? Lorde, we knowe that sea and lande	10
[Page 11]	Haue euermore bene in thyne hande;	49
l. <i>Cor. iiii.</i> He gives all hings to all men,	"We know that thou gaueste all thynge To all estates, boeth hygh and lowe.	
nd every man is n His hand.	There is no myghty lorde nor kynge, But he is in thyne hande we knowe.	53
	In vayne, Lorde, we might plante and sowe, If thou gaue vs not frute and grayne,	
	We could have nought lyfe to sustayne."	56
He owns He gave is life and fed us,	Then shall Christe saye, "All this is true; I gaue you lyfe, and dyd you fede	
	Wyth graynes and fruitis, boeth olde and newe, And gaue you all thyngis at your nede.	60
[Page 12] and has been with us in all our	In all your wayes I was your speede, And gaue you that wherefore ye sought,	
rays. John .xv.	Wych wythout me had come to nought.	63

"Yet all that I have sayde before		
Is true also; for when you gaue Ought to such as were sycke or sore,		But when we gave anything to the sick we gave it to Him.
Whome nede constray[ned] forto craue,	67	
Then, I confesse my selfe to haue		
Receyued all that at your hande,	=0	Mat. xxv.
Whereof they dyd in greate nede stande."	70	
¶ Then shall the iuste wyth ioye enter		The just will enter into ever-
Into the ioyes that shall not ende;		lasting joys,
By cause theyr hertes were aye tender		[Page 13] because their
To geue such thyngis as God dyd sende,	74	hearts were tender.
Mankynde from peryle to defende.		Mat. v.
Thus shall they lyue in ioye and blysse		They will live in Paradise.
In Paradice, where no payne is.	77	I diamite.
But to the wycked Christ shall saye,		To the wicked
"Auoyde frome me, ye wycked sorte ;		He will say, "Depart! fo r in
For in my nede you sayde me naye		my need ye Mat. xxv.
Wyth spytefull wordis of disconforte.	81	refused me."
Yet my preachars dyd you exhorte		
Me in my membres to refreshe,		1. Corhi. x
Knoweynge that all are but one fleshe."	84	
Then shall these men, wyth faynte herte, saye		[Page 14]
"Lorde when dyd we see the in nede?		Mat. xxv. They will answer,
Thou haste bene Lorde and Kynge alwaye;		"Lord, when did we see thee in
No wyght was whome thou dydest not fede:	88	need?
All this we learned in oure Creede;		
For thou arte Iesus, that Gods Sonne		Thou art Jesus,
That hath create boeth sonne and mone."	91	who created all things."
"Oh," shall Christe saye to them agayne,		He will answer,
"Ye deafe dorepostis, coulde ye not heare?		"You deaf door- posts,
Thynke you the heade bydeth no payne,		1. Cohr. xii.
When the members make heavye chere?	95	1. Conr. with
In you nought but flesh doeth appere.		
For if my spirite in you had ben,		[Page 15]
Me in myne you must nedis haue sene.	98	if my spirit had been in you, you must have seen

the poor.

	\P "The pore, the pore, and indigent	
	Came vnto you ofte tymes ye knowe,	
e , but	And you sawe them wepc and lament,	
р Р	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-	
3.	In them no pitie coulde be founde.	
no r	Your greedye gutte coulde neuer stynt,	
16]	Tyll all the good and fruitfull grounde ¹	109
	Were hedged in whythin your mownde.	
ou	You wycked sorte, howe vsed ye	
inds ?	The londis and goodis ye had of me?	112
	WF "You made your boaste all was your owne,	
	To spare or spende, at your owne wyll;	
or	And when any pore men were knowne	
i.	That were so bolde to calle it yll,	116
estion, m into	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,	
17]	Because they tolde you your duitie.	
man our	You sayde the loselles woulde have all	
said he have	That you had goten paynfully,	1 2 3
	And kept longe tyme moste carefully;	
	But ye belye them, I know well,	
	And slaunder this my true Gospell.	126
only	* "Emonge all myne there is not one	
neir	That would have ought more then his owne,	
tell	As I shall tell you playne anone;	
vi.	For to me all theyr hertis be knowne.	130
h Dr	They reaped nought that you had sowne,	
note,	But wylled you to let them have	
34 18]	That I gaue you mankynde to sauc.	133
	· Orig. nownde.	

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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 tol 1 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 8 "]

"Not one so blynde emonge you all, But he knoweth I made all of nought, Appoyntynge all thyngis naturall, To serue mankynde, whome I haue wrought 137Lyke to my selfe in loueyng thought; 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 Alwaye sycke, sore, and impotent, I indued you wyth such wysedome 144 As dyd honest stuardis become, Committyng¹ whole into your hande The riches, boeth of sea and lande. 147 "My purpose was that you should have Alwaye all nedefull thynges in store, To succour such as nedis must crane Of you thyngis nedefull euermore. 151 I made you rych to fede the pore; But you, lyke seruauntis prodigall, Haue in excesse consumed all. #But when I found you negligent In fedynge of my family, Then my prophetes to you I sent, Commaundyng that you should yerely Brynge all your tythes diligently Into my barne, that there myght be Meate in myne house for pouertie. 161 "But you gaue to theyr wordis no hede; You helde all faste, and woulde nought brynge Into my barne the pore to fede, But spent all at your owne lykynge In wantones and banketynge, And in rayment past your degree, As men that had no mynde of me. 168¹ Cammittyng in original.

8

CROWLEY.

You know I made all thing**s,** Psal. viii.

Gensis. i.

that the needs of all might be supplied,

[Page 19]

Mat. 24.

and that you might have a store to succour the needy.

154 Mat. 24.

When I found you negligent

[Page 20] I sent my pro-158 phets to you,

Malc. iii.

but you heeded them not,

165 and spent all in wantonness, *Gene.* 32. and raiment. 114

[Page 21]	¶ "Yea, some of you were not content	
	To holde fast that ye should have brought	
	Into my barne, there to be spent;	
Iohn .x. You begged	But gredyly ye begde and bought,	172
and bought that	That my true seruantis, as they ought,	
which was mine,	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,	
in my iong	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 my flock.	Settyng such ones my flocke to kepe,	
[Page 22]	As were more lyke to eate the lambe,	
Iohn .x.	Then to defende his feble dame.	182
Ezcch. 34.	🐲 "Ye robde, ye spoylde, ye bought, ye solde	
You spoiled my flock and me.	My flocke and me; in euery place	
nock and me.	Ye made my bloude vylar then golde :	
	And yet ye thought it no tre[s]passe.	186
	O wycked sorte, voyde of all grace,	
	Auoyde from me downe into hell,	
	Wyth Lucifer: there shall ye dwell.	189
You had the	"Ye had the tythes of mens encrease,	
tithes, <i>Ezech.</i> 34.	That shoulde haue fedde my flocke and me;	
	But you made your selfes well at ease,	
[Page 23]	And toke no thought for pouertie.	193
and were not sorry to see my	It dyd not greue you forto se	
flock and me	My flocke and me suffer greate nede	
have need.	For lacke of meate, harbour and wede.	196
	\P "No hell can be a worthy payne	
	For your offence, it is so greate;	
	For you have 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,	
an anaje	And noman durst once save you nave.	203

¶ "Howe can you loke to have mercie At myne hande? whome ye would not feede [Page 24] Wyth that was myne, euen of dutie What mercy can you expect? 207To succoure me and myne at nede? Syth you myght in the scripture rede, That suche men shall no mercie haue As kepe theyr owne when nede doethe eraue. 210 Iacob. ii. "Unto the hungry parte thy breade, Esai. [l]viii And when thou shalt the naked se, Put clothes on him; this myght you reade You might have seen in the In my prophetis that preached me. 214 Scriptures And in Iohns Pistle these wordis be :---' Howe can that man haue Charitie, That beynge riche sheweth no pitie ?' 217 [Page 25] "Also, the man that stoppeth his eare Prou. xxi. At the crye of such as be pore, that he who would not hear the poor Shall crye, and no man shall him heare, Nor at his nede shewe him succoure : 221Ryght so he that doeth endeuoure Prou. xxii. To be made rych by oppressynge, Shall leave him selfe (at the last) no thynge. 224 should not be heard. "For he shall geue the ryche alwaye More then he can scrape frome the pore, So that in tyme he shall decaye, And have no nedefull thynge in store. 228This might you reade, and ten tymes more [Page 26] In the Bible, that holy boke, if you had had time to read. If you had had tyme forto loke. 231 Math. x. "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 haue in store 235 But you wished such things out of Plentie of scripturs, euermore the Bible. To prove that you myght are be bolde Wyth your owne to do what you woulde. 238

116 THE RICH CARE NOT THOUGH THE POOR PERISH.

You thought you might em- ploy your goods in any way; [Page 27]	"You thought you myght your goodis employ To private gayne in every thynge. You thought it no faute to anoye	
Mat. vii.	Such men as were nygh you dwellynge, Were it by purchaise or byldynge;	242
hat you might mnoy your neighbour;	Neither to get into your hande, Your neyghbours house his goodis and lande.	245
	"All was your owne that you myght bye, Or for a long tyme take by lease ; And then woulde you take rent yerely,	
Luke .iii.	Much more then was the tenantis ease :	249
hat it was not	It was no faute your rentis to rease	
vrong to double our rents.	From twentie markis to fourtie powndis,	
	Were it in tenementis or growndis.	252
[Page 28] If the poor did	"What though the pore dyd lye and dye	
lie for want of nouse and food,	For lacke of harboure, in that place	
iouse and ioou,	Where you had goten wyckedly	
	By lease, or else by playne purchase,	256
	All houseynge that shoulde, in that case,	
	Haue ben a safegard ¹ and defence	050
	Agaynst the stormy violence?	259
ou thought you vere blameless,	"Yea, what if the pore famyshed	
7 . . 7	For lacke of fode vpon that grownde,	
Math. x.	The rentes whereof you have reysed, Or hedged it wythin your mownde?	263
	There might therwyth no faute be founde,	200
[Page 29]	No, though ye bought vp all the grayne	
[rage 20]	To sell it at your pryce agayne.	266
	"You thought that I woulde not requyre	
nd that I should not require their	the bloude of all suche at your hande;	
lood at your and.	But be you sure, eternall fyre	
	Is redy for eche hell fyrebrande,	270
	Boeth for the housynge and the lande	
Tacob. ii.	That you have taken from the pore	
	Ye shall in hell dwell euermore !	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 ; You shal be damned for euermore : The bloude of them that dyd amisse, Through your defaute 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. "The sones also, that wycked were, And wrought after theyr wycked wyll, Would nowe ryght fayne be proued cleare, Bycause your mysse hath made them ille; But they muste nedis be gyltie styll, Because they woulde worke wyckedly, Rather then lyue in miserie. "And yet shall you answere for all, Theyr bloude I wyl of you require, Because you were cause of theyr falle, That are become vesselles of ire; Boeth they and you shall have your hyre In hell emonge that wyeked sorte, That lyue in paynes wythout conforte. "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, That am the trueth and verite. I tolde them if they were opprest, I woulde se all theyr wrong is redreste. ¹ xviii in original.

The land taken from the plowman shall be a burden upon you, 277[Page 30] and sink you to hell. 280 Mat. xxiii.1 284You took from children their heritage. 287[Page 31] and made them what they are ; 291294but you will answer for their Ezech. iii. ill deeds, 298301 [Page 32] and for all who did amiss through you. 305

Hebru. xii.

308

SIMONIANS WILL GO TO HELL.

Rebels go to hell.	"The wycked sorte, that dyd rebell	
	Agaynst you, when you dyd them wronge,	
	Shall have theyr parte wyth you in hell,	
	Where you shall synge a dolefull songe :	312
[Page 33]	Worlde wythout ende you shall be stonge	
Eccles. vii.	Wythe the pricke of the conscience :	
	A iuste rewarde for your offence.	315
You who are	Mar "And you that woulde nedis take in hande	
guilty of simony will go to hell.	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	"If I should rehearse all at large	
surpasses belief.	That in your wycked lyfe is founde,	
[Page 34]	And laye it strayght to your charge,	
	No wyght there were in this world rownde	326
Genes. 7.	But woulde wonder I had not drownde	
	The hoole earth for your synne onlye,	
	That woulde be called my cleargie.	329
You made your	"Firste (wyth Magus) ye made your waye,	
way into the fold like wolves.	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]	¶ "You dyd prouoke them fyrste to sell,	
	And then they learned forto bye;	
And made patrons	Thynkynge that they myght bye as well	
as bad as your- selves.	As the leadars of the clargie.	340
	And then they founde meanes, by and by,	
	To catch, and kepe in theyr owne hande,	
	The tenth increase by sea and lande.	343
	¹ woulles in original.	

