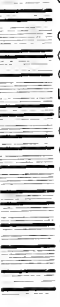


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The Select Works

of

Robert Crowley,

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

NAMELY, HIS

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

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EDITED

With Introduction, Notes, and Glossary,

BY

J. M. COWPER,

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

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TO

My Sister Liz,

OF CLYRO, RADNORSHIRE,

I DEDICATE THIS VOLUME OF THE WORKS

OF THE OLD

ARCHDEACON OF HEREFORD.





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## INTRODUCTION.

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ROBERT CROLE, Crolcus, 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup>

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,

<sup>1</sup> Collier, *Bib. Cat.* i. 489.

<sup>2</sup> *The Vision*, etc., ed. Skent, xxxi.

<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

In 1563 he was collated to the prebend of Mora in the Cathedral of St Paul, but was deprived in 1565.<sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>4</sup> 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 Bieckley 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

<sup>1</sup> 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.

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

<sup>3</sup> Lausd. MSS. 982, f. 104.

<sup>4</sup> *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.<sup>1</sup>

During his suspension he was ordered to remain with the Bishop of Ely, but after a time he was permitted to return to London for twelve days that he might put his household affairs in order, "provided always that during the time of his abode in London, he do not privily nor publiely 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,<sup>2</sup> but this he resigned in 1578.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

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,<sup>5</sup> "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

<sup>1</sup> Remains of Abp Grindal. Parker Society, p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> Lansd. MSS. 982, f. 104.

<sup>3</sup> T. Corser, *Collect. Ang. Poet.*, pt iv. p. 540.

<sup>4</sup> Lansd. MSS. 982, f. 104.

<sup>5</sup> *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,<sup>1</sup> 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."<sup>2</sup> 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,<sup>3</sup> Cripple-gate, of which, two and twenty years before, he had been vicar.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> T. Corser, *Collect. Ang. Poet.*, pt iv. p. 540.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> *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.

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

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

<sup>4</sup> 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 Rodericke 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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> See note, p. xxiv.

<sup>2</sup> 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." Wood<sup>1</sup> 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 were beggars by compulsion. There is something of the ludicrous in the tone he assumes towards these poor creatures, but there is no reason to think he was "chaffing" them:—

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

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

<sup>1</sup> *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

of war<sup>1</sup> (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

“*Vnquentum Aureum, or suchlyke,*”<sup>2</sup>

was required to make them hasten to see their patients. They gained money, but no man knew how they spent it, and no man heard of any good deeds that they did. The Lawyer here follows the physician—generally where any ill was to be said, the lawyer took the lion's share, or, at all events, an equal share with the clergy. Crowley in this lesson taxes them with an insatiable greed, with bawling like beasts, and warns them to assist the poor as well as the rich, to fear no man's power, to do justice to all men, to show no favour. The old charges of bribery are brought against them in the *Newes out of Powles*<sup>3</sup> and in the *Times' Whistle*,<sup>4</sup> 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.

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

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

<sup>2</sup> *Newes out of Powles, &c.*, Sat. 3 (1576).

<sup>3</sup> Sat. 2.

<sup>4</sup> p. 42.

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

And the *Times' Whistle* :

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

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,<sup>3</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> *News out of Powles*, &c., Sat. 2.

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

<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Mr G. Parker read the proofs with the original.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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*.<sup>1</sup> 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

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

“Under cover of the ‘Reformation,’ Henry VIII. got to himself a vast proportion of what was thus expressly given in trust for the poor. He got it under false pretences [quote: Coke, 4th Inst. p. 41]. 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 forbade the giving of alms in money, except to the common fund, or ‘Stock,’ of the parish or other place. In the same Act is found the first suggestion as to Overseers,” &c., &c.—*The Parish*, by Toulmin Smith, 2nd edition, p. 144, 145.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

J. M. COWPER.

*Davington Hill, Faversham, 1871.*

## N O T E S.

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

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

### "GUILDHALL.

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

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

"Sir Thomas Gabriel asked her why she did it.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“Inspector Foulger said they were.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"The Prisoner was then remanded."

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

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

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

*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."—*Anatomic of Abuses*, 1836, p. 147. For a later view of this detestable habit see *Times' Whistle*, p. 24.

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

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

*Dress*, pp. 44, 45. In the "Epistle Dedicatorie" to the *Anatomic of Abuses*, the evils of the author's days are thus briefly touched upon: "For as your Lordship knoweth, reformation of manners and amendment of life was never more needful; for was pride (the chiefest argument of this book) ever so ripe? Do not both men and women (for 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 *Anatomic*, p. 17, it is said, "Now there is such a confuse mingle mangle of apparel in Ailgna (Anglia), and such preposterous excess thereof, as every one is permitted to flaunt it out in what apparel he lusteth himself, or can get by any kind of means. So that it is very hard to know who is noble, who is worshipful, who is a gentleman, who is not." See also *Four Supplications*, and *England in the Reign of Henry VIII.*, pp. clxxiv., 89, 90.

*Rent-raisers*, pp. xx., 46,

"The landlord is a thief that racks his rents  
And mounts the price of rotten tenements,  
Almost unto a damned double rate,  
And such a thief as that<sup>1</sup> 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 Churchyard*, &c., on these topics.

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

*Poor in London*, p. 116. "There is a certain city in Ailgna<sup>2</sup> called Munidnol<sup>3</sup> 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."—*Anatomic 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

<sup>1</sup> "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.*

<sup>2</sup> Anglia.

<sup>3</sup> Londinium.

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

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

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

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

"Prisoner.—I don't live 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 Sterens*, a boy in rags, eleven years of age, was charged under the Industrial Schools Act with having been found wandering, not having any home or settled place of abode or proper guardianship, or visible means of subsistence.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

*This present Parliament*, p. 153. The Parliament here referred to was most likely that which met in January, 1549. Its first measure was "An Act for the Uniformity of Service," &c. This "Informacion and 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.



# A 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 Holburne,

Anno domini,

1550.

i. Cor. xiiii.

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

Gala. i.<sup>1</sup>

If I shoulde study to please men: than coulde I not  
be the seruaunt of Christe,

Orig. vi.

[*Leaf 1, back, is a blank.*]

[leaf 2]

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of thys Boke.

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## U.

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

## The Boke to the Reader.

[leaf 3]

<b>I</b> 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 hydden, so muste he nedes crye, And tell the Lordes people of their iniquitie. Nowe, if I do the worldelinges in anye poynte offende, In that I reproue them for their wyckednes, It is a plaine token they wyll not emende. I take all the wyse men of the earth to wytnes To them ; therefore mine Autor biddeth me confesse,	If books may reprove faults  4  as the Prophetes did, do not blame the Author.  8  <i>Esai. 58.</i> 12  He must tell the people of their sins. If I offend men 16  it is clear they will not amend ; 20  [leaf 3, back] 24
---	---

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

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

He has not  
written for such  
as will not  
amend,

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

except to tell  
them they will go  
to the devil,

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

but for such as  
have no delight  
in wickedness,

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

[leaf 4]

and such as  
reform when they  
hear their faults.

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

Such will take  
the warning in  
good part.

And louingely imbrace  
  suche men as do them tell ;  
Reformynge euermore  
  their lyfe by the gospels,— 52  
To these men am I sente,  
  And these, I truste, will take  
My warnynge in good parte,  
  And their euill forsake. 56

John .viii.

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

Finis.



## Of Abbayes.

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

## Of Alehouses.

We must have  
houses for re-  
freshment.

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

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

In eche lyttle hamlet,  
vyllage, and towne, 96

They are become places  
of waste and excesse,  
And herbour for such men  
as lyue in idlenes. 100

[leaf 6]

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

And lyghtly in the contrey  
they be placed so,  
That they stande in mens waye  
when they shoulde to church go. 104

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

And then such as loue not  
to hear theyr fautes tolde,  
By the minister that readeth  
the newe Testament and olde, 108

do turne into the alehouse,  
and let the church go ;  
Yea, and men accompted wyse  
and honeste do so. 112

*A commen-  
dation of  
London.*<sup>1</sup>  
London is not so  
bad.

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

In service time  
alehouses are  
shut up.

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

<sup>1</sup> The side-notes of the original are printed in Italic throughout.

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

## Of Allayes.

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

Would that the  
country would  
do so.

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

*Luke<sup>1</sup> xiii.*  
He keeps it best  
who does works  
of need.

Two sorts of  
alleys in Lon-  
don—

bowling-alleys, in  
which men waste  
their goods.

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

These and those  
who allow it

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Mat.

will go to their  
father Satan.

To Satan their sire,  
for of God they are not,  
Who commaundeth to laboure  
syxe dayes, ye wotte, 156

*Exo. xxiii.*

And the senenth he commaundeth  
all menne to sanctifie,  
In beynge well occupied,  
and not idelleye. 160

*Allayes  
agaynste  
kynde.*

The other sort  
of alleys make a  
man weep.

The other sorte of Allayes,  
that be agaynste kynde,  
Do make my harte wepe  
whan they come to my mind. 164

In them are poor  
beggars innumera-  
ble.

For there are pore people,  
welmoste innumerable,  
That are dryuen to begge,  
and yet to worke they are able, 168  
If they might haue al thinges  
provided aright.

[leaf 7, back]

Alas ! is not thys  
a greate ouer syght ? 172

You Aldermen  
that take the  
rents,

Ye Aldermen and other,  
that take Allaye rente,  
Why bestowe ye not the riches,  
that God hath you sente 176

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

In woule or in flaxe,  
to finde them occupied,  
That nowe lye and begge  
by euerye highe waye side ? 180

And you that be chiefe,  
and haue the commune treasure,  
Why can you neuer finde  
a time of leasure, 184

To se where the treasure  
will finde them workinge,  
To the profit of the Citye,  
in some maner thinge ? 188

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

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

192

*Like the de-  
 finition of a  
 Citty, you*  
 [leaf 8]  
*that be*

196

*lerned.*  
 The City is a  
 pack of people  
 all seeking gain.