 "Theyr owne chyldren they dyd present, Theyr seruauntis, and theyr wycked kynne, And put by such as I had sent 		They presented their children and servants.
To tell my people of theyr synne :	347	
And youe were gladde to take them in,		Iohn .x.
Bycause you knewe that they dyd knowe		[Page 36]
That youe came in by the wyndowe.	350	
"Such as woulde haue entryd by me, That am the dore of my shepe folde,		Such as would have entered the
You sayde were not worthy to be		fold by me were deemed un- worthy.
Admitted into my householde :	354	
You thought by them you should be tolde		
Of your moste wycked Simonie,		Esaie. xxx
Your falsehead and your periurie.	357	
¶ "You layde to theyr charge herecie,		Act xxiiii
Sisme, and sedicion also;		
But you dyd them falsely belye,		
Thynckynge therby to worke them wo,	361	[Page 37]
And doubtlesse ofte it chaunced so :		
For many of them you have slayne		Many of my servants you have
Wyth most extreme and bitter payne.	364	slain,
¶ "Thus by your meanes my people haue		
Ben destitute of sheperdis good ;		
They have ben ledde by such as draue		
Them 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	
¶ "The kyngis and rulars of the earthe,		Kings have
For lacke of knowledge, went astraye ;		strayed for lack [Page 38]
And you stopped my seruantis breathe,		Apo, xviii of knowledge,
That woulde haue taught them the ryght waye ;	375	er enternoogej
You thought your lyueynge woulde decaye,		Iohn, xi.
If kyngis and rulars of the lande		
Should theyr owne duitie vnderstande.	378	

THE IGNORANCE OF THE PEOPLE.

but you are to	¶ "For so longe as you kept them blynde,	
blame for this,	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
and, having my flock in your	¶ "This haueynge my flocke in your hande,	
hands,	You taught them not, but kept them blynde,	
	So that not one dyd vnderstande	
Psal. xiiii.	The lawes that I had lefte behynde.	389
	The maister could not teach his hynde	
	How he should worke in his callyng	
	Fearynge my wrath in euery thynge.	392
	"The father coulde not teach his sonne	
	Howe, in his dayes, to walke vpryght ;	
for the ignorance	But gaue him leaue at large to runne	
of the people.	In wycked wayes, boeth daye and nyght,	396
[Page 40]	Makyng him wycked in my syght:	
	O wycked guidis, this was your dede,	
Ezech. iii	But I shall requite you your mede !	399
	🖅 "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
You saw it all,	Can you denie but this you sawe ?	
and are guilty of all the faults	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;	
[Page 41] Ier. xxiii	And you are founde in all the blame,	
arising from simony.	That have entred by Simonie;	410
situatiny.	Whych thynge you shall dearely bye,	
	For wyth Satan you shall be sure,	
	Worlde without ende, styll to endure.	413

"For at your handis nowe I requyre The blood of all who have perished The bloude of all that perished is required at your hand. In placis were you toke the hyre, And let my flocke be famisshed. 417 For ave ye shal be banyshed The blysse that I bought for them all That folowed me when I dyd call. 420 Iohn. x "Auoyde from me downe into hell, [Page 42] All ye that have wrought wyckedly : and you must dwell with wyth Lucifer there shall ye dwell, Lucifer. And lyue in paynes eternally. 424 Your wycked soule shall neuer nye, But lyue in payne for euermore, Mark, ix Because ye paste not for my lore. 427 "Awaye, awaye ye wycked sorte ! Awaye, I saye, oute of my syght : Henseforth you 'sha[ll] have no conforte, But bytter mournynge daye and nyght, 431 Extreme darknes wythouten lyghte. Depart into darkness and sorrow. Wepynge, waylynge, wyth sobbynge sore, [Page 43] 434 Mat. xxv Luke .xiii. 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 have for youre juste hyre; 438 The hote vengeaunce of my greate ire into the lake of fire and brim-Shall be styll boylynge in your breaste, stone. So that you shall neuer take reste." 441 Then shall the wycked fall in haste Downe into the pyt bottomelesse; Mat. xiii. Moste bytter paynes there shall they taste, And lyue euer in greate distresse. 445 [Page 44] None shall confort theyr heauinesse; The wicked will then fall into hell, In deadly paynes there shall they lye: And then they would but shall not dye. 448 Apocal. ix. 1 (sh v)

121

122	LET THE RIGHTS OF THE POOR BE RESTORED.	
	¶ Such as were here so loth to dye, That they thought no ph[y]sicke to dere, Shall there lyue in such miserie	
where they shall ever be wishing to die.	That only death myght their hertis chere. They shall alwayes desyre to here That they myght dye for euermore, Theyr paynes shal be so passynge sore.	452 455
[Page 45]	Then shall Christe wyth his chosen sorte Triumphauntely returne agayne To hys Father, geueyng conforte	100
Apoc, xxii [See Rev. xx. 4.]	To such as for hys sake were slayne. No wyght shall there fele any payne, But all shall lyue in such blysse there,	459
That we may live with Christ in heaven,	As neuer tonge coulde yet declare. That we maye then lyue in that place, Wyth Christe oure kynge that hath vs bought,	462
	Let vs crie vnto God for grace To repent that we haue mysse wrought ; And where we haue wyckedly sought	466
Luke .xix. [Page 46]	To be made rych by wycked gayne, 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; And thoughe the lease thereof be solde, Bye it agayne though it be dere,	473
Phil. iiii.	For nowe we go on oure laste yere.	476
let the enclosures be laid open again ;	That you have caused to be made Aboute the waste and tyllage growndes,	100
[Page 47]	Makeynge them wepe that erste were glad; Leste you your selfes be stryken sadde, When you shall se that Christe doeth drye	480
Apoc, axi.	All teares from the oppressed is eye.	483

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

124 RESTORE THE TITHES, AND GIVE UP PLURALITIES.

Restore the tithes,	Restore ¹ the tythes vnto the pore,	
that the poor, the blind, and	For blynde and lame shoulde lyue theron,	
the lame,	The wydowe that hath no succoure,	
	And the chylde that is lefte alone ;	522
	For if these folke do make theyr mone	
	To God, he wyll sure heare theyr crye,	
•	And reuenge theyr wronge by and by.	525
	Restore your tythes, I saye, once more,	
and true preach-	That tr[e]we preachars may lyne theron,	
ers may live thereon.	And have all nedefull thynges in store	
[Page 51]	To geue to such as can get none,	529
	Leste theyr greate lamentation	
	Do styr the Lorde vengeaunce to take,	
	Euen for hys trueth and promes sake.	532
You, the men of	Geue ouer your pluralities,	
God, must give up your pluralities.	Ye men of God, if you be so ;	
	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
	If you be mete to do service	
[Page 52]	To any prince or noble man,	
	Than medle wyth no benifice;	
You cannot do	For certenly no one man can	543
two men's work.	Do the duitie of moe men than	
	Of one: which duitie you do owe	
	To them that geue you wage, you knowe.	546
Rob the people	Robbe not the people that do paye	
no more.	The tenth of theyr increase yerely,	
	To haue a learned guyde alwaye	
	Present wyth them to edifie	550
	Them by teachyng the veritie,	
Malac, iii	Boeth in his worde and eke his dede,	
[Page 53]	And to succoure such as haue nede.	553
	¹ Rehore in original.	

CFF And you that haue tane vsurie Of such as nede draue to borowe, Make restitution shortly,		You that have taken usury, make restitution,
Leste it turne you to great sorowe,	557	
When no man can be your borowe,		Psal xv. [See Psal. xlix. 7.]
Wich shal be at the daye of dome;	FCO	Phil, iiii.
Which doubtlesse is not longe to come.	560	
And you that by disceyte haue wonne, ¹	[1 Orig. wome.]	You that have deceived,
Were it in weyght or in measure,		be sorry and make recom-
Be sorve that ye have so donne,	564	pense.
And seke to stoppe Goddis displeasure, By bestowynge this worldis treasure	004	[Page 54]
To the confort, helpe, and succoure		Luke. iii
Of such as be nedie and pore.	567	
•	001	
¶ And you that erste have been oppreste,		You who have rebelled, repent
And could not beare it paciently, For you I thynke it shalbe beste		heartily.
To repent you must hertily,	571	
And call to God for his mercie,	011	
To geue you grace forto sustayne		
That crosse when it shall come agayne.	574	Marc. 14
	012	Let all repent,
To make an ende—let vs repent		and pray God
All that euer we have mysse wrought, And praye to God omnipotent		for mercy. [Page 55]
To take from vs all wycked thought,	578	[
That his glory maye be styll sought	010	
By vs that be his creatures,		
So longe as lyfe in vs endures.	581	
And that henceforth eche man maye seke		And let each man
In all thyngis to profite all men,		seck the good of others.
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 have blysse wythouten ende :		
Unto the which the Lorde vs sende.	588	
Amen,		

[Page 56, blank]

[Page 57]

The "Trumpet" warned all to

walk uprightly.

The Boke to the Christian Readars.

Y 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

Lyke as there were none more welcome then he.

Because he doeth tell them * what is theyr duetie,

In dede, very many do him entertayne

Yet I thyncke they do his warnynge dysdayne,

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

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

[* Page 58]

The "Trumpet" was sent to prep.re His way,

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

[Page 59]

That he myght make redy and prepare his waye, By causeynge all men to walke in his lore,

That have in tymes passed wandred astraye, 606 Leste payne be theyr portion at the laste daye. And nowe hath he sent me that they maye se, As it were in a glasse, what theyr rewarde shal be :

I am the rewarde that al men shall haue, For the iuste shall haue plesure and the wicked payne.¹

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

¹ panye in original.

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

Finis.

¶ Imprinted at london by Robert Crowley dwellynge in Elie rentis in Holburne Anno Domini .M. D. L. I. Behold me, therefore, and let me not depart from your presence.

620 .

623

[Page 60]

[Bliss 1066, Bodl. Libr.]

[front leaf]

a The Way to

Mcalth, wherein is plain=

ly taught a most present Remedy

for Sedicion. Wrytten and imprinted

by Kobert Crowley the .bii. of

Februarye in the yere of

our TORDE.

A thousand fine

hunderd & fif-

tie

(::)

T In Elie Jentes in Holburne

T Cum priuilegio ad impri= mendum solum.

Who so thon be that doest despre, To line and good dayes se, Toke that in thy tonge and thy lyps, None yl or disceite be, Ele from yl and do that good is, Mhereof commeth no blame, Seke thon for pence diligently, Ind then ensue the same.

Psalm .xxxiiii.

CROWLEY.

[A i, back]

[Blank page.]

[A ii]

T By what meanes se

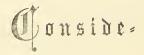
dicion maye be put a-waye, and

what distruction wil folow if it be

not gut away spedely.

Consultatio Robert

Crolei ...



ring that al men maye playnely perceiue the Considering what greate hurte that (of late daies) Sedicion hath it is a duty to see done in thys realme, & that all wyse men maye to remove the esilye gather what greater hurte is lyke to evil out of this noble reahm;

ensue, if it be not spedely sene vnto, it shalbe euery 5 true Englyshmans duty forth-wyth to employe his whole study to the remouving of so great an eucl oute of so noble a realme and commone wealth; leste, haply (if through enegligence it growe and take deper rote) because if let it be shortly to stronge and more suerly grounded than such deep root, that it may be rooted oute wythoute the vtter de- the rnin of the struction of the whole realme. For what can be more true then that whych the Trueth it-selfe hath spoken? 13 "Euery kyngdome" (sayeth Christe) "that * is deuided Mathew .xii. in it-selfe shall be broughte to nought." Intendynge, therefore, to playe the parte of a true Englyshman, and as a true Englishto do all that in me shall ly to plucke thys stincking all I can to rewede vp by the rote, I shal in thys good busines do as, a weed, in their euell exercise, the dise-playars (that gladlye 19 woulde, but have nothynge to playe for) do :--Holde I shall hold the the candle to them that have wherewyth, and wyll candle to those who can and will sette lustily to it. And so doyng, I shal be no lesse ter, and so shall worthy the name of a true herted Englishman then the name of the trumpettar is worthy the name of a man of war, than a trumpeter thoughe he do not in dede fyght, but animate and that of man of war. encourage other.

Sedition therfore, beinge a daungerous disease in Sedition is a the bodie of a commen-wealth, muste be cured as the be cured, as expert Phisicians do vse to cure the daungerous diseases the daugerous in a naturall bodie. And as the moste substanciall diseases of the wave in curinge diseases is by puttinge awaye the 31 causes wherof they grewe, so is it in the pullinge vp 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 the root be cut

sedition has done, what can be done

alone it may take that it may be kingdom.

[* A ii, back 1]

Intending to act man, and to do move so stinking

remedy the matbe no less worthy Englishman 26

disease, and must natural body,

the cause. If

¹ There are 32 pages. The signatures marked are these, A.ii., B.i., B.ii., B.iii., B.iiii. "Anº 1550" is written on title. 131

die.

the branch must braunch must nedes die. The boughes cannot budde

37

Do not disdain my advice. [* A iii] for the matter Daniel .xiii. requires every man's counsel. If I tell you the

truth, don't be ashamed to do what I bid. Gene. xxi. Abraham obeyed Sarah ;

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

Herod listened to John the Baptist, because what he said Marcke vi. was true: Give ear, then, to me, if you are not prouder than Babylon or more 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 [† 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

if the tree haue no sappe. Geue eare therfore (O my countrey-men) geue eare ! 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 Babilon perceiued Geue eare, I saye, and if I tell you trueth, be not. not ashamed to do that I bid, 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 sackedoth & ashes, because they perceived that he tolde them the trueth. Yea, cruell Herode did not refuse to heare Iohn Baptiste, because the thinge

whiche he told him was true. Leaste you therfore shulde be more loftie then the Babilonians, more shamefast then Abraham, more stubborne then the Niniuites, & more cruell then Herod, geue eare,¹ and patientlye heare what I shal save ! 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 would ttel me that the great fermares, the grasiers, the riche buchares², the men of lawe, the marchauntes, the gentlemen, the knightes, the lordes, and I can not tel who; men that haue no name because they are † doares in al thinges that ani gaine hangeth vpon. Men without conscience. Men vtterly voide of Goddes feare. Yea, men that live as thoughe there were no God at all! Men that would have all in their owne handes; men that would leave nothyng for others; men that would be alone on the earth; men that bee neuer satisfied. Cormerauntes, gredye gulles; yea, men that would eate vp menne, women, & chyldren, are 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 leavie great (yea vnreason- They take our able) fines, they enclose oure commens! No custome, heads, buy our no lawe or statute can kepe them from oppressyng vs in such sorte, that we knowe not whyche waye to and enclose our turne vs to lyue. Very nede therefore constrayneth vs to stand vp agaynst them! In the countrey we can pression. not tarye, but we must be theyr slaues and laboure tyll which way to our hertes brast, and then they must have al. And to in the country go to the cities we have no hope, for there we heare slaves, and they that these vnsaciable beastes have all in theyr handes. Some haue purchased, and some taken by leases, whole hands, allyes, whole rentes, whole rowes, yea whole streats 84 and lanes, so that the rentes be reysed, some double, and have doubled some triple, and some four fould to that *they were wythin these .xii. yeres last past. Yea, ther is not so years past. much as a garden grownd fre from them. No remedye 88 therfore, we must nedes fight it out, or else be brought We must fight to the lyke slauery that the French men are in! These like the French. idle bealies wil deuour al that we shal get by our sore They devour all labour in our youth, and when we shal be old and youth, and when impotent, then shal we be driven to begge and crave of must beg, and them that wyl not geue vs so muche as the crowmes that fall from their tables. Such is the pytie we se full from their in them ! Better it were therfore, for vs to dye lyke men, then after so great misery in youth to dye more men than, after miserably in age !

Alasse, poore man, it pitieth me to se the myserable age!" estate that thou arte in ! Both for that thou arte so oppressed of them by whom thou shouldest be defended misery, and from oppression, and also for that thou knowest not not your duty in thy dutye in thys great misery. Thow art not so much oppressed on the one side, but thou art more destituted 104 on the other syde. They that should norish and de- They that should fend thy body in thy labour, do oppresse the; & they that shuld fede thy soule & strengthen thy mind to feed you leave beare al this paciently, do leaue that alone. If thy you alone.

children. houses over our lands, raise our rents, commons. No law can keep them from op-We don't know turn so as to live. we are their will have all; in the city they have all in their

and trebled the [* A iv] rents these 12

it out, or become

we get in our we are old we then they won't give us the tables. Better die like such misery in 98 youth, die more miserably in Alas, poor man! It pities me to see you in such because you know such trouble.

nourish you oppress you, and they who should If your shepherd had been diligent

[* A iv, back]

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

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

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.

of the woman

[† A v]

all this, and had John .viii.

remembered other examples, Numeri .xvi. you would have ii. Reg. aviii. allowed yourselves to be torn in pieces rather than rebel against the king.

shepherde had bene a diligent watchman, & had espied the woulfe comyng vpon the, before thou hadst bene within his reach, he wold have stepped * betwene the & 112 thine enemi, & enstructed the in such sort, that, though he had come in nine shepe skinnes, yet he shoulde not have deceived thy syghte. The devell should never have perswaded the *that* thou myghtest revenge thyne owne wronge! The false prophetes should neuer haue caused the to beleue that thou shouldeste preuaile againste them with the swerde, vnder whose gouern-119 aunce God hath apointed the to be. He would have told the that to reuenge wronges is, in a subject, to take and vsurpe the office of a kinge, and, consequently, the office of God. For the king is Goddes minister to reuenge the wronges done vnto the innocent. As he that taketh in hande, therefore, or presumeth to do anye office vnder a kinge, not beinge lawfully called vnto it, pre-126 sumeth 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 our Saujoure Christ, beinge in the estimation of the worlde but a private 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 en-133 heritaunce wyth him, he axed who had appointed and in the matter him to be judge in suche matters? And againe, when taken in adultery. the woman taken in adultery was broughte vnto hym, he shoulde not geue sentence † of the lawe 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 terrible stories of Corah, Dathan, Abira[m] and Absolom had ben diligently beaten into thine heade, thou wouldeste (no doubte) have quieted thy selfe, and have suffered thy selfe rather to have bene spoyled of altogether, yea, and thy bodie toren in peces, rather then thou wouldest have taken on the more then thou art

called vnto. For no cause can be so greet to make it 145 lawful for the to do againste Goddes ordinaunce. But thy shepcherde hathe bene negligent, as (alas the But all shepherds while !) all shepeherdes be at this daie, and hath not this day, enstructed the aright. He espied not the wolf before he had woried the, or happlye he knewe him not frome 150 a shepe. But it is moste like he was but an hirelinge, and yours was, and cared for no more but to be fedde with the milcke hirebing, and & fatlinges and cladde with the woule, as the greateste fed and clothed, numbre of them that beare the name of shepeherde in as the great number do. Englande be at this daie. Yea, perchaunce he had Perhaps he had many flockes to kepe, & ther-fore was absent from them keep, and left a al, leaving with every flocke a dogge that would one, that would rather worye a shepe then drive away the woulfe. 158 rather worry the

Wel, brother, these be greate plages, & it behoueth away the wolf. the synnes to be greate that have *deserved these so plagues, and [*Av, back] great and intollerable plages at Goddes hande. Returne to thi conscience therfore, and se if thou have not de- to deserve them. served all this, and more to. Consider, firste, if thou deserved the n. have loved thy neighboure as thy self; consider if thon your neighbour have done nothing vnto him that thou wouldeste not done nothing that he shoulde do vnto the. Loke if thou have not unto him that gone about to preuent him in any bargen that thou hast sene him about; loke if thou have not eraftely vndermined him to get some thing out of his hand, or to deceive him in some bargein. Loke if thou have have him of this not laboured him oute of his house or ground. Se if 171 thou have not accused him falsely or of malice, or else Have you not geuen false euidence againste him. Se if thou haue not falsely, or of geuen euell counsell to his wife or seruauntes, which might turne him to displeasure. Consider if thou have evidence against not desired and wished in thine herte to have his com- Have you not modifie from him if thou mightest, without blame of goods? the worlde, haue broughte it aboute. For God loketh vpon the herte, and if thine herte haue bene infected it about if you with ani of these euilles, then haste thou bene abomin- blame?

are negligent at

perhaps, a only cared to be as the greatest

many flocks to dog with every sheep than drive These are great

your sins must have been great See if you haven't as yourself, and you would i't do to yourself? Never tried to overreach him in a bay · in ?

accured him

And wouldn't you have brought could without God looks on the heart, and if you

have done this you are abominable in His sight, and have deserved punishment. And if you are abominable in [* A vi] your behaviour to your neighbour, how do you stand in God's sight? God requires Math. xxii. your whole heart, mind, and body, and how could you love Him if you loved not your brother ?

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

By His works you know there is a God. Yet you have not [† A vi, back] honoured Him, *Romaynes* .i. but have turned His glory into an image like to man, and have gone from place to place to honour a thing of your own making. able in the sight of God, and haste deserved these plages at Goddes hand. 182

Now if you be found abhominable 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 love 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 love God (whom thou seest not), syth thou louest not thy brother whom thou seest ? God requireth the to love him ever, 194 and how often hast thou gone whole dayes togither, whole weakes, yea whole yeres, and neuer thought once to loue hym aryght? How many and how great benefites hast thou receiued at Goddes hand, and howe vnthanckful hast thou bene for them, thynckynge that thou haste gotten them by thyne owne laboure and not receyued them frely at Goddes hand ? As though God had not genen the thy lyfe, thyne health, and thy strength to laboure ! Yea, and as thoughe it were not 203 God only that geneth the increase of energy mans labour. But knowynge by thyne owne creacion and bryngyng vp, and also by the yonge fruite that God sendeth the of thy bodi, & further by the frutes that God sendeth, and causeth verely to growe out of the earth, that there is a God Almyghty. Yet thou hast + not honoured him as God, but hast turned the glorie of God into an image made after the shape, or similitude, of mortall man; renninge and ridinge from place to place to seke and to honoure thinges of thine owne makeinge; crienge and callinge vpon them in thy nede and paying vnto them thy vowes, and thancking them for thyne health received ; doinge them dayly worshipe 216 and reuerence in the temples, and bestowinge thine

almes vpon them in deckinge them and setting lightes 217 before them ! Biside this thou haste put confidence of You have put saluacion in pardones that thou haste bought, in prayers salvation in that thou hast hiered, or mumbled vp thy selfe, in you have bought, Masses that thou hast caused to be saide, and in and in masses worekes that thou thy selfe haste fantasied ; and haste caused to be not thanckefullye receyued the free mercye of God works which offered vnto the in Christ, in whom onlye thou maiste imagined. haue remission of thy sinnes! And therfore God hath So God has given geuen the vp in to a reprobate minde to do the thinge probate mind, that is not beseminge. Even to stande vp againste Rom, i. God and Goddes ordinaunce, to refuse his Holy Word, to refuse His to delite in lies and false fables, to credite false pro- in lies and fables, phetes, and to take weapen in hand against Goddes prophets, and to chosen ministers : I saye his chosen ministers, for be they good or bad, they are Goddes chosen, if they be 232 *good, to defende the innocente, if they be euell, to plage the wicked. If thou wilt therfore that God shall If you wish to be deliver the or thy children from the tirannie of them oppression you that oppresse the, lament thine olde sinnes, and en- your sins, and deuour emendment of life. And then he that caused i. Esdras i. King Cirus to send the Iewes home to Ierusalem your manner of hiving. againe, shall also stire vp our yong king Edward to Then King Edrestore the to thy liberty againe, and to geue straight liberty again, charge that non shalbe so bolde as once to vexe or trouble mand that none "For the herte of a kinge is in Goddes hand, & Prouerb .xxi. the. as he turneth the rivers of water, so turneth he it."