200

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

204

### Of Almes Houses.

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

A merchant  
 returning to his  
 country

208

had to pass an  
 hospital,

212

but in its place he  
 found a lordly  
 house.

216

[leaf 8, back]

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

220

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

### Of Baylife Arrantes.

A Bailiff of the  
West Country, in  
serving his writs,

<b>A</b>	Baylife there was 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,	
excused those who bribed him.	And toke in hand to excuse them, hauinge pence for his payne.	252

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

## Of Bawdes.

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

[leaf 10]  
but they may be  
found in taverns,  
if officers would  
seek them.

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

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

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

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

*Hebr.* [*x.*]

### Of Beggars.

Beggars whom  
need compels  
ought to have  
relief,

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

but sham ones  
should labour,

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

[leaf 10, back]

as befitts Chris-  
tians.

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

2 *Thess.*<sup>1</sup> 3.  
If they refuse,  
let them fast.

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

The sick ought to  
be cared for.

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

<sup>1</sup> Orig. 1 Tim.



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

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

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

But he must  
drink to make  
his tongue wag.

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

Who, syttinge by the fire,  
· wyth the cuppe in his hande,  
Began to wonder whan  
he shoulde be a good husbande. 356  
“ I shall neuer thriue ”  
(quod this begar) “ I wene ;  
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 thys quarte pot,  
full to the brynke. 364  
The tonge muste haue bastynge,  
it wyll the better wagge,  
To pull a Goddes peny  
out of a churles bagge.” 368  
Yet cesse not to gyue to all,  
wythoute anye regarde ;  
Thoughe the beggers be wicked,  
thou shalte haue thy rewarde. 372

### Of Bearbaytynge.

What a folly to  
keep a dog and a  
bear

[leaf 12]  
to see them fight !

But they are the  
biggest fools who  
have little money

**W**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 surelye spende One penyē or two, the bearwardes luyng to mende.	388	and yet give to the bearward every Sunday.
At Paryse garden, eche Sundaye a man shall not fayle To fynde two or thre hundredes, for the bearwardes vaile.	392	<i>Parise garden.</i>
One halpenye a peece they vse for to giue, When some haue no more in their purse, I belieue.	396	They give him a halfpenny, and perhaps that is all they have.
Well, at the laste daye, theyr conscience wyll declare That the pore ought to haue all that they maye spare.	400	The poor ought to have what we can spare.
For God hath commaunded, that what we maye spare Be geuen to the pore, that be full of care.	404	[leaf 12, back] <i>Eccles.<sup>1</sup> 4.</i>
If you giue it, therefore, to se a beare fyght, Be ye sure Goddes curse wyl vpon you lyght.	408	

### Of Brawlers.

<b>A</b> Brawler, that loueth to breake the kinges peace, And seke his owne sorowe, his fansye to please,	412	A brawler is like a cur
Is lyke a curre dogge, that setteth vpon Eche mastyfe and hounde that he may light on.	416	that sets upon a mastiif,

<sup>1</sup> Ecclesiasticus.

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

### Of Blasphemous Swerers

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

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

## Of the Colier of Croydon.

A collier at Croydon might have been a knight,

**I**T is sayde, that in Croydon  
there dyd sometyne dwell

A Colier, that dyd  
all other Coliers excell. 484

but he would not.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Of Commotionars.

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

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

it must decay,  
 except God give  
 health.

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

The public body  
 must be purged  
 of its humours,

[leaf 15, back]  
 else it will decay.

If it cannot be  
 purged,

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



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

## Of Commen Drunkardes.

[leaf 17]

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

Isaiah laments  
*Esaye .v.*

612

- 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 drinke  
 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 drinke lustelye. 628
- i. Cor. v.<sup>1</sup>*  
 Well, Sainte Paule doeth warne  
 all that be of pure mynde,  
 To auoide drunckardes company,  
 where so euer they do them finde. 632
- [leaf 17, back]  
 Paul tells us not  
 to eat or drink  
 with drunkards,  
 Se ye neyther eate nor drinke  
 wyth suche menne, sayeth he,  
 That be geuen to drinke, .  
 what so euer they be. 636
- but, alas! our  
 curates excell their  
 parishioners in  
 drinking.  
 But, alas! manye curates,  
 that shoulde vs thys tell,  
 Do all their parishioners  
 in drynekyng excell. 640

### Of Commune Liars.

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

**S**olomon the sage,  
 in Sapience doeth saye,  
 That the mouthe that lyeth  
 doeth the veyre soule sleye. 644

If the murderer of bodies  
 be worthye to dye,

<sup>1</sup> Orig. i.

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

### Of Dicears.

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

perhaps to re-  
ward them in  
hell.

Perchaunce to rewarde them  
wyth hel at their endynge. 680

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

At dice both  
intend to get  
others' goods.

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

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

Prodigality and  
coveitousness  
reign in both.

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

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

[leaf 19]

If dieing is not  
sinful,

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

the oaths and  
the misspent  
time will be the  
condemnation of  
the players.

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

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

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

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

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

### Of Double Beneficed Men.

**T**He kynge of that realme,  
 where iustice doeth reygne,  
 Perused olde statutis,  
 that in bokis remaine.

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

And as he turned the boke,  
 him chaunced to se,  
 That such as haue benefices  
 shoulde resident be ;  
 And haue theyr abydyng,  
 whyles theyr lyfe shoulde endure,

[leaf 19, back]

724

Emong them, ouer whome  
 God hath geuen them cure.

728

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

He thought no  
 law was so little  
 obserued.

732

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

736

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

He called his  
 Council,

740

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> stont in original.

That all stourburne priestes  
may take warnyng by the."

that all may take  
warnyng."  
784

### Of the Exchecker.

**I**N the weste parte of Europe  
there was sometyme a kynge,

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

That had a court for receyte  
of money to him belonging.

788

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

The officers took  
bribes.

792

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

[leaf 21]

796

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

When the king  
heard of it he  
sent for them.

800

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

They cryed for  
mercy, but he  
sent them away

804

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

808

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

812

Awaye wyth them all,  
laye them in prisone,

to prisone to await  
judgment.

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

## Of Flaterars.

A flatterer is  
worse than an  
enemy.

*vi. Re. iii.*

If Abner had  
knowne Joab's  
heart

he would haue  
avoided him.

[leaf 22]

Trust open ene-  
mies if you like.

	<b>A</b> Flatterynge frende is worse then a foe ;	
	For a frende is betruſted, when the other is not ſo.	824
	Of an open enimie, a man may be ware ;	
	When the flatterynge frend wyl worcke men much care.	828
	For if Abner had knowne what was in Ioabs harte,	
	I do not doubt but he would haue out of his waye ſterte ;	832
	Or, at the leaſte, he would not haue admitted hym ſo ny	
	As to be embraced of hym, and on his dagger to dye.	836
	Wherefore I aduertise al men to be ware	
	Of all flatterynge frendis, that bring men to care.	840
	As for open ennimies, trust them if ye wyl ;	
	I can not forbyd you to admyt your owne yll.	844
	Woulde God all men woulde ſuch flatterars trye,	



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

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

who, if the wind  
turns, will leave  
them,

as the swallow  
leaves man in  
winter,

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

Some flatterers  
will remain  
while you are  
prosperous :

others will seek  
you when they  
are poor.

### Of Foles.

**T**He Prechar sayeth thus,  
“a pore wytty ladde

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

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

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

You must praise  
 them.

If you reason  
 with them, they  
 will fight. All  
 wise men shun  
 them.

### Of Forestallars.

[leaf 24]

- T**He fryses of Walis  
 to Brystowe are brought ;  
 But before thei were wouen,  
 in Walis they are bought ; 936
- So that nowe we do paye  
 foure grotos, or els more,  
 For the fryse<sup>1</sup> we haue bought  
 for eyght pens heretofore. 940
- And some saye the woule  
 is bought ere it do growe,  
 And the corne long before  
 it come in the mowe. 944
- And one thyng there is  
 that hurteth moste of all ;

Welsh friezes are  
 bought before  
 they are woven.

Some say the  
 wool is bought  
 before it is  
 grown.

<sup>1</sup> Orig. "fryfe"

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

## Of Godlesse Men.

- H**Olye Dauid, that was  
 boeth propheth and kinge,  
 Sawe in hys tyme  
 (as appeareth by hys wrytynge)  
 That in those dayes  
 there were men of wycked hert,  
 That dyd all godlye wayes  
 vtterlye peruerte.  
 And so there are nowe,  
 the pitye is the more,  
 That lyue more carnalye  
 than euer men<sup>2</sup> dyd before.  
 These men (sayeth kinge Dauid)  
 in their hertes do saye,  
 Surelye there is no God,  
 let vs take our owne waye.  
 Thus iudged kyng Dauid,  
 and that for good skyll,  
 Bicause he sawe their worckes,  
 were wycked and euyll.  
 They are (sayeth he) corrupt,  
 and nought in all theyr wayes,  
 Not one doeth good ;  
 and therefore he sayes,  
 That they thincke there is no God,  
 theyr worckis do declare,  
 For to do the thyng that good is  
 they haue no maner care.  
 But what would Dauid saye,  
 if he were in these dayes,  
 When men wyl do ill,  
 and iustifie theyr yl weyes ?

David in his time  
 saw wicked men,

984 *Psalm xic.*<sup>1</sup>

988 who perverted  
 godly wayes.

So now there are  
 men more carnal  
 than euer.

992

996 They say there  
 is no God,

1000

[leaf 25, back]

1004

and their deeds  
 declare it.

1008

What would  
 David say now ?

1012

<sup>1</sup> Orig. i.

<sup>2</sup> Repeated in orig.

- They leaue the good vndone,  
and do that yll is ;  
And then they call that yll good—  
what woulde Dauid saye to this? 1016  
I know not what Dauid  
would saye in this case ;  
But I knowe that good Esay  
doeth curse 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 dearekenes 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, 1040  
And say they wyl make merie here,  
for when they be gone  
They can haue no ioie,  
for soule they haue 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 apase  
for calling evil  
good, and good  
*Esai. v.*  
evil.