Be sure therfore, that if thou kepe thy selfe in Be obedient, and obedience and suffer al this oppression patiently, not geneing credite vn to false prophecies that tel the of mich space of victori, but to the worde of God that telleth the thy dutie; thou shalt at the time, and after the maner that Ezech. xi. God hath alredie pointed, be deliuered. Perchaunce you shall be God wyl take from thine oppressours their hard stony all your ophertes, & geue them hertes of fleshe; for it is in hys power so to do. Let him alone therfore. Reade the 252

your trust for pardons which which you have said, and in you have

you up to a re-

word, to delight believe false rebel against His ministers.

[* A vii]

delivered from must lament strive to amend ward will give and give comshall oppress you.

243

suffer patiently. giving no ear to victory, but listen to God, and in the end delivered from pressors,

Reade Ieremie 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

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,

[† A viii]

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

prophecie of Ieremie, and especially the seuen and twentie Chapter, the eighte and twentie and the nine and twenti, and therein thou shalte learne thy duetie in captivitye, and howe vayne a thynge it is to *credite . the prophetes that prophecie vyctorie to theym that haue, by their synnes, deserved to be led awaye captyue, yea, and to remaine captive till such time as the 260 time be complete duringe whiche God hath determined to punishe them. And know thou for certentie, that if thou be stil stouberne, God wil not leaue the so. He will bringe the on thy knees; he wyl make the stoupe ! If the gentlemen and rulars of thy countreie should be in to subdue you. to weake for the, he would bringe in strainge nations 266 to subdue the (as the Babilonians did the Iewes) and leade the away captiue. So that, refusing to serve in thine own countrie, thou shalte be made a slaue 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 just rewarde for thy sinnes; & be thou neuer so loth, yet nedes sustaine it thou muste. Apointe thy selfe therfore to beare it. Let it not be layed vpon the in vain; let it do the thing that God hath sent it for; let it cause the to acknowledge thy sinne, repent it, and become altogether a new man. That in the day when God shall deliver the, his name maie be glorified in the. And then God shal send the plentie of true prophets, that shal go before the in puriti of life and godli doctrine. † They shal not come or send .iiii. times in an vere and no more; neyther shal they set one to gather 282 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 Dauid was in gouernyng the 289 people of whom he had gouernaunce.

Gene eare therfore ye shephardes of thys church of archdeacons, Englande! Ye Byshoppes, ye Deanes, Archdiacons and Canons; ye Persons and ye Vicares, what soeuer ye be, that receyue any parte of the tenth of mens yerelye enerease, or any other patrimony of preachers, geue eare to the prophet Ezechiel! For the same Lord that had him commanded to speake vnto the sheperdes of Iuda, byddeth hym speake vnto you nowe also. "Thou sonne of manne," sayth the 298 Lord, "prophecye agaynst the shepherdes of England, prophecy and say vnto those shepheardes :---thus sayeth the Lord God: Wo be to the shepherdes of England, Ezech. that haue fed them selues ! What ought not those "we to the shepherdes to have fed those flockes of England? Ye eate the fatte, and decke youre selues * with the woule, & the mutton that is fat ye kil to fede vpon, but these silli shepe ye fede not. The soroweful & pensiue ye and wear the wool, have not comforted, the sicke ye have not healed, the but these sheep broken ye haue not bound vp, the stray shepe ye haue The sorrowful not brought againe nor sought for the lost. But with extreme crueltie ve haue plaied the lordes ouer them. &c." I nede not to reherse more of this prophets saiyng vnto you, for ye know where to have it, and have not rehave leysure inough to seke it, for ought that I se you with extreme busied withal; onlesse it be with purchaisinge landes for youre heires, & finde fingered ladies, whose womanlike behaniour and motherlike housewifry ought to be Nota bene a lighte to al women that dwell aboute you, but is so fare otherwise, that, vnlesse ye leave them landes to [t]o behave marye them wythall, no man wyll set a pinne by them Sc Sc. when you be gone. Wel, loke to this geare be tyme, 320 leaste perhappes it brede a scabbe emonge you.

I woulde not your wives shoulde be taken from you, you, but I would but I wold you should kepe them to the furtheraunce to further God's of Goddes trueth, wherof ye professe to be teacheares.

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

shepherds of England, who have fed them-[* A viii, back] selves. You eat the fat, and kill the best, you feed not. you have not comforted; the sick you have not healed; the broken you have not bound up ; the straying you cruelty you have played the lords over God's heritage." how prystes wyres ought them selfes

I would not take your wives from have them kept truth, whereof you profess to be teachers;

that they may be a help, and not a [* B i] hindrance. i. Timo. iii.

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 with one living. and do your duty,

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.

[+ B i, back]

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

Where they had a godly teacher the people were quiet.

325 Let youre wives therefore put of theire fine frockes and Frenche hoodes, & furnishe them selues with al pointes of honest housewifery, and so let them be an helpe to youre studie and not a lette. S. Paul teacheth * you not to make them ladies or gentlewomen. Neither doeth he teache you to be so gredie vpon liueings, that, 331 for the liueinge sake, ye will take vpon you the dueties of twentie men, and yet do not the duetie of one; no, some of you be not able to do anye part of one dutie ! If Goddes Worde do 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 geue 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 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 energe mannes 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 352 stil your pluralities for your lordlike lineing sake, doubt tye 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; 357 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 op- Well, brother, pressed on the one side and destituted on the other, oppressed and take mine aduise with the. Submit thy self wholy to my advice is, the wyll of God. Do thy laboure truly, cal vpon God submit to God's will and do your continually. I meane not that thou shuldest be euer duty and call muttering on thy beads, or that thou shouldest have any beads, but my meaninge is, that thou shouldest you should be euer haue thine harte lifted vp vnto God; for so mean- i. Timo. ii. eth Sainte Paul when he sayeth, "I would men should but that you pray alwayes, and in all places, liftinge vp theire pure lifting your hearts handes, &c." And in all thy doinges let thy desire be that Goddes wil be fulfilled in the, and what so euer God sendeth the, holde the content withal, and render then, whatsoever vnto him most hertie thanckes, for that he dealeth so happens to be content. mercifully with the; acknowledginge that bi his iustice 375 he might poure oute vpon the mo plages then euer * were heard of. And, when thou commeste to thy parishe When you come church, if thy curate be an eucli livear, then remem- member what ber what Christe said vn to his disciples :--- "When the Math. xxiii. Scribes and Pharises do set them downe vpon Moses sitting in Moses' seate, then do al that they commaunde you to do, but 381 do not as they do; for they say & do not." Remember and do as you this, I saie, and what so euer thi curate biddeth the do but don't follow when he sitteth on Christes seate, that is, when he don't do as you readeth the Bible vnto the, that do thou. But folowe do, but as soon not his examples ! Do not as thou seest him do ; but at thy firste entraunce into the church, lifte vp thine herte vnto God, and desire of hym that he wyll geue the his Holve 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, then you may be that thoughe thy curate were a deuell, and would not the curate were a that any man should be the better for that which he readeth, yet thou shalt be edified, and learne as much you shall be as shalbe necessarye for thy saluacion. And for thy as much as is

though you are destitute, upon God continually. 1 don't mean that muttering on your beads always, should ever be to God, as S. Paul says. Let your wish be that God's will happens to you,

[* B ii]

to church re-Christ said about

are bid, evil example: see your curate as you enter church lift your heart to God,

sure that, though devil,

edified, and learn

necessary for you, and for your sake your curate shall speak plainly, so that you can under-Actu. ii. stand him. [* B ii, back]

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

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

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;

X

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 geue the such a gift that thou shalt vnderstande him plainely. Of suche power is *God, for when the Apostles spake in the Hebrue 402 tonge only al that were present heard every man his own language. Doubt thou not therfore but if thou be desirous to learne thy duetie out of that thy curate readeth to the, God wil make it plaine vnto the, though it be not plainly reade. For he that could 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 have 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 obedience, they regard no lawes, thei would *†* have no gentlemen, thei wold have al men like themselues, they would have al thinges commune ! Thei would not have 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 These are ioly felowes ! Thei wil caste doune owne! 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 wyll compel the kinge to graunt theyr hands. requestes ! But as they like their fare at the breakefaste They liked the they had this laste somer, so let them do againe. They had last summer; 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 leaue them nothing. And if We will leave they once stirre againe, or do but once cluster togither, we will hang them at their own dores! Shal we suffer We will hang the vilaines to disprove our doynges? No, we will be own doors. lordes of our own & vse it as we shal thinke good !

Oh good maisters, what shuld I cal you? You What shall I call that have no name, you that have so many occupacions you, you ungentle & trads that ther is no on name mete for you! You churl's chickens? vngentle gentlemen! You churles chikens, I say! 448 Geue me leue to make answere for the pore ideotes I will answer for ouer whom ye triumphe in this sorte. And this one thing I shal desire of you that ye report me not to *be [* B iii, back] one that fauoureth their eucl doinges (for I take God favour their evil to witnes I hate boeth theyre eucli doinges and youres them and yours also), but geue me leaue to tel you as frely of your Allow me to tell faultes, as I haue alreadi told them of theires. And for 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 deserved more then you can deuise to more than you laie vpon them. And if euerye one of them were able them, and shoulde sustaine as much punishment as thei al 463 were able to sustaine, yet could thei not sustaine the plages that thei haue deserved. But yet if their offence but if their wer laied in an equall balaunce with yours (as no doubt in an equal thei are in the sight [of] God) doubt not but you should balance with yours, you would sone be ashamed of youre parte. For what can you soon be ashamed.

in their own

breakfast they

cooled then.

them nothing.

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

these poor idiots.

Don't say I doings-1 hate

have deserved can lay upon

offence were put

Are they disobedient? you were first disobedient,

in enclosing the commons, con-[* B iv]

tray to law, in levying greater fines than heretofore, and in raising rents. When a law was passed against such things, you compelled your tenants to consent to your wishes.

Where was your obedience to the proclamation for laying open the enclosures ?

What obedience did you give to the second proclamation issued by the king, concerning the contempt of his laws ?

In this you showed neither obedience nor love of country. If there had been obedience you would have put his laws in force; if there had been love of **country** you

[+ B iv, back] would have prevented the destruction which ensued. You can see what must follow such oppression, especially in a

469 lave vnto their charge, but they have had examples of the same in you? If you charge them wyth disobedience, you were firste disobedient. For without a law to beare you, yea contrarie to the law which forbiddeth 473 al maner of oppression & extortion, & that more is contrarie to conscience, the ground of al good lawes, ye enclosed 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, perceiveinge 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 loue to your contrei. For if there had ben obedience in you, you wold forthwith haue put al his laws in execution to the vttermost of youre power. And if you had loued your contrei, woulde you not have prevented the great destruction that chaunced bi the reasone + of your vnsaciable desire ? I am sure you be not rulars in your contrey, but ye can se before what is likely to folowe vpon such oppression, & especiallye in a realme that hath hertofore had a noble and a valiaunte com-

minalti. But graunt ye were so beastish, yet haue you realm which has not lacked them that have tolde you of it both by commonalty, wordes and writtinges. You have ben tolde of it I You have been save, and have had the threatninges of God laied before, and must plainlye before your eies, wherin you must nedes se the vengeaunce of God hanging ouer your heades for your over you. lacke of mercy. Ther is not one storie of the Bible There is not a that serueth to declare how readi God is to take venge- which declares aunce for the oppression of his people, but the same is to avenge hath ben declared vnto you to the vttermoste; beside has not been the notable histories and cronicles of thys realme, besides, you have wherin doeth most plainly appeare the iustice of God the histories and in the reuenging of his people, at such time as they own country, in have kept them selves in quiete obedience to their justice is shown. prince & rulers, & their destruction when they have 519 rebelled.

Wittinglye and willinglye therfore ye have boeth You have disdisobeied youre kinge and his lawes, and also broughte and the laws youre contrei into the miseri it is in, bi pulling vpon and brought your self that vengeaunce of God whiche of his iustice vengeauce upon he can not holde backe from such people as do *wyllinglye and wittynglye oppresse him in his membres in 526 such sorte as ye haue done. Howe you haue obeyed You have purthe lawes in rakeinge together of fermes, purchaisinge benefices, and and prollynge for benefices, robbing the people of good of good ministers. ministers therby, al the world seeth, and all godly 530 hertes lament. Loke [at] the estatutes made in the Look at the laws time of our late souerayne of famouse memorye Henrie late reign, and the .viii. & save if ye maye by those estatutes (taken in theyr true meaninge), either beinge no priestes nor studentes in the Vniuersities, haue benifices, or other University, may spirituall promotions (as you call theym, for ye are or spiritual proashamed to calle theym ministracions, because ye nevther 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 more faults, CROWLEY. 10

had such a valiant

told of all this see God's vengeance hanging

story in the Bible how ready God oppression which declared to you : : chronicles of our all which God's

obeyed the king willingly,

[* B v]

chased farms and robbed the people

passed in the see whether a man, being neither a priest nor a student in a hold a benefice, motion.

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

[* B v, back]

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

[1 orig. distrube]

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

But God is merciful, and is ready to forgive ways.

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

can not well beare them. But thys I shall save vnto you :---You shall neuer the soner be gentlemen for your stout oppression, nor the later haue thynges in private for that ye let youre tenauntes lyue by you vpon theyre laboure. And thincke not to prospere the better in youre vnsatiable desyre, for that you tryumphe so lordelyke ouer the poore caytyfes, that, beynge se-548 duced by the vayne hope of vyctorye promysed theym in pinyshe prophecies * have greatly offended God by rebellion : for the greater their offence is, the greater shall your plage be when it commeth. For you have bene the only cause of theyr offence. If he therfore that is the occasion of one mans fallyng vnto any kynd of vyce were better haue a mylstone tied aboute hys necke and be cast into the depe sea wythall, what shalbe thought of you that have been the occasion of so many mens fallyng into so detestable synne and trespasse agaynste God, as to disturbe¹ the whole estate of 559 their contrei with the great perill and daunger of their anointed kyng in hys tender age, whose bloud (if he had perished) should have 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 to despeyre of forgenenes! But God is not onely mightye in mercy & able to forgeue al the sinnes of from their wicked the whole world, but he is also redye to forgeue al that returne from theyr wycked wayes, and, with a 569 constant faith & sure beleue to obtayne, do call on hym for mercye. I aduertise you, therfore, & in the name of Christ (whose name you beare) I require you, that without delaye ye returne to your hertes & acknowledge your greuous and manifold + offences, committed in your behauiour towardes the poore members of Christ (your brethren boeth by religion and nacion) whome you have 576 so cruelly oppressed, [and] wyshe even from the bot-

tome of your hertes, that you had never done it. Be 577 fully determined to make restitucion of that ye have Be fully determisse taken, though ye should leave your selves no- restitution, for it thynge. For better is a cleare conscience in the hour poor with a clear of deth in a beggars bosome, then mountaynes of gould conscience, than to have mountwith a conscience that is gilty. Wishe that you had aims of gold and a contented your selues with that state wherin your Content yourfathers left you, and striue not to set your children state in which aboue the same, lest God take vengaunce on you your fathers left boeth sodenly when ye be most hastie to clime. And strive to place if for youre worthines God haue called you to offyce so above it. that ye may wyth good conscience take vpon you the to office, deal state that ye be called vnto, then se you deale iustly in all justly in all things, and do poyntes, & folowe not fylthy lucre to make your children lucre. lordes, but studye to furnish them with al knowledge and 591 godly maners, that they may worthily succede you.

Grudge not to se the people growe in wealth Grudge not to vnder you, neither do you inuent waies to kepe them grow in wealth, bare, lest haply it chaunce vnto you as it did to Kinge Nabuchodonozer¹ and hys seruauntes when Exodi .i. they divised wayes to kepe the Hebrues in slavery stil. 597 *They rebelled not, but quietly did theyr labour, refer- [* B vi, back] rynge theyr cause to God. They prepared not for lest God serve warres, neither had any confidence in theyr own the Egyptians, strength, but when the Egiptians thought to have had whow, when they a faire day at them, God drowned them al in the the victory, Exedi, with Redde Sea, and draue theyr deade bodies on land in He drowned such sorte that they, whom they thoughte to kepe styll sea, and then in slauerye, myght easyly take the spoyle of them. on the land for Thincke not therfore, but if the people quiete them spoil. selues in theyr oppression and cal vnto God for deliuer- 607 aunce, he wyll by one meane or other geue them the spoile of their oppressours. He is as mighty nowe as He is as mighty he was in those dayes, and is now as able to slea boeth then.

mined to make guilty conscience.

selves with that your children If you are called not follow filthy

see the people

in the Red cast their bodies the Hebrews to

you and youres in one night as he was to slea al the Exodi .xiiii.

1 ? Pharaoh.

Be warned in time;

appoint good ministers; such as are able and willing to in-

Ionas .iii.

repent as the Ninevites did. if you would find merey, and be [* B vii] not ashamed to behave as they did.

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.

Don't trust in your warriors,

but remember Holofernes who would not listen to the advice of his eaptain. Indeth .r.

God is now ready to deliver all Christians who confidently [† B vii, back]

612 firste borne of the Egiptyans. And then who shal have the spoile? Be warned betime, least ye repente to 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 struct the people; the people in al pointes of theyr dutie, that you with 618 them and they with you may escape the wrath of God that hangeth presently ouer you both. The kinge & citizens of Neniue were not ashamed to sitte in sackecloth and in ashes lamentynge their synnes, and there vpon * founde mercye. Wherefore, if ye wyll fynde mercye, ye muste not be ashamed to do the lyke, for certenlye the greatnes of your sinnes importeth as 625 present distruccion to you as if ye were the same Niniuites that Ionas was sent vnto. Be not ashamed ther fore to proclame a solemne fast thorowe out the whole realme, that all at once with one voyce we may crye vnto God for mercy. Leaue of your communions in a corner & come to the open temples, that men may se that ye regard the Lords institucion. Breake your bread to the pore, that al men may se that ye regard fastyng. For that is the true fast, to refraine the meate & drinke that accustomably we were wont to take, & 635 geue the same (or the value theref) to the nedy. So shal you both fele & know theyr disease, and ease it also.

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 Nobuchodonozer, when he woulde not harken to the right aduice of Achior hys vndercaptaine. For certenly I say vnto you, God was neuer more redy to deliver his people of Israel from oppression at al 644 times when they, walkinge in his wayes, committed their cause vnto him, then he is now redy to deliuer al Christen men that do wyth lyke confidence cal ypon him. + If you therfore wyl not hearken vnto Achior his

counsel, but determine to torment him, when ye shal call upon Him, triumpth ouer the rest, doubte you not but Iudith shal not hearken, the cut of al your hedes, on after another, & God shal Judeth .xiii. strike youre retinew with such a feare, that none shall be so bolde as once to tourne hys face. Yea if there were no men left on line to put them in feare, they should shall be afraid of be feared wyth shadowes! And though ther were no are no men to gonnes to shote at them, yet the stones of the strete shuld not cease to flye emonge them, by the mightye 656 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, & Be warned; seek seke not to kepe the commones of England in slauery, commons of for that is the next way to destroie your selues! For slavery, lest you if thei commit theyr cause to God & quiet them selues in their vocacion, beyng contented with oppression, if For if they com-Goddes wyll be so; then shal ye be sure that God God, you may be wyll fyghte for them, and so are ye ouer matched. But fight for them. if they wyl nedes take in hand to reuenge theyr owne 666 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 all 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 of this realm of commodities, & as you desyre to vse and eniove the same, and not to be led away captine into a straynge nacion, or else be cruelly murthered among your wyues, kinsfolke, and children, and finallye to be damned for upon these causes euer; so loke vpon these causes of Sedicion, and do your best endeuour to put them awaie. You that be Let the oppressed oppressed, I say, refer youre cause to God. And you that have oppressed, lament your so doinge and do the oppressor lament office of your callinge, in defendinge the innocente and 681 fedinge the nedye. Let not couetyse constraine you to Don't rob the robbe the people of that porcion which they paie to ministers, who

but if you will same punishment and .xv. shall befall you as befell Holofernes, and you shadows if there make you fear.

not to keep the England in destroy yourselves. mit their cause to sure He will

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

refer their cause to God; and the

people of godly

DANGERS IMMINENT.

instruct them in their duty.

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

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

[* B viii, back]

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

700

May you by repentance

705

710

escape the danger.

715

Amen.

haue, godly ministers to enstruct them in their duetie, and to releue the vnweldy that be not able to labour for theire fode. Be carefull and diligent to seke for suche ministers, and, when you have founde them, let them have al that the people paye yearely out of their 689 encrease, that they may live 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 wycked 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 af-The Spirite of ter. GOD worcke in youre hertes, that ye, beynge admonished of the sword that is commynge, maye by repentaunce of your syn escape the daunger therof. So be it. 123

An informa-

cion and Peticion agaynst the oppressours of the pore Commons of this Realme, compiled and Emprinted for this onely purpose that amongest them that have to doe in the Parliamente, some godlye mynded men, may hereat take occacion to speake more in the matter then the Authoure was able to write. *

¶ Esaye .lbiii.

F When you suffre none oppression to bee amongest you, and leave of youre idle talke: then shal you cal byon the Lord and he shal hear you, you shal eric, and he shal say, Behold K am at hand.

[leaf 1]

¶ To the moste honorable Lords of the Par liament with the commones of the same: theyr moste humble and dayely Oratoure, Roberte Crowley, wysheth the assistence of Gods Holy Spirite.

Monge the manyfold & moste weighty mattiers of all matters to be discussed (moste worthy counsaylours) to be debated and communed of in this present Parliament, and by the aduise, assent, and consent therof spedily to be redressed, I thynke ther is no 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. 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 ceremonies; the Religious matters vsurpyng of tenthes 1 to private commoditie; the superfluouse, vnlerned, vndiscret, and viciouse ministers of reformed, the church, 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 vengeaunce of God, if they bee not shortly refourmed; 18

No oppression of the poor.

also need to be

¹ Orig. tuthes.

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 23 had great nede to be refourmed.

For notwythstandyng the Kynges maiesties late visitacion, the ignorant people, whoe haue longe ben fostred and brought vp in the supersticiou and wronge beleue of these thynges, and are yet, no dout, secretly 28 instructed by their blinde guydes and by them holden styl in blyndnes, wyll not be perswaded that theyr forfathers supersticion was not the true fayth of Christ, tyl such tyme as they have 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 & their fathers wer deceiued & knewe not howe to worship God aright; but, shamefulli seduced by the couetyse of the shepherdes and guydes, sought hym wher he was not; & when they thought they had ben 38 most hygh in his fauour, by doing him such honor as thei thought moste acceptable in hys syght, then committed they most detestable blasfemie, and were abhominable before hym.

> Thys knowledge, I say, wyll not be beaten into the 42heads 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 vnto the order that was in the primitiue church, wherof is mencioned 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

[leaf], back] The ignorant people still believe

in the superstitions of their fathers,

better ministers are appointed.

Ministers now are hirelings and butchers :

they come to be fed, not to feed :

Actu. 1.

Jcre. 23.

did renne but I sent you not." They shalle be called [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 craftsmen theyr lyuynge vppon, and not to the intent to profite the common weale.

The craftes man such for the fredom of a Citie, who seek for the freedom of the not because 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 (so longe as they may 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, vseing them as The Sacraments matters of merchaundyce, and chiefly the most worthy memorie of our redemption; for that they selle boethe 76 to the guycke and to the deade, to the rych and to the poore. None shall receyue it at theyr handes wythout they must be he wyll paye the ordinarie shotte, and so are they redy then every man to serve every man. Thei loke vppon the monei onely The priests look and nothynge vppon the mynde. Whether it be taken upon the money only. to comfort of conscience or judgement, 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 offeryng dayes? Then aske I this questian :---

Why thei appoint not another time to receiue it in Sacraments, but then that tyme whyche is to lyttle to bee occupied in If so they should

nothing from

61

be better off.

are still abused :

may have them.

is true,

selves by saying [leaf 2, back] the money is not paid for the

ABUSES WRITTEN AND PREACHT AGAINST.

at some other time.