[leaf 26]

If they find any-  
thing in the  
Bible

they will none of  
it if it do not  
agree with their  
fancy.

They say they  
haue no soules.

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.

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

Idleness causes  
much wickedness,  
  
*Eccles.* 33.  
  
1056  
  
  
  
  
  
as was seen in  
Sodom,  
1060  
  
  
and the abbeyes.  
1064  
  
  
  
  
1068 Now idle persons  
hatch con-  
spiracies.  
  
  
[leaf 27]  
1072  
  
  
  
  
1076  
  
  
  
  
What the idleness  
of priests and  
servants in Lon-  
don has done,  
1080

let every man see for himself.	Let eueri man search his owne houshold well, And whether the thyng be true that I tell.	1084
It is the gate of all mischief.	Yea, what abuse dyd euer emonge the people rayne, But the same dyd fyrst sprynge out of an idlle brayn? Idlienes, therefore, maye ryghte well be named The gate of all mischiefe that euer was framed.	1088  1092
You masters, keep your families,  [leaf 27, back]	Ye masters and fathers, therefore, that feare God omnipotent, Kepe youre families, leaste ye be shente ; For if thorowe their idlienes they fall into outrage, Your iudgemente shall be strayght, for they are committed to your charg.	1096  1100
for they are committed to your charge.	Kepe them, therefore, styll occupied, in doynge youre busines, Or els in readynge or hearynge some bokes of godlines.	1104
Would that magistrates would set men to work!	And woulde God the maiestrates woulde se men set a-worke, And that within thys realme none were suffered to lurke.	1108
This realme has thre commodi- ties, wool, tin, and lead, which should be wrought at home.	This realme hath thre <i>commoditie</i> woule, tynne, and leade, Which being wrought <i>within the</i> realme, eche man might get his bread.	1112

### ¶ Of Inuenters of Straunge Newes.

Some men delight  
to invent newes

**S**ome men do delite  
straunge newes to inuente,



- Of this mannes doyuge,  
 and that mannes intente ; 1116
- What is done in Fraunce,  
 and in the Emperours lande ;  
 of Foreign parts,  
 [leaf 28]
- And what thyng the Scottes  
 do nowe take in hande ; 1120
- What the Kynge and his counsell,  
 do intende to do ;
- Though for the most parte  
 it be nothyng so. 1124  
 which for the  
 most part is  
 untrue.
- Such men cause the people,  
 that els woulde be styll,
- To murmour and grudge,  
 whyeh thyng is very ill. 1128  
 Such men make  
 the people  
 murmur.
- Yea, sometyme they cause  
 the people to ryse,  
 And assemble them selfe  
 in most wycked wyse. 1132  
*We sawe the  
 experience of  
 thys of late.*
- In Plato hys common wealth,  
 such men shoulde not dwell,  
 For poetes and oratoures  
 he dyd expell. 1136  
 Plato expelled all  
 poets and orators  
 from his com-  
 monwealth.
- Oh ! that these newes bryngars  
 had for theyr rewarde,  
 Newe halters of hennippe,  
 to sette them forwarde ! 1140  
 They want new  
 halters.

¶ Of Laye Men that take Tithes,  
 and Priests that vse theyr Ti-  
 t[h]es priuatly. [leaf 28, back]

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

- Then was there a man  
before hyr accused,  
For tythes that he toke,  
and priuately vsed. 1148
- 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 priuate,  
that commune shoulde be,  
He shall haue this iustice,  
by the iudgment of me. 1160
- Those pore men, that by the tithes  
shoulde be releued,  
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

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.

### Of Leasemongars.

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

- OF late a leasemongar  
of London laye sycke,  
And thynkyng to dye,  
his conscience dyd him pricke. 1172
- Wherefore he sayde thus  
wyth hym selfe secretly,  
“ I wyll sende for a prechar,  
to knowe what remedy.” 1176

So he sent for a  
preacher.

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

### Of Marchauntes.

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

They are un-  
profitable.

We muste nedes cal them  
membres vnpfitable,  
As men that woulde make  
all the Realme miserable. 1212

They also lend  
money to young  
merchants.

Howe they leaue theyr trade,  
and lende oute theyr money,  
To yonge marchaunte men,  
for greate vsurie ; 1216

What is the  
remedy ?

Whereby some yonge men  
are dreuen to leaue all,  
And do into moste extreme  
pouertie fall, 1220

The Lord will  
haue them in  
mind,

It greueth me to wryte.  
but what remedy ?  
They muste heare theyr faute,  
syth they be so greedye. 1224

[leaf 30, back]

and they will get  
judgment without  
mercy.

*Jacob .ii.*

And thus I saye to them,  
and trewe they shall it fynde,  
The Lorde wyll haue all  
theyr iuell doynge 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 mereye  
to suche as be merciles 1236

### Of Men that haue Diuers Offices.

In Rome ambi-  
tion was punished  
with exile,

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

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

## Of Nice Wyues.

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

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

*Eccles. xi[x].*

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

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

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

Their caps are  
 like a sow's maw ;

[leaf 32]

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

one on each side  
 as big as a ball.

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

## Of Obstinate Papistes.

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

that he went to  
Louvain to put  
it on.

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

[leaf 33]

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

Would God all  
the Papists were  
with him!

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

Unless they can  
burn the Bible  
they will despair.

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

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

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

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

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

[leaf 33, back]

### Of Rente Raysers.

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

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



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

Of Vayne Wryters, Vaine Talkers,  
 and Vaine Hearers.

- O**F late, as I laye,  
 and lacked my reste,  
 At suche time as Titan  
 drewe faste to the Easte, 1392
- Thys sayinge of Christe  
 came into my minde,  
 Whyche certayne and true  
 all maner menne shall fynde :— 1396
- Of euerye idle worde  
 ye shall geue a rekeninge ;  
 Be it spoken by mouthe,  
 or put in wrytyng. 1400
- O Lorde (thought I then)  
 what case be th[e]y in,  
 That talke and write vaynely,  
 And thinke it no synne ? 1404
- [leaf 34]  
As I lay restless
- Christ's saying  
about idle words  
came into my  
mind.
- Math. xii.*
- What a case they  
are in who write  
and talk vainly !

I thought I saw  
three vain men  
condemned and  
punished.

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

[leaf 34, back]  
The writer's head  
was opened, and  
the talker stirred  
his brains with  
a stick ;

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

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

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

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

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

### Of Vnsaciabie Purchasers.

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

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

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

" Jack, I have  
bought this  
ground."

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

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

“Why, Iacke” (quod this riche man)

“what haue they to do?

Woulde they haue me to purchase

and kepe greate house to?”

1440

“I can not tell” (quod the boye)

“what maketh them to brawle;

But they saye that ye purchase

the Deuill, his dame, and all.”

1444

[leaf 35]

“Why, Jack,  
would they haue  
me buy and keep  
a great house  
too?”

*Luk. xiiii.*

“I don't know  
why they brawl—  
they say you buy  
the devil and his  
dam.”

### Of Vsurars.

**A** 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.

1448

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

Than came there a broker,

and sayde if he woulde do

As he woulde aduise hym,

he shoulde make of one penyne two.

1456

A broker came  
and offered to  
tell him how to  
make twopenne  
of a penyne.

“Marye that woulde I fayne do”

(quod this vsurer than)

“I praye the teache me

the feat if thou can.”

1460 [leaf 35, back]

“You shall” (sayde thys broker)

“lende but for a monethes day,

And be sure of

a sufficiente<sup>1</sup> gage alwaye,

1464

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

Wyth a playne bill of sale;

if the day be not kept,

And se that ye do

no causis accepte.

1468

<sup>1</sup> Orig. suffitience

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

Than muste you be sure  
that your intereste be  
One peny 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

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

Than saide this vsurer,  
"this matter goeth well,  
For my twenty pounce lande,  
that I chaunced to sell, 1480

I shall haue foure hundred  
pounce rente by the yere,  
To lyue lyke a Lorde,  
and make iolye chere." 1484

[leaf 36]

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

*Psal. xv.*

Than came there a Prophete,  
and tolde thys manne playne,  
That h[e]auen is no place  
for suche vnlawfull 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 to live  
on £20 a year  
till God shall  
increase the  
amount ;

You are called to liue  
after twentye pounce by yere,  
And after that rate  
ye shoulde measure your chere, 1496

Tyll God did encrease you  
by his mercifull wayes,  
By encreasyng your corne,  
and your cattell in the leyes ; 1500

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

Whyche encrease wyth your landes  
you are bounde to employe,  
To the profite of all them  
that do dwell you bye. 1504

- Ye are not borne to your selfe,  
neither maye you take  
That 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  
for enerye thynge. 1512
- And do ye not doubtte,  
but then ye shall knowe,  
Whether ye maye your goodes  
at youre pleasure bestowe ; 1516
- And whether ye maye vse  
wayes wycked and yl,  
To increase your riches  
at your owne will. 1520
- But chieflie to lende  
youre goodes to vsurie,  
Is a thinge that you shall  
moste dearelye abyge ; 1524
- For Christe saieth in Luke  
that the heathen do so.  
Take hede lest ye flytte  
frome pleasure to woe." 1528
- Luke vi.*

Finis.

¶ Cum p[ri]uilegio ad imprimendum solum.



# The Voyce of

the laste trumpet, blowen by the seventh Angel (as is mentioned in the eleventh of the Apocalips) calling al estates of men to the ryght path of theyr vocati-  
on, wherin are conteyned .xii. Lessons to  
twelue seueral estates of men, which if  
they learne and folowe, al shall be

\* wel, and nothing amis \*

~ \* ~

¶ The voyce of one crynge  
in the deserte.

Luke .iii.

¶ Make redy the Lords waie, make his  
pathes streight. Euery valley shalbe fyl-  
led, and euery mountayne and lyttle hyl  
shalbe made lowe, and thynges that be cro-  
ked shalbe made streyght, & hard passa-  
ges shalbe turned into plaine waies, and  
all flesh shall se the hea[ur]th of God.