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

98 The Sacrament is administered irreverently, and

only to such as

pay.

103

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 oppression 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.

collect the money declareynge to the people the right vse & profyte of the sacramentes, & to instruct them, so that they do 93 not receyue it to theyr indgment, 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 recevue the sacramentes vnles he do fyrste paye the money. And then, wyth, how lyttle reuerence it is ministred and recevued, euery Christen hert seeth & lamenteth.

These thynges (I doubt not) are so evident and playne vnto 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 have juste occacion and can do no lesse but seke a furder redres herof (whych all Chrysten hertes do desyr) in thys present 111 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 scarsely truste that 116 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 should go about by these wordes to perswade men to make all thynges commune; for if you do, you mistake For I take God to wytnes I meane no suche me. But with all myne herte I woulde wysh that thynge. 126 no man wer suffered to eate but such as would abour

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

But yet I would wysh that the possessioners But I would woulde consyder whoe gaue them theyr possessions, sioners rememand howe they ought to bestowe them. And then (I them their doubt not) it should not nede to have all thynges possessions made commune.

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

If the possessioners woulde consyder them selues to Possessioners are be but stuardes, and not Lordes ouer theyr possessions, not lords, and thys oppression woulde sone be redressed. But so redress 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 143 possible to have any redresse at all. For if I may do while they think wyth myne owne as me lysteth, then maye I suffer my they will with brother, hys wyfe, and hys chyldrene to lye in the strete, excepte he wyll geue me more rent for myne house then ever 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 [leaf 3, back] 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 be lawful to use God woulde not require an accompt of vs for the possessions thus; bestoweynge of them/, I woulde not greately gaynsaye, thoughe they toke theyr pleasure of them whylse they 157 lived here. But forasmuch as we have a God, and he but there is a hath declared vnto vs by the Scripturs that he hath made possessors made the possessioners but stuardes of his ryches, and stewards only. that he wyl holde a strengh[t] accompt wyth them for the occupiynge and bestoweynge of them; I thynke_162

2 Thess. 3.

have the possesber who gave and what for. 133

137

only stewards. there can be no

they may do as their own.

God, and He has

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

The Philosophers said friends should possess in common:

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.

John .10.

This friendship refers to the laity and clergy,

because both belong to the flock of Christ.

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 169 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 vayne. 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 love one an other as he loved vs." Howe he loued vs is declared by the wordes of the Apostle, sayinge, that Christe gaue hymselfe for vs. Accordynge to this exemple ought our frendshyp to be such, that we wyll not spare to spende our lyfe for the welth of our brothers. Not to fyght in theyr quarell (for Christe bade Peter put vp the swerde into his place), but to teach the truth boldly, without any feare 186 of death, and not to suffer oure brothers to bee led in erroure, thoughe presente death should insue for so doynge.

Some, perchaunce, wyll thynke that this frendshyp is to be vnderstande onely of the pastors and shepherdes towarde theyr flocke; because Christ sayth that 192 a good shepherde geueth his lyfe for his shepe. Fornip soeth if the pastours or shepeherdes onely were the flocke of Christe, then myght thys frendeshyp ryght well be vnderstanded of them onely. But for asmuch as the laie and private persons ar as well of the flocke of Christe as the other, thys frendeshyp parteineth vnto them no lesse then to the other. And thys causeth

me (moste worthy counsaylours) not to feare the dis- 199 pleasure of men in this behalfe; knoweynge for cer- This makes me tentie, that the greateste numbre of thys assemble are displeasure. not free from this oppression that I speak of, and that it is far vnlyke that a private persone, by no meanes worthy to be called to such an assemble, should be 204 fauou: ably hereade and accepted of them whom God hath called to be counsaylours 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 should in this poynte be compted a may be counted busy body,¹ and one that renneth before he is sent. I am ready to But I am redi to suffer, not onli al such report, but euen the verve death also (if it shall please the almightie and euerlyueynge God to laye it ypon me) for anything for youre sakes, most worthy counsaylours, and the residue, my naturall brothe[r]s of this noble realme.

And here I proteste vnto you all, that the same The spirit that Spirite that sent Ionas to the Niniuits, Daniel to the sent Christ and Babilonians, Nathan to Kyng Dauid, Achior vnto Holofernes, Indith vnto the Priestes and Elders of the Iewes, the prophete to Ieroboam in Bethel, John the 220 Baptist vnto Herode, and Christ vnto the Iewes, wyt- witnesses that nesseth wyth my conscience that I renne not vnsent. For even the same Spirit that sayd vnto Esaie, "Crye Esaie. 58. and sease not, declare vnto my people theyr wyckednes;" cryeth also in my conscience, bydyng me not 225 spare to tell the possessioners of this realme, that vn- to tell you poslesse they repente the oppression wherewyth they vexe of your oppresthe pore commons, and shew themselues, through loue, yourselves to be brothers of one father & membres of one body father, and wyth them, they shal not at the laste daye enherite members of one body. wyth them the kyngdom of Christe, the Eldest Sonne 231 of God the Father, whych hath by his Worde begotten hym many brothers & coheritours in² his kyngdom. Vnlesse, I saye, the possessioners of this realme Unless you all

fear man's

this manner 1 a busybody, but suffer

[leaf 4, back]

your sakes.

215

I am sent

sessors to repent sions, and show brothers, of one

repent of the

¹ Orig. boby

² Orig. is

¹⁵⁹

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

Reaf 51

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.

Now hear what complaints are in heaven:

Lord, hast thou forgotten us P

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

Would God the wicked might feel some of the troubles he invents for others.

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

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 made against you 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 trouwhile the wicked ble? Whylse the wycked waxe proud the pore man is afficted and troubled. Would to God the wicked myght feale the same thinges that they inuent for other. For the sinnere prayseth hym selfe in the desyres of hys soule, and he extolleth and sette[t]h forth the couetouse man. He prouoketh the Lorde and 267 is so proud that he wyll not seke hym. He neuer thynketh vpon God. His wayes be defyled at all tymes. He loketh not vpon thy iudgmentes, Lorde, he 270 wyll reuenge hym vpon all hys enimies.

"He thynketh thus wyth hym selfe, I wyll not re- He thinks he moue frome one generacion vnto an other wythout mischiefe. His mouth is full of malediction and enill He is full of reporte, fraude & deceyte, and vnder his tonge is affiction and iniquitie.

"He lyeth in wayte wyth the riche men of the villages or graynges, in secrete corners, to the intent to in villages to slea the innocent. Hys eyes are fyexed vpon the pore; stay the innocent he layeth awayete euen as a lyon in his denne. He layeth awayte to take the pore man by force, and when him he uses him he hath gotten him within hys reache, then wyll he take hym violentlye. In hys net will he ouerthrowe 282 the pore, and through hys strength shall the multitude of the oppressed be ouer charged and fall. For in his He says God has herte he sayeth, God hath forgotten, God turneth a turned away llis waye hys face, and wyll neuer regarde the oppression of the pore," etc., to the ende of the same Psalme.

What sentence (thinke you) wyll the Lorde geue vpon this euidence ? No doubt (most worthey counsellers) even the same that we reade in Esaye the Esaie. 5. Prophet :- "I loked for judgment and rightouse dealeynge amongeste my people, and beholde there is 292 iniquitie, I loked also for instice, and beholde ther is an outcrye. Wo be vnto you therfore, that do ioyne The sentence house vnto 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 Lorde of hostes (sayth the prophete) hath spoken these wordes vnto me. Manye large and goodlye houses shall be Many houses deserte & without inhabitantes; x acres of wynes ten acres of vines shall yelde but one quarte of wine, and xxx bushelles of sede shal yelde but x bushelles agayne." Beholde, you engrossers of fermes and teynements, beholde, I saye, the terible threatnynges of God, whose wrath you 304 can not escape. The voyce of the pore (whom you CROWLEY. 11

shall remain.

fraud and deceit.

275

[leaf 5, back] He lies in wait slay the innocent, man; and when he has taken violently.

forgotten and has face.

287

God will give against those who join house to house and field to field; against such as oppress instead of dealing justly :-

shall be desolate, shall only yield one quart, and 30 bushels of seed shall only yield ten.

161

[leaf 6]

You cannot escape God's threatenings.

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

God will punish 3 you "lease mongers " who take lands that you may let them out again.

and you surveyors, that of tenpound land make twenty.

When you have raised your rents to the highest,

327

321

you'll die suddenly, and God's grace will be taken from you,

332

and you will think yourselves unworthy of mercy, because you have shown no mercy.

[leaf 6, back]

have with money thruste out of house and whome) is 307 well accepted in the eares of the Lorde, and hath steared vp hys wrath agaynste you. He threateneth you 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.

For couetous, the rote of all yuelles, occupieth that 314 grounde so that the heauenlie sede can bi no meanes geue encrease. This is a plage, of al plages most 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 shall forbyd the cloudes of hys mercy to rayne vpon you wyth the swete dwe of hys grace. And you surueighers² of landes, that of x. li. lande can make xx, you shall not be forgotten in the effucion of thys plage.

For when you have multiplied your renttes to the higheste, so that ye have 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 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 doeth yet maynetayne in you thys mischeuouse, outragiouse, and vnsaciable couetousnes, shall then bee as busy to put you in mynde of the wordes of Christ, saienge, "the same measure that you have made ynto 340 other, shalbe nowe made vnto you."

¹ Orig, palge

² Orig. surneighers

You have 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 en- Do not destroy riche your heires. Enlarge not your earthly posses- enrich your sion wyth the losse of the eternall enheritaunce. Learne to knowe the estate that God hath called you 346 vnto, & to lyue accordinge to your profession. Know that you are al ministres in the common weale, and Remember you that the porcion which you are borne vnto, or that the commonyour prince genethe you, is your estate. Knowe that Your duty is to your office is to distribute & not to scrape together on not scrape heapes. God hath not sette you to surueye hys landes, together. but to playe the stuardes in his householde of this 353 world, and to se that your pore felow seruantes lacke not theye[r] necessaries.

Consider that you are but ministers and seruauntes You are only under the Lorde oure God, and that you shal render a will have to give streyght accompt of your administracion. Stand not an account of your administo much in your own conceyte, gloriynge in the worthy- trations. nesse 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 worlde, whereof oure natural father Adame was made Lord and Kinge. Which of you can laye for hym selfe any naturall cause whye he shoulde possesse the treasure of this wor[1]de, but that 365 the same cause may be founde in hym also whome you make your slaue? By nature (therefore) you can By nature you claime no thynge but that whiche you shall gette with the swet of your faces. That you are lordes and what you earn. gouernoures therfore, commeth not by nature but by the lords comes by ordinaunce & appoyntment of God. Knowe then that nature. he hath not cauled you to the welthe and glorie of this 372 worlde, but hath charged you wyth the greate and rede multitude.

And if any of them perishe thorowe your defaute, If any poor knowe then for certentye, that the bloude of them Ezceh. 33.

your souls to heirs.

are ministers in wealth. distribute, and

servants, and

can only claim [leaf 7]

That you are ordinance, not by

WARNINGS.

your neglect, their blood will be required at your hands.

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

Psal. 113.

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

Luke .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?

t, shalbe required at your handes. If the impotent vill creatures perish for lacke of necessaries, you are the murderers, for you haue theyr enheritaunce and do 380 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 387 chyldrene of men."

The whole earth therfor (by byrth ryght) belongeth to the chyldren of men. They are all inheritours therof indifferently by nature.

But because the sturdy shoulde not oppresse the weake and impotent, God hath apoynted you stuards to geue meate vnto his housholde in due seasone. And if 394 you be founde 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. 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 nobilitie that have possessed the erth, even 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 and parte of Affrike and Asia in quiete possession; and where are they that succeade them in theyr impier?

The brutishe Gothes inuaded and vanquished the Who are the impier of Rome; and wher are theyr successours?