Esaie .xl.

¶ Imprinted at London by Ro-  
bert Crowley, dwellynge in Elie  
rents in Wolburn. Anno Do.

M D L.

¶ 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)  
 Thincking therby to auoyd all the blame  
 That commenli chaunceth to such men as wryte 4  
 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. 7
- If ought do displese you, let me bere *the* wit,  
 For I am the doar of all that is done;  
 I bark at your fauts, but loth I am to byt,  
 If by this barkyng ought myght be won: 11  
 And for thys intent I was firste bigonne,  
 That, hearing your fautes, ye myght them emende,  
 And reigne *with* our master Christ in the end. 14

I am named the  
Last Trumpet

to avoid all  
blame.

Though I bark I  
am unwilling to  
bite.

Hearing your  
fautes, may you  
amend them.

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## The Beggars Lesson.

<p><b>W</b>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.</p>	<p>Let those who          would have all          things well give          ear to me.</p>	<p>4</p>
<p>Fyrste walke in thy vocation,          And do not seke thy lotte to chaunge ;          For through wycked ambition,          Many mens fortune hath ben straynge.</p>	<p>Walk in your          vocation,          and don't try to          change your lot.</p>	<p>8</p>
THE BEGGARS LESSON.		
<p><b>I</b>f God haue layede hys hande on the,          And made the lowe in al mens syght,          Content thiselfe <i>with</i> that degre,          And se thou walke therin upryght.</p>	<p>If you are a          beggar, be          content.</p>	<p>12</p>
<p>If thou, I saye, be very pore,          And lacke thine health or any limme,          No doubt God hath inough in store          For the, if thou wylt truste in hym.</p>	<p></p>	<p>16</p>
<p>If thou wylt truste in hym, I saye,          And continue in patience,          No doubt he wyll fede the alwaye          By his mercifull providence.</p>	<p><i>Esai.</i> [xxvi.]          Trust in God, and          He will feed you,</p>	<p>20</p>
<p>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.</p>	<p>and give you          what you need :  <i>Dan.</i> xi[r.]          as He did Daniel          in the lions' den,</p>	<p>24</p>
<p>When Daniell was in the denne          Of Lions, haueynge nought to eate,          Abacueke was sent to him then,          With a pot of potage and meate.</p>	<p></p>	<p>28</p>

- And when Elias fled away  
 From Ahab and quene Iesabel,  
 The rauens fed him by the way,  
 As the story of Kinges doeth tel. 32
- And as King Dauid doth record,  
 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,  
 And cal on him with confidence,  
 And doubtles he will mens hertes moue  
 To fede the of beneuolence. 40
- But if at any tyme thou lacke  
 Thynges nedeful, yet do not despayre,  
 As though the Lorde did the forsake,  
 Or ded to the displeasure beare. 44
- But in such case, cal to thy mynd  
 What plenty God hath to the sent,  
 And thou shalt wel perceiue & find  
 That thou hast many thynges mispent. 48
- Then thincke Gods iustyce coude not leaue  
 The unplaged, for that thou hast  
 Mispente the gyftes thou didst receyue  
 To lyue vpon, and not to wast. 52
- Then must thou nedes giue God glorie  
 For his vpryght and iust iudgement,  
 And be most earnestly sory,  
 For that thou hast his gyftes mispent. 56
- But if thou finde thy conscience cleare,  
 As few men can I am righte sure,  
 Then let Iobs trouble be thi chere,  
 That thou mayst patientlie endure. 60
- Yea though *thou* shouldest perishe for fode,  
 Yet beare thou thy crosse patientlie ;  
 For the ende shal turne the to good,  
 Though thou lye in the stretes & die. 64

[iii. Reg.]  
 .17.  
 and Elijah when  
 ravens fed him.

[Psal.] .147.

[Psal.] .32.  
 He will move  
 men to be  
 benevolent.

[Luk] .xii.  
 [Psal.] .iii.  
 If you are in  
 want, do not  
 despair.

[To]b. xiii  
 You will find you  
 have wasted  
 many things,

[Sa]pt. xi

[Lu]ke .xv.  
 for which you  
 must be sorry.

Luk [xvi.]

Mat [iv.]

Psal [xci.]  
 Though you  
 perish, bear it  
 patiently.

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

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

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

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

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

You must not  
grudge or repine,  
76

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

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

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

84 *Mat. x [xviii.]*

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.

*Luke [iii.]*  
*Rom. [ii.]*  
*Actu. i [v.]*  
88

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

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

## ¶ The Seruauntes Lesson.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Orig. ouetic.

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

- Fourtene yere he serued Laban,  
 Who was made riche be hys labour ;  
 But afterward, Iacob began  
 To growe to much greater honour. 136 and increased in  
     Laban was neuer of such might      honour.  
 As Iacob was within short space :      Laban was never  
 For his true seruice, in Gods sight,      so mighty as  
 Had purchest him favour and grace. 140      Jacob.
- Thus seest thou how God doth regard  
 The good seruice of seruauntes true,  
 And how he doth in them rewarde  
 The seruice that is but their due. 144
- It forceth not what maner man  
 Thy maister is, so that thou be  
 In thy seruice a Christian,  
 Doyng as Christ commaundeth the. 148
- But if thy maister be wicked,  
 And would haue the do wickedlie,  
 Then se that thy fayth be pitched  
 On thy Lord God most constantly. 152
- Call to thy mynde good Daniel,  
 Who serued his prince fayethfully,  
 Notwythstandynge he was cruel,  
 And eke his Lorde Gods enemy. 156
- Serue him trulye, I say, for why  
 God hath bade that thou shouldest do so ;  
 But do thou nothinge wickedly,  
 Neyther for wel nor yet for wo. 160
- 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 ; 164
- But for the conscience thou dost beare  
 To thy Lorde Gods commaundemente ;  
 That is, for loue, and not for feare  
 Of any worldly punyshmente. 168

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

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

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

and call to mind  
Daniel's conduct.

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

[*Eph*]es .vi.

[*Col*]oss .iii.

but only for love,  
not fear.

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

<sup>1</sup> Orig. r gayne.



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

### The Yeomans Lesson.

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

<sup>1</sup> Orig. dilygently.

- [*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  
 desire to be  
 higher,  
 It doth also byd the be ware  
 Of the desyre to be alofte :  
 For he that doth for honour care  
 Falleth in Sathans snares ful oft. 244
- and keep within  
 your degree.  
 Haue minde, therfore, thyselve to holde  
 Within the bondes of thy degre,  
 And then thou mayest euer be bold  
 That God thy Lorde wyll prosper the. 248
- If you have  
 plenty, don't be  
*Psal.* 62  
 greedy,  
 And though the Lord geue the plentye  
 Of corne, cattell, and other thyng,  
 Be thou neuer the more gredy,  
 Nor set thy mynd on gatheringe. 252
- Prou.* 24  
 But thinke the Lorde doth these thynges sende  
 To the, as to his stuard true,  
 That wilt not his goodes wast & spende,  
 But bestow them wher they be due. 256
- but give where  
 there is need,  
 And if wyth thy labour thou get  
 Money much more then thou doste nede,  
 Do not thy mynde on rayment set,  
 Neither on deynthy fode to fede. 260
- If you get rich,  
 don't set your  
 mind on clothes  
 and dainty food,  
 Set not (I say) thy minde on pride,  
 Neither upon delicious fare,  
 Neither forget at any tyde  
 To geue the pore that thou mayest spare. 264
- but remember  
 the poor, and be  
 contented.  
 But when thou hast sufficient  
 Of fode and honest apparrayle,  
 Then holde thy selfe therwyth contente,  
 As wyth the wage of thy trauayle. 268
- 1. Tim.* v[*i.*]  
 If you have  
 anything left,  
 give it as God  
 commands you.  
 The reste (if ought remaine vnspent  
 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 linclode for thyne hyere,  
Howe darest thou then be so bold 276
- Howe darest thou be bolde, I say,  
To heape up so much goulde in store,  
Out of the due that thou shouldest paye  
To them that be pore, sicke, and sore ? 280
- Wo be to them, sayth Esaie,  
That heape togither house and lande ;  
As men that woulde neuer fynde stay,  
Tyll all the earth were in theyr hande. 284
- What, wil ye dwel alone (sayeth he)  
Upon the earth that is so wyde ?  
Wyll you leane no parte therof free  
From your unsatiable pryde ? 288
- Ye nede not to be so gredy,  
For the Lorde doth you playnly tell,  
That greate houses shall stand empty,  
And no man lefte therin to dwell. 292
- And Moses sayth that *thou* shalt builde  
Houses, and neuer dwell therin  
Thyself, nor leane them to thy chyld,  
Nor any other of thy kynne. 296
- And why ? bicause thou hast no mynd  
To kepe the Lords commaundement,  
But sekest euer for to fynde  
Wayes to encrease thine yerely rent. 300
- No maner threatnyng can the let  
From purchasyng the deuill and all ;  
It is all fysh that commeth to net,  
To maintaine thy great pryde wyth all. 304
- Well, turne agayne I the aduise,  
And learne to walke in thyne estate,  
And set Gods feare bifore thyne eies,  
Lest, when thou wouldst, it be to late. 308

- But repent, and  
walk in your  
vocation.
- i. Cor. [vii.]*
- If you should not  
prosper, still  
thank God.
- If your rent is  
raised, pray for  
your landlord.
- So shall you  
obtain a blessing.
- If he is not  
worthy to repent,  
God will destroy  
him,
- and you will be  
set free.
- If you take the  
remedy into your  
own hand,
- it will be all the  
worse for you.
- And haue in thy mynde euer more,  
Thys rule of thy profession,  
Whych is in dede Gods holy lore,  
To walke in thy vocation. 312
- But if the Lorde do the not blesse  
In thy labours wyth greate plenty,  
Yet thanke thou hym neuer the lesse ;  
Thou hast more then thou arte worthy. 316
- If thy landelorde do reise thy rent,  
Se thou paye it wyth quietenes ;  
And praye to God omnipotent,  
To tak from hym his cruelnes. 320
- So shall *thou* heape coles on his heade,  
And purchase to thy selfe greate reste :  
By the same man thou shalt be fedde  
By whom thou wast bifore oppreste. 324
- For God, who ruleth ech mans herte,  
Shal turne thy landlords hert, I saye,  
And shall all his whole lyfe conuert,  
So that he shall by thy greate staye. 328
- Or else, if he be not worthy  
To be called to repentaunce,  
No doubt thy Lorde wyll hym distroy,  
Or take from hym his heritaunce. 332
- Sure thou shalt be he wyll the set<sup>1</sup>  
Free from thy landlords tyranny ;  
For he dyd neuer yet forget  
Any that walked orderly. 336
- But if thou wylt neds take in hande  
Thyne owne wrong for to remedy,  
The Lord hym self wyll the wythstande,  
And make thy lan[d]lord more gredy. 340
- 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

<sup>1</sup> Orig. looks like see.

- In like sort, if thy prince wil take  
More tribute *then* thou canst well spare,  
See thou paye it him for Goddes sake,  
Whose officers al princes are. 348
- For in his nede both thou and thine  
Are his to maintaine his estate ;  
It is not for the to define  
What great charges thy king is at. 352
- Yea, though thou se evidently  
That he wasteth much more then nede,  
Yet pay thy duty willyngly,  
And doubtles God shal be thy mede. 356
- Now touching thy religion :  
If thy prince do commaunde the ought,  
Against Goddes Euangelion,  
Then praye for him styl in thy thought. 360
- Pray for him styl, I say, that he  
May haue Godly vnderstanding  
To teach Gods word to such as be  
Committed to his guerning. 364
- And se thou do not him dispyse,  
But aunswere him wyth reuerence ;  
And though *thou* mightest, yet in no wyse  
Do thou forget obedience. 368
- ¶ Take not his swerde out of his hande,  
But lay thy necke downe under it,  
Yea, though *thou* mightest his force withstand ;  
For so to do for the is fit. 372
- Thy maister Christ hath taught *the* wel  
When he would no resistance make :  
Neither agaynst the powers rebell,  
When men were sent him for to take. 376
- Yet if the Lord haue geuen to the  
Such knowledge, that thou art certaine  
Of thy fayth, knowyng it to be  
Of the truth, do therein remaine. 380
- Pay all your,  
taxes,  
*Mat. xiii.*
- Do not remember it  
isn't for you to  
say what the  
king shall spend.
- Even if you see  
his waste, it is  
your duty to pay.
- If the king  
commaunds you to  
act contrary to  
the gospel,
- you must still  
pray for him,
- and answer him  
with reuerence.
- a. xliii.*  
You must not  
take the sword  
into your own  
hand.
- Math 23,*
- If you are  
certain of your  
faith, remain  
in it.

- Math .x.* For though man may thy body kyl,  
 Yet oughtest thou not him to feare ;  
 For he can do thy soule none yll :  
 Wherefore 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 walecke in thy callynge. 392
- But if you lift  
 your hand  
*Ma. .xxvi*  
 against the king,  
 But if thou do lyfte up thy sword  
 Agaynst thy kynge and soueraine,  
 Then art thou iudged by Gods word  
 As worthi therwith to be slayne. 396
- or repine against  
 him,  
 Yea, thou maist not grudge or repine  
 Against thy kynge in any wise,  
 Though thou shouldst se plaine w<sup>th</sup> thine eien  
 That he were wicked past al sise. 400
- Pro .xiii.*  
 remember he is  
 appointed by  
 God, and,  
 For it is God that appointeth  
 Kinges and rulers ouer the route :  
 And with his power he anointeth  
 Them for to be obeyede, no doubt. 404
- if he is evil, to  
 punish your sins.  
 If they be euil, then thinke thy sinne  
 Deseruith that plage at Gods hande ;  
 And se thou do forthwyth bigynne  
 Thyne owne wickednes to wythstande. 408
- Korah and  
 Dathan rebelled,  
 Corah and Dathan dyd rebell,  
 And thought *that* thei *them* selues culd poynt  
 A better prieste in Israell  
 Then Aaron, whom God dyd annoynte. 412
- and were  
 destroyed.  
 But what came of their phantasie ?  
 Was not distruction theyr ende ?  
 God dyd distroye them sodenly,  
 Bicause thei woulde his workes emende. 416

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

You'll go to hell  
if you will  
change.

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

456

### The Lewde or Vnlerned Priestes Lesson.

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

Thou that art lewde wythoute leamyng,  
Whom commonly men call syr Iohn,  
Geue care, for I wyll saye somethynge  
Concernynge thy vocation.

460

You are ignorant,  
and without good  
qualities.

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

464

You are not an  
offerer of  
sacrifice,

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

468

For it is plaine in holly wyte,

for none can offer  
for sin,  
[H]ebra. ix.

That none can offer sacrifices  
For sinne, eicher in flesh or sprite,  
Though he be both learned and wyse ;

472

since Christ was  
offered for all,  
[H]ebra. ix

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

476

To offer sacrifice therfor,

[Rom. xi.  
and He can no  
more be slain.

Thou arte not called, I tell the playne ;  
For Christe lieuth for euermore,  
And can no more for vs be slayn.

480

Thy state therefore, and thy callinge,  
Is none other than for to wycke,

[Ther]ene. iiii.  
[Pr]ov. xv.

And not to liue by forestallyng,  
And name thy selfe one of the kyrcke.

484



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

488

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

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

492

Give over tipping  
and gambling,  
[E]phes .v.

And if thou haue any lyueyng,  
So that thou nede not to labour ;  
Se thou apply the to learynge  
Wyth all thy busy endeouore.

496

i Tim i[r.]  
and apply  
yourself to  
learning,

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.

500

that you may  
profit others.

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

504

Do not say  
masses in secret,  
leading men to  
think popish  
customs will be  
restored.

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.

508

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.

512

If you can do  
good by teaching  
A B C, do so.

Be euer doyng what thou can,  
Teachyng or learyng some good thyng ;  
And then, lyke a good Christian,  
Thou doste walke forth in thy callyng.

516

Always do as  
much good as you  
can.

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.

520

If you reject  
labour and  
knowledge, you  
are worse than a  
Jew.

Rom. x.

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

I will pray that  
 you may leave  
 your popishness.

Thus leaue I the, makynge promes  
 To make for the petition,  
 That thou mayst leue thy popyshnes,  
 And walke in thy vocacion. 528

### The Scholars Lesson.

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

Give ear, young  
 man,

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

and observe that  
 schools were  
 founded

for such learning  
 as the country  
 had need of.

Doubtles this was al their meaning,  
 To haue their countrei furnyshed  
 Wyth all poyntes of honest learynge,  
 Whereof the publyke weale had nede. 540

Call thou therefore to memorie  
 What knowledg thy countrei doth lacke,  
 And apply the same earnestly,  
 By all the meanes that thou canste make. 544

When you have  
 decided what  
 knowle he to get,  
 get it at once,

And when thou art determined  
 What knowledg thou wilt most apply,  
 Then let it not be loytered,  
 But seke to get it spedily. 548

and do not idle.

Spende not thy tyme in idlenes,  
 Nor in vayne occupation ;  
 But do thy selfe wholly adres  
 To walke in thy vocacion. 552

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

There is no need  
for you to resign  
your living,

¶ But haply thou wylt say agayne,  
Shall I surrender my lyuyng?  
Shall I not therupon remayne,  
After I haue gotten learnyng? 592

but you must  
keep yourself  
[L]uke .xix.  
exercised,

¶ Yesse thou maiste kepe thy lyuyng still,  
Tyll thou be called other wise;  
But if thou wylt regarde Gods wyll,  
Thou must thyself styll exercise. 596

and must teach  
others,  
[L]uke .xix.

When thou art thorowely learned,  
Then se thou teach other thy skyll,  
If thou wylt not be reconed  
For a seruant wyked and ill. 600

and let your life  
be as a booke  
before them.

¶ Teach them, I saye, that thou dost se  
Wyllynge to learne thy discipline,  
And vnto them se thy lyfe be  
A boke to laye before theyre eie. 604

Rom. 14.

Let them neuer se the idle,  
Nor heare the talke vndiscretely;  
And by all the meanes possible,  
Let all thy doynges edife. 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.

**T**hou learned man, do not disdayne,  
To learne at me, a symple wyght,  
Thy greate abuses to refrayne,  
And in thy calling to go ryght. 616

If you live  
dissolutely, you  
are an offence to  
the simple.