What shoulde I stande in the rehersale of the 415 greate possessioners that have hertofore possessed the erth, whose lynial descent can not be founde? It shall suffice me to remyt you to the wordes of the Lorde vnto Nabuchodonosor, whyche are written in the boke of Daniel the Prophete.

Ther shall you learne that it is God that geneth All empire is the impiere to whome it pleaseth hym, and that all gives it to whom powre is from aboue, accordynge to the answer that our said to Pilate. saujoure Christe made vnto Pilate, when he bragged 424 hym wyth the powre that he had to crucifie hym and to deliver hym. "Thou shouldest," sayed our Sauiour, John 19. " have no powre ouer me at all, were it not geuen the from aboue."

Thus is it evident vnto you (moste worthy coun- Thus it is clear saylours) that your powre and estate cometh from and property 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 consciences do I do not doubt condesende and agre vnto that which I have spoken consciences you concernynge your office and ministerie; knoweynge that have said. God hath appointed you to minister necessaries to the impotent, and to defende the innocent.

Do not therfore neglect thys principalle poynt of Do not neglect your dutie, to seke in this parliament a redresse of thys great oppression, wherwyth the pore membres of this noble realme ar most vnmercifully vexed on euery side.

The lande lordes for theyr partes, survey and make Landlords make the vttermost peny of al their growndes, bysydes the vnreasonable fynes and incomes, and he that wyll not grounds, besides or can not geue all that they demaunde, shall not enter, be he neuer so honest, or stande he neuer so greate neede.

Yea, though he have ben an honeste, true, faythfull 448

successors of the Goths ?

Dani. 4.

from God, and He He will, as Christ

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all your power come from above. [leaf 8]

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but that in your agree to what I

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your duty, but redress this oppression.

the uttermost penny of their comes;

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 fearful.

[leaf 8, back]

Young men garnish the gallows ;

young women are made "Sisters of the Bank,"

and die in the streets. Universal destruction comes upon our noble realm by the covetousness of surveyors.

Some obtain leases of houses and then raise the rents to tenants.

and quiete tenant many yeres, yet at the vacation of his copie or indentur he must paye welmoste as muche as woulde purchayse so much grownde, or else voide in ste. hast, though he, his wyfe and chyldrene, shoulde 453 perishe for lacke of harbour.

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 men-459 chyldrene 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 ouer the days of theyr youth in vngrate seruitude, or else to marye to perpetuall miserable ponertie ! What immodeste and wanton gyrles have hereby ben made sisters of the Banek (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.

On the other syde, ther bee certayne tenauntes, not able to be lande lordes, and yet, after a sorte, they conterfayte landelordes, by obtaynyge¹ leases in and

¹ Orig. obtaynydge

vpon groundes and tenementes, and so revse 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 Lon- London are don, whoe (if they be not ignorant of the state of the Citie) can witnes with me that the moste parte, yea I thinke ix of the x partes, of the houses in London bee set and let by them that have them by lease and not by the owners.

Howe their polle the pore tenantes would some be How they impose tryed, if theyr leases were conferred with theyr rent- would soon be rolles. It is not to be thought contrary but that the greate leasmungers have greate gains by their leases, for were compared. the litleons, that hold but a piece of houseing of xx. or xxx s. by yere, can fynde the meanes to holde and dwell 501 vpon the chiefe parte therof rent fre, by letynge out the residue for the whole verely rent.

I thinke not contrary, but these thinges do appeare These things in the syght of many to bee but verey trifles, and not trifles which do 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 Parliament. hyndrance to many of them, to have these thynges redressed, then any encrease of theyr wealth.

Yea even you (moste Christian counsaylours) whych Even you, Chrisare here assembled to debate the weightie mattiers of tian Councillors, are not all so free thys realme, are not all so free from this kynde of oppression, but that you could be well contented to wyncke at it. And therfor, for asmuche as the inor- 515 dinate loue of men towarde them selues is such, that eyther they can not se theyr owne fauts, or else if they do se them or be tolde of them, they take them not to be so great as they are in dede; I thinke it no 519

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the houses in let in this way. [leaf 9]

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upon the tenants seen if the leases and rent-rolls

appear to be not concern the nobility and seem to be unworthy of notice by the

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are not all so free from this oppression, but you would rather wink at it;

so I shall not wonder if you laugh at my foolhardiness and [leaf 9, back] rashness in entering upon this subject, because men do not agree to such

because men do not agree to such things as will diminish their profits.

What I have said is for the profit of the whole realm.

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,—

so you, the chief members, should provide for those members beneath you, and give them a portion of the riches which you possess.

-5

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

t meruayle, though such of you (most worthy counsaylours) as haue any profite by this oppression, do wythin them selues deride and laugh to scorne my fole hardines and rashe enterpryse herein, knoweynge that it is not the vse of them that bee assembled to the intent to establish such thynges as shall be for the welth of a whole realme, to condescende and agree to those thynges whych shallbe disprofitable vnto the chiefe 528 membres of the same.

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

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 remersive legges & feete a peare of hose and shoes to defende them also from the iniuries of the wether, and other hurtes that might chaunce vnto them in theyr trauaylsound, ynge to cary the body from place to place, for hys commoditie and pleasure? Verily in myne opinion, that body is far vnworthy to haue either legges or feete that wyll lette them goe bare, haueynge wher-545 wyth to couer them.

chief total to

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

Vse them therfore as the necessarie membres of the Therefore you mistical body of this most noble realme, and be not in poor as members this poynt mor vnnatural then the heathen Philoso- else you will be phers were.

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

This ought not a lytle to move you, beyng Chris- whom, as Christians (whose Redemer, Iesu Christ, sitte[t]h at the right to surpass. hande of God his Father) to study, not onely to be equale wyth, but to pas the heathen and vnchristined in this mattier, euen as farre as the excellencie of the name and religion which we professe passeth theyrs.

Remembre (most Christian counsaylours) that you By religion you are not onely naturally membres of one bodi with the of Christ's body, pore creaturs of this realme, but also by religion you ar membres of the same misticall body of Christe, 574 whoe is the heade of vs all (his membres), and estemeth and Christ all that is done to the leste of vs his membres as done done to His to hym selfe. For he sayeth :---

"What so euer ye do to one of the lest of these Mat. 25. litleons that beleue in me, ye doe it vnto me." If you If you will not therfore, neither wil your selfes oppresse our Sauiour oppress Christ Christe in his membres, nor suffer other to do it, fayle members, redress not to fynde a redres of this greate oppression, whych and then every I have declared to the same ende. And then I doubt you in reforming not but God shall so worke wyth you, that euerie man 584 shall wyllyngely embrace a reformacion of all mattiers of religion. For the Spirit of God shall dwell in you [leaf 10, back] 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 Saujour thus to If you oppress be oppressed, he wyll forsake you, he wyll leaue you to will forsake you the spirite of errour. Your reformacions shal take no and leave you to a

poor to till the it yourselves.

must use the of this realm, more unnatural than the heathen,

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tians, you ought

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are all members

esteems what is members as done to Himself.

man will assist religion.

the poor, Christ spirit of error.

592 place. All your divises shall be abhominable in his syght, because ye have not purged your handes from the bloude of this oppression.

Let the decres whych were establyshed in thys place by a Parliament assembled for a lyke purpose be your president, not to folow, but to beware by them that ve 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 delivered frome oppression he woulde 602 not be amonge them.

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 proceedynges in the same Parliament. For they established Articles even 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 have juste occacion to do) I doubt not but you shal be fully perswaded that they proceaded of 615 the spirit of erroure, and not of the Spirite of God; because the charitie of God was not amonge them in that assemble.

Other thynges there where the pore membres of Christe in thys noble realme are oppressed; where f I have 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 have spoken. But the other wil offer them selues vnto you, I meane the greate exusury, authorized tortion and vsurie that reigneth frely in thys realme, and seme to be authorised by Parliament wythin these 627 .iii. veres laste paste.

Don't make laws like some which have been made in this place by a previous Parliament.

They did not meet in Christ's name, but rather against him. 1. Epist. 4.

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 I should offend with the multitude of words. Some you know : as extortion and by Parliament;

The Cleargie of the Citie of London haue, for the elergy overtheyr parte, optayned by Parliament authoritie to double rent ouertenthes even after the exem[ple] of the landlordes demand double 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 demaunde 636 .ii.s. ix.d, the double. Bysydes this, the exactions that They exact money they take of the pore commons is to much beyonde al from the poor reason and conscience. No couple can be maried for marriages, but these men must have a dutie, as they cal it. No woman may be purified but they and theyr ydle churchings, ministers must have some duties of hir. None can 642 be buried but they wyl haue a slyese. Not thre burials. monethes before the begynyng of this present Parliament, I had just occacion to be at the payment of this (How the clergy dutie for the buriyng of an honest pore man, whose sepulchre's frendes wer willyng to have hys body reuerendly layed Church in the grounde; and, accordyng to the custome, gaue 648 warnynge to the curate that they woulde brynge the [leaf 11, back] deade body to the church, desyryng hym that he wolde do hys 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, could not but in the City of reueile it to the other carion byrdes of the same chur[c]h, and so would 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 Injunctions and late visita[t]ion. The frendes when an honest of the deade man refused all this, and required to haue no mor but the commune coffen to put the bodye in, agreynge to paye to the keper therof hys accustomed dutie, and in lyke maner to the graue maker, and the was brought to ¹ Orig. smellydge.

tithe, and for

London.

be buried

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 .vi.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, euen in the presence of 675 all the ydle ministers of the same church.

This have I written (most worthy counsaylours) to 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 con-682 strained to feede a sorte of carion crowes, whyche are neuer so mery as when we lament the losse of our frendes.

This much have 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 689 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 vnreasonable muche. To restrayne thys

Thus much of the extortion of the clergy.

I will now speak of the usury which prevails.

It is almost heresy to speak against it because it is allowed by Parliament.

The Act was passed on account of the greed of the usurers, and interest was limited to ten per cent.

ready to prove the truth of the statement anywhere.

This was done in London, and I am

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.

¹ Orig. pedye

gredy desyre of theyrs, therfore, it was communed and 698 agreed vpon, 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 ever any Christian assemble should be Alas, that any so voyde of Gods Holy Spirit that thei should alowe allow what God for leafull any thyng that Gods Worde forbedeth. Be not abashed (most worthy counsaylours) to call this 705 act into question agayne. Scan the wordes of the Consider the Psalmist concernyng this mattier. "Lord," sayeth he, Psal, 14. " who shal enter into thy tabernacle, and who shal rest and sce what the Psalmist says. in thy holy mountaine?" He answereth : "That From his words, entreth without spot & worketh righte. That speaketh docs not truth in his herte, & hath not deceived with his tonge; upon usury shall that hath done his neybour no harme, nor accepted any [leaf 12, back] 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 geven his money vnto vsury, and hath not taken giftes and rewardes against the innocent."

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

If he that geneth not hys money to usury shal 725 dwell in the Lords tabernacle, wher shal he dwel that geneth his money to usuri? Shal he not be shut out, & caste into vtter darcknes? Their workes be contrary, & why should not theyr rewarde be also contrary ? If the one be receyued in, the other muste be Usurers must be shut out. Yea, and you that have made this lawe, heaven, and those

Assembly should forbids!

subject again, the man who give his money enter hcaven.

718

allow this Act to It shall be a you in the Last Day.

shut out of who made the law allowing

¹ See Supplication of the poore Commons, ed. J. M. Cowper, p. 84, 'Men myghte take x li. by yeare,' &c.

MEN THINK THEY MAY OBEY OR DISOBEY GOD.

usury, unless you vnlesse you do reuoke it and establysh an act to the revoke it.

Math. 7.

Christ bids you

nothing again, and you shall be

the children of God.

Men have wrested this

743

contrary, the Brydegroume, the onely Sonne of God, 734 shal at the laste daye deny you, and save that he 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 Saujoure Christe also, in the vi. of Luke, wher he sayeth thus :- "Do you lende1 lokynge for no gaynes lend, looking for therof, and your rewarde shalbe plentuouse, and you shall be sonnes of the Hygheste, because he is gentle & liberal toward the vnthankfull and wicked."