Thou arte a man that sittest hye  
In the simple mans conscience;  
To lyue therefore dissolutly,  
Thou shouldste be vnto them offence. 620

- ¶ Offence, I say, for thou shoulde think  
 All that thou doste to be godly ;  
 Wherefore do not at this thyng wycked,  
 But do emende it spedily. 624 *Math [xviii.]*  
 Amend your life  
 and serve as a  
 light to others.
- Emende thy wycked lyfe, I say,  
 And be (in dede) a perfecte lyght,  
 As Christe our Savioure dothe say,  
 And let thy workes shine in mens syght, 628  
 For it is thy vocation  
 To leade other the redy waye ;  
 Howe greate abomination,  
 Arte thou then if thou go astraye ? 632 *i. Corh [v.]*  
 If you lead men  
 astray, you are  
 an abomination.
- But herein lyeth the whole matter,—  
 To know which waye thou shouldest then lead :  
 Wherefore I wil not the flatter,  
 But tell the truth wythouten drede. 636  
 Thou must thy selfe humiliate,  
 And acknowledge thy wycked sinne,  
 And stryue to enter the streyt gate,  
 Where fewe men do fynde a waye in. 640  
 You must humble  
 yourself, and  
 acknowledge  
 your sin.  
*Mat. [vii.]*
- ¶ This way thou canst not walke, so longe  
 As thou wylt trauaile sea and lande,  
 And frame all the wordes of thy tonge,  
 To get promotion at mans hande. 644  
 You cannot do  
 this while you  
 are seeking  
 promotion from  
 man.
- Thou must humble thy selfe I saye,  
 And not aye seke to be alofte ;  
 For he that walketh in rough waye,  
 And loketh hye, stobleth ful oft. 648  
 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. 652  
 You must confess  
 your unworthi-  
 ness.
- Thou must, I saye, stryue to enter,  
 And not to get promocion ;  
 Thy lyfe thou must put in venture  
 For Christes congregation. 656 *John. x*  
 You must  
 venture your life  
 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.*      Gene care, I saye, therefore thou fole,  
 Give ear, you fool,      And learne thy fyrst lesson agayne :  
 and learn your      Enter into Gods holi schole,  
 first lesson again,      And do not hys doctryne dysdayne. 664
- He wylleth the fyrst to apply  
 Thy mynde to knowledge, and to take  
 The great beame out of thynce own eye,  
 And thine abuses to forsake. 668
- [L]uke .vi.*      and take the  
 beam out of your  
 own eye,  
 And then he wolde, that in no wyse  
 Thou shouldest be slacke or negligente  
 To pycke the motes out of mens eyes,  
 Teaching them how they should repent. 672
- then you will  
 pick the motes  
 from other men's  
 eyes.
- [T]ite .ii.*      If thou wylt that thei do repente,  
 Repent thou fyrst, that they maye see  
 That the whole some of thynce intente  
 Is to make them like vnto the. 676
- For, if thou wylt them to refraine  
 Mur[t]her, theft, whoredome, & incest,  
 If they se these thynges in the raigne,  
 They wyl al thy doctryne deteste. 680
- If you wish  
 others to repent  
 and forsake their  
 sins,
- If thou forbid them gluttononye,  
 And wil them the flesh for to tame,  
 They wil defie the vtterly,  
 If they se the not do the same. 684
- you must set  
 them an example.
- If thou tel them of apparayle.  
 Or of ought wherin is excesse,  
 Then wil they say, thou doest but rayle,  
 Unlesse thou be therin faultles. 688
- If you speak of  
 their apparayle,  
 you must be  
 faultless yourself.
- What shouldest thou speake of vsurie,  
 When thou dost take vnlawfull gayne ?  
 Or rebuke men for Simonie,  
 When nothyng else doeth in the rayne ? 692
- If you speak of  
 usury or simony,  
 see that you are  
 free.

- Maye not the lay man sauflly saye,  
 I learned of the to by and sel  
 Benefices? whych, to thys daye,  
 Thou canst put in practise ful well. 696
- Why should not I, as well as thou,  
 Haue benefices two or thre?  
 Sens thou hast taught me the wei how  
 I may kepe them and blamelesse be. 700
- I can set one to serue the cure,  
 That shall excel the in learninge,  
 More then thou dost me, I am sure;  
 And also in godly luyceynge. 704
- I can kepe hospitalyite,  
 And geue as much vnto the pore  
 In one yere, as thou dost in thre,  
 And wyl performe it wyth the more. 708
- Alas! that euer we should se  
 The flocke of Christ thus bought & solde,  
 Of them that shoulde the shepherdes be,  
 To leade them saifly to the folde. 712
- ¶ Repent this thyng, I the aduise,  
 And take the to one cure alone;  
 And se that in most faythfull wise,  
 Thou walk in thy vocation. 716
- Then shall no lay man saye, by right,  
 That he learned his misse of the;  
 For it is playne, in ech mans syght,  
 That thou dost walke in thy degree. 720
- Morouer, if thou chance to be  
 Made a prelate of hygh estate,  
 To thyne office loke that thou se,  
 And leaue not thy flocke desolate. 724
- And fyrste, before all other thynges,  
 Seke thou to fynde good ministers,  
 And appoynt them honest luynges,  
 To be the peoples instructers. 728 [i] *Tim. x.*

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

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

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

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

Take to one cure and be faithful,

then none can blame you.

If you are a prelate, look to your office;

seek for good ministers;

- have none in whom is any vice.      Let none haue cure wythin thy see,  
In whome any greate vice doth reigne ;  
For where mislyuyng eurates be,
- [E:]ech .33.      The people are not good certayne.      732  
And for them all that do perishe  
If any perish through you, you will have to answer for them.  
[i] Tim. v.      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,
- Do not trust to any trifier,      And truste not to a tryfelar,  
That wyl allowe all that wyl paye  
Somewhat vnto the regester.      740
- and see that the young are instructed.      Se that they do instruct the youthe  
Of eche paryshe diligently,  
And trayne them vp in the Lords truth,  
So much as in theyr powre shall ly.      744
- If you are called to be the prince's counsellor,      Now if so be thou be called,  
To be thy Princes counselloure,  
Beware thou be not corrupted  
By the vayne desyre of honoure.      748  
Be not carful how for to holde  
Thy selfe styll in autoritie ;
- be bold to speak the truth,      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 :
- and exhort him to leave his sins,      Exhort hym all vice to refrayne.      756  
If thou perceyue him ignoraunt  
In any parte of hys dutie,  
Se thou do hym not cheeke or taunte,  
But tell hym wyth sobrietie.      760
- and tell him his faults with all submission.      Tell hym his falte, I say, playnly,  
And yet wyth all submission ;  
Lesse thou do seme to speake vaynly,  
Forgettingyng thy vocation.      764



Thus haue I tolde the, as I woulde  
 Be tolde, if I were in thy place ;  
 To the intent that no man shoulde  
 Haue cause to tel the to thy face. 768

Thus do I leaue the wyth wyshyng  
 To the a wyll for to aduaunce  
 Gods glorie by godly learnyng,  
 And not thy lyuyng to enhaunce. 772

Thus I have told  
 you your duty.

### The Phisicians Lesson.

**G**ee care, maister Phisicion,  
 And set asyde thyne vrinall,  
 And that wyth expedition,  
 For I the laste trumpet do call. 776

Geue care, I say, and mark me well ;  
 And printe all my wordes in thy mynde,  
 For ech thyng that I shall the tell  
 Thou shalt boeth true and certen fynde. 780

God made the to succour mans nede,  
 As Iesus Sirach wryteth playne,  
 But by due proufe we know in dede  
 That many thousandes thou hast slaine. 784

Attend, Master  
 Physician, and  
 mark my words  
 well.

God made you to  
 succour man,  
 [*Eccl*s. 38

but you kill him.

But now am I sent from the kynge  
 Of powre and domination,  
 To call the from thy murtherynge,  
 To walke in thy vocation. 788

First, wher thou didest heretofore vse  
 To haue respect to the ryche man,  
 I woulde not now thou shouldest refuse  
 To helpe the pore man if thou can. 792

Helpe hym, I saye, though he be pore,  
 And haue nothyng wherwith to paye,  
 For hys maister hath yet in store  
 A crowne for him at the laste daye. 796

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

even when he has  
 nothing with  
 which to pay.

[*T*]ob .ii.

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

And if thou do on him thy cure,  
For hys sake *that* gene herbes their strength,  
Thou shalt vndoubtedly be sure  
He wyll rewarde the at the length. 800

[*Matth. ix.*  
He rewards those  
who give a cup  
of water.

Thys maister of hys doth regarde  
Mercie so much, that he hath tolde  
All hys that they shal haue rewarde  
For geuyng water thyne and colde. 804

And thinkest thou that he wyll not  
Rewarde them that geue medicine?  
Thou hast no such mistruste, I wot,  
In hys promise that is diuine. 808

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

I saye therefore, if thou canst cure  
The pore mans sore or maladi,  
Of thy rewarde thou shalt be sure,  
If thou wylt shewe on hym mercie. 812

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

But if thou suffer hym to lacke  
Thyne helpe, because he lacketh goulde,  
No doubt when thou shalt acmpt make  
Thy confidence shall be full colde. 816

What authority  
have you for  
neglecting the  
poor?

Then shew thy writyng if thou can,  
Wheron thou bearest the so bolde,  
That thou wylt viset no sicke man  
That cannot lyne thy purse with golde. 820

Bryng forth thy writyng *then*, I say,  
If thou haue any such in store,  
Wherby thou maiste require eche daye  
A noble of golde or else more. 824

What right have  
you to charge for  
looking at water,

And shewe by what right thou maist take  
Two pence for the sight of water,  
When thou knowest not therbi to make  
The sicke man one farthinge better. 828

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

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 erake ;  
 Neither is thy labour condyng  
 That thou shouldest money for it take. 836  
 Water may show something, but not much.
- 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. 840
- But if thou do but gesse, as doeth  
 The byndeman that doth cast hys staff ;  
 Though thou by chaunce hit on the soth,  
 Thy labour is scase worthy chaffe. 844  
 If you only guess, but chance to hit the truth, your labour is not worth much.
- 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. 848  
 You only guess to win money.
- But now, I saye to the, repent,  
 And do thy selfe henseforth applye  
 To vse the gifte God hath the sent,  
 To the profite of thy contrey. 852  
 Repent, and apply yourself to profit your country.
- Let not lucre make the professe  
 Before thy knowleege be perfect ;  
 For he that ministreth by gesse,  
 Shall not so sone heale as infect. 856
- Apply the earnestli therfore  
 To get phisikes perfection ;  
 That thou maiste ease the sike and sore,  
 And remedy infection. 860  
 Strive to ease the sick 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 : 864  
 Help the poor and needy, and
- For God hymselfe hath promised  
 To make for them a recompence  
 Wherefore doubt not to be paied,  
 Both for thy labour and expence. 868  
 [M]ath .16.  
 [L]uk .10.  
 God will recompense you.