I am not ignoraunt what glosses have ben made 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 leave 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 vndone.

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

And immediatly before he sheweth the cause why the Iewes dyd not credyt hys wordes, to be none other 760 but that thei wer not his shepe.

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 765 practise the same in hys lyuynge to the vttermoste of hys power, is nolesse then a membre of the Deuell, and a verey Antichriste.

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.

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

members of the devil and very Antichrists.

saying, and made it no precept, but only a counsel of Christ. What religion do

[leaf 13]

these men profess ?

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¹ Orig. lenve.

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 shall be Iewes for none of the flocke of Christ, because he the Jews. heareth not his voice nor foloweth him. Thus I mak an ende.

Wyshyng vnto you (most worthy counsaylours) the May the Spirit same Spirit that in the primitive church gaue vnto the in the primitive multitude of beleuers one herte, one mynde, & to esteme nothyng of this worlde as theyr owne, minis- Actu. 4. trynge vnto euerie one accordyng to his necessities; you to make a law preventing that you, led by the same Spirite, may at the lestweve oppression; and 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 will still pore membres of Christ, after once or twyse admoni- be called Mamcion, let them no more be named Christians after Christ Christians. 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 wicked a creatur shalbe founde so bolde as once to open his mouth against the ordre that you shal take in al matters of religion. Yea, the verie enimies of Dauid shall do omage vnto Solomon for 791 his wisedom. Al the Kynges christined shal learne at Then all kings you to reforme theyr churches. You shall be even the and you shall be light of al 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. God will contound your wisdom, no Inuent, decre, establysh, and authorise what you can; matter what you decree. al shal come to nought. The wayes that you shall 798 inuent to establish vnitie and concorde shal be the occacions of discorde. The thynges wherby you shal thinke to wyn prayse through all the worlde, shall turne to your vtter¹ shame; and the wayes that you shall 802

¹ Orig. vnter.

numbered with

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which dwelt Church dwell in [leaf 13, back] you, and cause

oppress let such

shall learn of you, the light of the world.

God will confound

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God give you His Spirit.

Amen.

inuent to establish a kyngdome shalbe the vtter subuertion of the same. The mercifull Father of our Lorde Iesus Christe indue you wyth hys Spirit, that you be not partakers of these plages.

Amen.

GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

 ABYE, 51/1524, abide, expiate. Disparage not the faith thou dost not know, Lest, to thy peril, thou <i>aby</i> it dear. <i>MidSr. N. Dr.</i> iii. 2, k. 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, askance, side-ways. 	 Bearwardes, 17/388. Beastish, 144/505, beastlike, brutish. Bested, 60/19, circumstanced. See Chaucer, C. T., 5069, and Isaiah viii. 21. Betrusted, 30/823, trusted. Bisemeyng, 95/14, beseeming. Bityme, 72/66, betimes, in time. Bler, 70/12, blear. Brast, 132/8, burst. Brenitie, 172/687, brevity. Bridle-rayne, 95/6, bridle-rein. Brynke, 16/364, brink, brim. By, 101/75, be.
Babbelars, 103/119. See Acts xvii. 18. Bable, 32/884, bauble.	By yere, 173/700, for a year. Byll, 29/800, bill, a petition.
 Baliwike, 43/1257, the jurisdiction of a bailiff. Ballyng, 83/27, bawling. 	Candle, to hold the, 130/21, phr. Cardes, 166/458?
Banck, 166/472, sisters of the Bank, prostitutes, inhabitants of Bankside.	Cessions, 94/143, sessions. Checkinge, 139/348. Christined, 175/792, christened.
Barre, to east the bar, 73/33. See note, p. xvii.	Cocke and Pye, 19/469, a petty oath. See Merry Wives of W. i. 1, 1, 316 (Globe ed.).
Base, to run base, 73/35. See <i>note</i> , p. xvii.	Coheritours, 159/233, coheirs.
Bealies, 132/92, bellies.	Commone, 155/73, commune.
CROWLEY. 12	

Commotionars, 22/555, commo- tioners, men who cause commo- tions or tumults. Condynge, 81/63, condign, "that is, according to merit, worthy,	Forlore, 99/131, lost. Fryses, 33/933, friezes, woollen eloths or stuffs originally from Friesland.
suitable." <i>Phillips</i> . Coniecte, 159/208, conjecture.	Gate, 44/1275, gait.
Cormerauntes, 131/69, cormor-	Gossepes, 103/142, gossips.
ants.	Graue maker, 171/662.
Costnouse, 91/30, costly.	Graynges, 161/277, granges.
Couetise, 26/690, covetousness.	Gulles, 131/69.
Crake, 81/62, erack, boast of.	
Crowmes, 132/95, crumbs.	Hadland, 13/266, headland.
Days, offering days, 155/88, cer-	Harbour, 113/140, shelter. Haulke, 73/29, hawk.
tain days on which offerings were	Head penny, 172/669.
made to the Church.	Herbour, 8/99, harbour, shelter,
Dearlinges, 160/249, darlings. Destituted, 132/104, made desti-	lodging.
tute, deprived.	Herte rote, 19/464, heart root.
Dirige, 172/666.	Houseing, 167/500. See Hous-
Disconforte, 111/81, discomfort.	ynge. Housel, 155/85, the Sacrament.
Disprofitable, 168/527, unprofit-	Housynge, 116/271, shelter,
able. Dorepostis, 111/93, door-posts:	houses—probably for housen, an old plural of house still in use in
"deaf as a door-post," a common	Northamptonshire.
phrase.	
Dyprease, 32/898, dispraise.	Imperye, 99/137, empire, rule,
Earely, 94/134, early.	power.
Eer, 88/91, ever.	Ioynt, 154/22, joint. Phr., "out of joint."
Effucion, $162/324$, effusion.	Iuell, 19/454, evil.
Emong, 12/239, among.	1
Entermel, 32/904, intermeddle.	Leafull, 157/153, lawful.
Euerychone, 89/113, each one,	Lestweye, 175/779, "leastways."
every one.	Lette, 139/328, let, a hindrance.
Fere, 88/76, in fere, in common.	Leyes, 50/1500, leys, leas, pastures
Forestall, 34/972, to buy goods on	for cattle.
their way to market. Forestallers, 34/965, men who	Lite, 88/70, little. Litleons, 167/500, 169/579, little
bought corn or cattle or goods of	ones. 101/300, 103/313, Ittle
any kind as they were on their way to a market or fair, and then	Liuear, 140/378, liver.
sold them again at a higher price.	Liuelode, 65/51, livelihood.

- Loselles, 112/121, lozel, a lazy lubber.
- Luste, 174/754. See Lyste.
- Lynge, 13/276, ling, saltfish. Consult *The Babees Book* for information about ling and fish generally.
- Lyste, 157/154, list, like, choose.
- Malt, 114/201.
- Mammonists, 175/785.
- Markis, 116/251, a Mark was of the value of 13s. 4d.
- Maugrea, 62/86, maugre, in spite of.
- Mawe, 44/1294, maw, stomach.
- Meaners, 101/75, manners, ? demeanours.
- Mell, 20/494, meddle.
- Morysh, 119/370, marshy.

Mowe, 9/132, mow, a stack of corn.

- Mownde, 112/110, a boundary.
- Noble, 80/52, a coin of the value of 6s. 8d. See Four Supplications, Glossary in v. noble.
- Nownde, 112/110, for mound, a fence or hedge—boundary.
- Omage, 175/791, homage.
- Other, 172/665, either.
- Ouertenthes, 171/630, to 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 ruffs then much worn. "Gay gownys and gay kyrtels, and mych waste in apparell, rynges, and owchis, wyth partelettes and *pastis* garneshed

wyth perle." More's Supplycacyon of Soulys, sig. L. ii., quoted in Halliwell's Arch. Dict.

- Peltrye, 46/1366. The word *pelt* is still in use in Kent, signifying *rubbish*, the sense in which *peltrye* is used here.
- Plowen, 162/328, plowed.
- Pold, 13/277, polled, robbed, cheated, polling, 20/506.
- Poppyshnes, 72/71, popishness.
- Porte, 167/486, bearing, carriage, or manner.
- Possessioners, 153/8, holders of large estates.
- Praye, 148/669, prey.
- President, 170/597, precedent.
- Priestyng, 155/68, the calling or duties of a priest.
- Primer, 71/55, a little book, which ehildren are first taught to read. *Phillips*.
- Prollynge, 144/529, prowling, searching about. *Prolyng*, and pochyng to get som
 - what
 - At cuery doore lumpes of bread, or meat. R. Copland's *Hye way to the*
 - Spyttel Hous.
- Prouender, 141/379. "Provender pricketh them," a phrase used in Newes out of Powles, Sat. 6:

Ist meruaile though they cranckly crowe

- well lodged in their cage?
- With prouen prickt, yst meruaile now

That thus the Tigars rage? The modern equivalent, applied to a restive horse, is "the oats prick him."

Pryme, 91/23, prime, 6 a.m., one of the seven canonical hours.

Pyld, 13/278, pilled, spoiled.

Quyte, 69/222, requite. See 1 *Tumb. the Great*, ii. 5.

- Reade, 32/894, 84/58, counsel, advice.
- Rede, 163/373, ? scattered. Halliwell has *Rede* (3), to spread abroad.
- Regester, 78/12, ? registrar.
- Reneynge, 164/381, ravening, taking by force, from the verb to reve.
- Rocke, 166/458, a distaff.
- Route, 91/6, to rule the rout, to rule the common people.
- Royall, 20/502, royal, or rial, a coin of the value of 10 shillings, first coined in the reign of Hen. VI. In the reign of Hen. VIII. the gold rial was ordered to go at 11s. 3d. In the 2nd of Elizabeth rials were coined at 15s. In the 3rd of James I. rose-rials of the value of 30s. were coined, and spurrials at 15s. each. The rial farthings went at 2s. 6d. each in the reign of the "Tiger King."
- Salfe, 102/93, safe, or saved.
- Sean, 173/706, 174/736.
- Scase, 81/72, scarce. See Glossary to England under II. VIII.
- Schourges, 15/344, scourges.
- Shamefast, 131/53, shamefaced, modest.
- Shente, 38/1096, 86/24, ruined, destroyed.
- Shote, 155/79, shot, amount.
- Slyese, 171/643, slice.
- Smered, 154/53.

Spittlehouse, 11/211, hospital.

- Stiek, holy water stick, 172/666.
- Stockefyshe, 13/276, stockfish, saltfish dried. For much curious information concerning *Stockfish*, see 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, 30/820, a halter.

 - cap. This is the high'st degree which they ean take. Taylor's Works, fol. 287.
- Vaile, 17/392, avail, profit, advantage.
- Vitayls, 8/90, victuals.
- Vnchristined, 169/568, unchristened, unbaptized.
- Vndercaptaine, 147/641.
- Vngrate, 166/469, ? unbecoming. Vnweldy, 168/553, unwieldy.

Wede, 113/140, clothing.

- Wel, 61/68, weal.
- Welmoste, 10/166, almost, well nigh, nearly.
- Whippets, 45/1331, i short petticoats. See Halliwell's Arch. Dict.
 Wit, 55/8, blame.
- Wodmonger, 88/75, a dealer in wood.

Yuelles, 162/314, evils.

Ziphres, Agime ziphres, 73/571?

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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. The 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. Worburgh's.' E. A. Freeman in the Saturday Review, 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, l. 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 Feb. 1872, p. 189, col. 2.

p. 194, last side-note; p. 362, col. 1, Emperor; for Austria read Germany (Charles V.).

p. 287, l. 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 Diet. 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 Poccock.

p. 308, note 1, line 1, for Ovium read Ædium.

The short review of *Boorde* in the *North British Review*, No. 106, p. 559-61, 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. (*Historie of Italie*, ed. 1549, fol. 40.) Every detail supplied by Thomas, from the '30 steppes of square stone, the solemest that I havo seenc,' 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 Bunfyeyal, Bunfyeys, Bunfyte, read Benefyeyal, 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 well-known volume of rare tracts in the British Museum. (See his Preface to his edition of Roy's *Rede me & be not wroth*, 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 *Martyrs*) 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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