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

### The Lawiars Lesson.

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

- Fyrst call vnto thy memorye  
 For what cause the laws wer fyrst made ;  
 And then apply the busily  
 To the same ende to vse thy trade. 904  
 Remember why  
 laws were first  
 made.
- 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. 908  
 They were made  
 to relieve the  
 oppressed.
- Doest thou then walke in thy callyng,  
 When, for to vexe the innocent,  
 Thou wilt stand at a barre ballyng  
 Wyth al the craft thou canst inuente ? 912  
 Is it well for you  
 to stand hawling  
 like a beast to get  
 money ?
- 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. 916
- Thyne excuses are knowne to well,  
 Thou saist thou knowest not the matter,  
 Wherefore thou sayst thou canst not tel  
 At the firste whose cause is better. 920  
 You say you  
 don't know whose  
 matter is right ;
- 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 ? 924  
 but why are you  
 retained before  
 you learn the  
 cause ?
- 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, 928  
 I do not blame  
 you for this plea,  
 when neither  
 party's right is  
 known.
- It were a godly way for the  
 To knowe the ende ere thou began,  
 But if that can bi no meanes be.  
 To make shorte sute do what thou can. 932
- If thou be a mans attorney,  
 In any court where so it be,  
 Let him not waite and spende money,  
 If his dispatch do lie in the. 936  
 If you are  
 attorney for any  
 man, don't delay  
 his case,

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

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

You may see your  
duty in God's  
word.

I nede not to tel any more  
Of thy duetie ; thou maiest it se  
In Gods sacred and holye worde,<sup>1</sup>  
If thou wylt there to applie the.

1012

So I leave you.

Thus leaue I the, thou man of lawe,  
Wyshing the to be as wylling  
To folowe, as I am to draw  
The backe agayne to thy callinge.

1016

### The Marchauntes Lesson.

You who buy and  
sell may mark  
my words.

**N**owe marke my wordes thou marchaunte man,  
Thow *that* dost vse to bie and sell,  
I wyll enstruct the, if I can,  
How thou maiste vse thy callinge well.

1020

Consider for  
what end all  
men are made.

Fyrst se thou cal to memori  
The ende wherfore al men are made,  
And then endeuour busily  
To the same ende to vse thy trade.

1024

It is to maintain  
the public state.

The ende why all men be create,  
As men of wisdome do agre,  
Is to maintaine the publike state  
In the contrei where thei shal be.

1028

Apply your trade  
to profit your  
country.

¶ Apply thy trade therefore, I sai,  
To profit thy countrey with al ;  
And let conscience be thy stay,  
That to pollinge thou do not fal.

1032

If you import  
profitable things,  
let the poor have  
them at a  
reasonable rate.

If thou venter into straunge landes,  
And bringe home thynges profitable ;  
Let pore men haue them at thine handes  
Upon a price reasonable.

1036

If you do not,  
you will be  
punished in the  
end.

Though *thou* maist thi money forbear,  
Til other mens store be quite spent,  
Yet if thou do so, that thy ware  
May beare high price, *thou* shalt be shente.

1040

<sup>1</sup> Orig. lorde.



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

God gave you  
riches

that you might  
make necessaries  
for your country,

and when you  
have brought  
any good thing  
home,

you should thank  
Him for your  
prosperity.

But I write in  
vain.

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

They smell out  
unthrifty heirs;

they have farms  
round London;

they have their  
spies on every  
side.

They haue thier spies vpon eche syde  
To se when ought is lyke to fal ;  
And as sone as ought can be spied,  
They are ready at the fyrst cal. 1080

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

I can not tel what it doeth meane,  
But white meate beareth a greate pryce  
Which some men thinke is by the meane  
That fermes be found such marchaundise. 1084

The poor man  
must now pay  
double rent, or  
quit.  
The collier and  
woodmonger

For what is it when the pore man,  
That erst was wont to pay but lite,  
Must now nedes learne (do what he can)  
To playe eyther double or quite. 1088

say their prices  
are doubled.

If ye aske of the coliar,  
Why he selleth hys coles so dere,  
And rightso of the wodmongar,  
They say marchauntes haue all in fere. 1092

I am ashamed of  
the abuses among  
merchants,

The wood, say thei, *that* we haue bought  
In tymes paste for a crowne of golde,  
We cannot haue, if it be ought,  
Under ten shyllinges ready told. 1096

so I will do what  
I can to teach  
you your  
vocation.

I am ashamed for to tell  
Halfe the abuse that all men se,  
In such men as do by and sell,  
They be so bad in eche degre. 1100

Trade for the  
profit of your  
country,

I wyl therefore do what I can  
To make plaine desiaratyon,  
How thou, that art al marchauntman,  
Maist walke in thy vocation. 1104

then you will not  
need to take  
leases of grounds.

Applye thy trade, as I haue tolde,  
To the profyt of thy contrey,  
And then thou maiste<sup>1</sup> eer be bolde  
That thy Lord God wil guide thy wai. 1108

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

<sup>1</sup> Orig. maïsse.

- 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. 1116  
You may neither  
buy and sell  
benefices,
- No more shalte thou nede for to lende  
Thy goodes out for vnlawful gayne,  
In such sort that, by the yeares ende,  
Thou maist of one shillyng make twaine. 1120  
nor lend for  
unlawful gain.
- Thou shalt aye haue inough in store  
For the and thine in thy degre ;  
And what shouldst thou desire more,  
Or of hygher estate to be? 1124  
If you have  
enough, why  
desire more<sup>9</sup>
- 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? 1128  
Marry your  
daughter to your  
equal,
- And let thy sonnes, every chone,  
Be bounde prentise yeres nine or ten,  
To learne some art to lyue vpon :  
For why should they be gentelmen? 1132  
and bind your  
sons apprentice.
- There be already men inowe  
That beare the name of gentil bloud ;  
Tell thou me *then*, what nede haste thou  
So vainly to bestow thy good? 1136  
There are plenty  
of gentelmen.
- For thou canst not promote thy *some*,  
But thou must bye him land and rent,  
Wherby some must needes be vndone,  
To bryng to passe thy fonde entent. 1140  
If you promote  
your son, you  
must buy him  
land.
- 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? 1144  
If a man must  
mortgage his  
land—why do you  
compel him to  
sell?
- 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? 1148  
Would you like  
your son so  
served?

[*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

[*L*]uke. vi.  
and lend to the  
needy.

And if any man stande in nede,  
Lende hym frely that thou maiste spare,  
And doubtlesse God wyll be thy mede,  
And recompence the in thy ware. 1156

Be just, open,  
and mercifull,  
[*M*]at. h. v.  
and God will  
increase your  
store.

Be iuste, playne, and not disceytfull,  
And shewe mercie vnto the pore,  
And God, that is moste mercifull,  
Shall euermore encrease thy store. 1160

And in the ende, when nature shall  
Ende thy peregrination,  
Thou shalt haue ioye emonge them all  
That walkt in theyr vocation. 1164

But if you refuse  
to do as I have  
told you,

But, if thou do refuse to walke  
In thy callyng, as I haue tolde,  
Thy wisdome shalbe but vaine talke,  
Though thou be both auncient and olde. 1168

you certainly will  
be damned in the  
*Mat. vii.*  
end.

Saye what thou wylt for to defende  
Thy walkynge inordinately,  
Thou shalt be certen, in the ende,  
To be damned eternally. 1172

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

### ¶ The Gentlemans Lesson.

You that are born  
gentlemen,

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

- Thou arte a man that God hath set  
To rule the route in thy country ;  
Wherefore thou hadste nede forto get  
Good knowledge rather then money. 1184
- For ignoraunce shall not excuse,  
When all men shall geue a rekenyng ;  
And the iudge wyll money refuse,  
And iudge after eche mans doying. 1188
- Fyrst I aduertise the therefore,  
And require the in Christes name,  
That of knowledge thou get the store,  
And frame thy luyeyng to the same. 1192
- 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. 1196
- 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 doying. 1200
- Thou shalt not fynde any leasure,  
To dice, to carde, or to reuell,  
If thou do once take a pleasure,  
In vseying thyne owne callyng well. 1204
- For parkes of dere *thou* shalt not care  
Neither for costuouse buildyng,  
For apparell, or for fyne fare,  
Or any other worldly thinge. 1208
- 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. 1212
- Thou shalt delite for to defende  
The pore man that is innocent,  
And cause the wicked to amend,  
And the oppressour to repent. 1216
- are set to rule  
your country-  
men.  
You must get  
knowledge,  
*Euel e[ti.]*  
for ignoraunce can  
be no excuse.  
*Rom. [xii.]*  
*Mat. iv.*  
Get knowledge,  
and live up to it.  
You will see you  
have no time to  
spare in feasting.  
You will have no  
leisure for  
gambling,  
hunting, costly  
building, or  
apparel.  
You must strive  
to walk upright ;  
and delight in  
defending the  
poor,

and in doing  
your duty.

Thou shalt haue delite in nothyng  
Sauinge in doynge thy duty ;  
Which is, vnder God and thy kyng,  
To rule them that thou doest dwel by. 1220

You are not  
allowed to do as  
[Ro]m. 14.  
you like with  
your own.

Thou shalt not think *that* thou maist take  
Thy rente to spend it at thy wyll,  
As one that should no recknyng make  
For ought that he doth well or yl. 1224

[Luc]ke .xii.

But thou shalt fynd *that* thou art bound,  
And shalt answer much more strayghtly,  
Then the pore men that tyl the ground,  
If thou regard not thy duty. 1228

You may not  
raise your rents  
at will—

Thou shalt not fynd that thou maiest reise  
Thy rent, or leany a great fine  
More then hath bene vsed alwayes ;  
For that only is called thyne. 1232

you must allow  
your tenants to  
live.

For as thou doest hold of thy kyng,  
So doth thy tenaunt holde of the,  
And is allowed a lyueinge  
As wel as thou, in his degre. 1236

If thou, therefore, wouldest not thi king  
Should take of the more then his due,  
Why wilt thou abate the liuyng  
Of thy tenaunt and cause him rue ? 1240

Knowledge will  
tell you to do as  
you would be  
done by,  
Mat. vi

For knowledge wyl tel the, that thou  
Must do as thou wouldest be done by ;  
And ryght so wyl she tel the how  
Thou maiste discharge al thy duty. 1244

and to be content  
with your  
inheritance.

She wyl teach the to be contente  
Wyth that thou haste by herytage ;  
And eke to lyue after thy rente,  
And not to fal into outrage. 1248

If you can afford  
to spend 40*l.*, you  
may not live up  
to 60*l.*

If thou maye despend xl. pound,  
Thou maiste not lyue after three score ;  
Neyther maist thou enclose thy ground,  
That thou mayst make it yerely more. 1252

- For knowledge wil teach the to seke  
 Other mens wealth more then thine owne,  
 And rather to fede on a leke  
 Then one house should be ouerthrowen. 1256
- Thou shalt by her learne that *thou* art  
 A father ouer thy country,  
 And that thou oughtest to play the parte  
 Of a father both nyght and day. 1260
- Thou shalt by knowledg vnderstand  
 That thou must succour the neady,  
 And in theyr cause such men wythstande  
 As shew themselues ouer gredy. 1264
- In fine, knowledge that is godly  
 Wyll teach the al that thou shalt do  
 Bilongyng to thyne owne duty,  
 And other mens duty also. 1268
- Gette the knowledg, I saye, therefore,  
 That thou mayste be worthy thy name ;  
 For wythout hir thou maiste nomore  
 Be called a ge[n]tleman for shame. 1272
- For wythout knowledg thou shalt be  
 Of all other moste out of frame ;  
 Bicause there is nothyng in the,  
 That may thy luste chastice or tame. 1276
- Wythout knowledg *thou* wylt folowe  
 Thy fleshe and fleshly appetyte,  
 And in the luste therof wallowe,  
 Settyng therin thy whole delyte. 1280
- Wythout knowledge *thou* wylt oppresse  
 All men that shalbe in thy powre ;  
 And when they shalbe in distres,  
 Thou wylt them cruelly deuoure. 1284
- Wythout knowledg thou wilt aray  
 Both the and thyne paste thy degree,  
 And eke mayntayne outragious playe,  
 Tyl thou haue spent both lande and fee. 1288
- You must learn  
 that you are a  
 father to your  
 country,
- Psalm 8.*  
 and understand  
 that you must aid  
 the neady.
- In short,  
 knowledge will  
 teach you your  
 duty—
- without it you  
 can't be called  
 a gentleman,
- because you have  
 nothing within  
 you to subdue  
 your passions.
- Without  
 knowledge you  
 will oppress all  
 men who are in  
 your power,
- and dress and  
 gamble till you  
 have spent all.

- If you have no  
knowledge you  
will be worse  
than a slave.
- To make an ende ; vnlesse thou haue  
Knowledg remaynyng in thy breste,  
Thou shalt be worse then a vile slaue  
That doth all honestie deteste. 1292
- Study always to  
know your duty,  
and to fear God.
- Get the knowledg, therefore, I saye  
And eke the feare of God aboute ;  
And let thy study be alwaye  
To knowe what thyng doth the bihoue. 1296
- [P]salm .33
- But fyrste, bifore all other thynges,  
Set the Lords feare bifore thy face,  
To guyde the in all thy doynges,  
That thou delyte not in trespase. 1300
- He who delights  
in sin will never  
get knowledg,
- For he that doth delyte in synne  
Shall neuer gouerne hys lyfe wel,  
Nor any godly knowledge wynne ;  
For wisdome wyl not with him dwel. 1304
- so seek her till  
you find her.  
Sapie [ci]
- Then seke for knowledg busilie,  
And leaue not off tyll she be founde ;  
And when thou hast her perfectelie  
To the Lordes feare let her be bounde. 1308
- And let them two beare all the swea  
In thy doynges, earelye and late<sup>1</sup> ;
- Let the fear of  
God and  
knowledge
- Let them agre and ende their plea,  
Before thou do appoint the state. 1312
- guide you in all  
things,
- By theyr aduise suruei thy lande,  
And kepe thy courtes both farre & nere,  
And se they do fast by the stande,  
In thine housekeeping and thy chere. 1316
- and have them  
ever in mind.
- Haue them present before thine eies,  
In al thy dedes what so they be ;  
In cessions, and eke on assise,  
Let them not be absent from the. 1320
- Let them rule  
your family,
- Let them rule all thy familie,  
And eke enstruct thy childrene yonge ;  
That they may thyne office supply  
When *with* hys darte death hath the stong. 1324

<sup>1</sup> 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. 1328  
and your  
children's  
children.

No more to the I haue to saye  
 But that thou kepe Gods feare in syght  
 And make it the guyde of thy waye  
 As well by bryght daye as by nyght. 1332

So doying I dare the assure  
 That in the ende thou shalt obteyne  
 The blisse that shall euer endure,  
 Wyth Christe our Maister for to rayne. 1336  
So doing you  
shall obtain the  
bliss of heaven.

### ¶ The Maiestrates Lesson.

**W**hoso thou be that God doeth call,  
 To beare the swerd of punishment,  
 Mark wel my words and take them all  
 Accordyngly as they be ment. 1340  
You who are  
called magis-  
trates

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. 1344  
and haue the  
bridle-rein in  
hand,

Loke not vpon thy swerd alway,  
 But loke sometyme on thy ballaunce,  
 And se that neither do decay  
 In the tyme of thy gouernaunce. 1348  
look at the  
balance as well  
as at the sword,

For to punyshe wyth equitie,  
 Is, and aye shalbe, bisemeyng ;  
 Whereas to shewe extremity,  
 Is founde rather a blonde suckeyng. 1352  
and punish with  
equity.

If any man be acensede  
 Se thou hear him indifferently,  
 And let him not be punished,  
 Tyl thou knowe his cause thorowly. 1356  
Be impartial in  
your judgment.

- If he haue wrought against *the* lawes,  
 So that iustice woulde haue him dye,  
 Then in thy ballaunce laye his cause,  
 And iudge him after equitie. 1360
- If a man err  
 through ignor-  
 ance or poverty,  
 If he dyd it of ignoraunce,  
 Of nede, or by compulsion,  
 Or else by fortune, and by chaunce,  
 Then must thou vse discretion. 1364
- consider what  
 extreme need is,  
 Consyder what extreme nede is,  
 And howe force may the weake compel,  
 And how fortune doth hit and misse,  
 When the intent was to do well. 1368
- and that wit-  
 nesses may lie.  
 And though the euidence be plaine,  
 And the accusars credible ;  
 Yet call to mynde the elders twayne,  
 That Daniell found reproveable. 1372
- Dani* [xiii.] ¶ And if thou fynde them false, or vayne,  
 Forged to worcke theyr brother yll,  
 Then let them suffer the same paine  
 That he shoulde haue had by their wyll. 1376
- I might say  
 much under this  
 head,  
 Much myght be sayde in this matter  
 Out of the workes of writers olde,  
 And, for to proue it the better,  
 Many late stories might be tolde. 1380
- but I leave it to  
 your study.  
 But I leaue this to the study  
 Of them that haue had exercise  
 In iudgement, in whose memorie  
 It is as styll before their eyes. 1384
- Your duty is  
 I thought mete to tuch it only,  
 That thou myghtest haue occasion  
 To call to mynde the chief dutie  
 Of thy state and vocation : 1388
- to weigh  
 euidence, and  
 examine accusers,  
 Whych is to scanne the euidence,  
 And eke to try the accusars all,  
 Thoughe they be men of good credence,  
 Leste happily 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 thyng. and to see the  
statutes enforced,  
 1396
- For to what ende do statutes serue,  
 Or why should we hold parliamente,  
 If men shall not suche lawes obserue  
 As in that court we shal inuent ? 1400
- And what thyng 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. because neglect  
of statutes makes  
a realm decay,  
 1404
- For in that realme the mightie shal  
 Worke after theyr fancie and wyl ;  
 For there the pore may erie, and cal  
 For helpe, and be oppressed styl. and brings  
oppression upon  
the poor.  
 1408
- 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. 1412
- Let them al know, I say, that thou  
 Art set to minister iustice,  
 And that thou madest therto a vowe  
 At the takeing of thine office. Let men know  
you are set to  
administer  
justice.  
 1416
- 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. Do not wink at  
things which are  
too plain.  
 1420
- 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 ? If you will not  
administer  
justice,  
 1424
- The heauenly housband man, therefore,  
 Who planted the, vice to suppress,  
 Shall drye thy rote for euermore,  
 And geue the vp to wyckednes. 1428

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

Take hede, take hede, I saye therefore, That thou fal not into his hand ; For if thou do, thou art forelore, Thou canst not be able to stand.	and take heed that you fall not [Hebra]e. 2. into His hand.	1468
Yet one thyng more I must the tell, Which in no wyse thou mayst forget, If thou wylt professe Gods Gospel, And thyne affiaunce therein set :	If you profess the Gospel,	1472
Thou must not couet imperye, Nor seke to rule straunge nacions ; For it is charge inough, perdie, To aunswere for thyne owne commons.	you must not seek power.	1476
Let thy study, therefore I saye, Be to rule thyne owne subiectes wel, And not to maynetayne warres alwaye, And make thy contrey lyke an hell.	Study to rule your own subjects well.	1480
Let it suffice the, to defende Thy limites from inuasion ; And therein se thou do intende Thine owne peoples saluation.	Defend your own country from invasion,	1484
For, marke this : If thou do invade, And get by force commodite, The same shal certainly be made A seorge to thy posteritye.	and do not invade other lands,	1488
This haue I sayde, to call the backe From the Philistines stacion ; Trustyng thou wylte my counsell take, And walke in thy vocacion.	[i] Re. j. viii.	1492

### The Womans Lesson.

<b>W</b> hoso thou be of woman kinde, That lokest for saluation, Se <i>thou</i> haue euer in thy mynde, To walke in thy vocation.	All women should walk in their vocation.	1496
--	--	------

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

- Nowe when thou arte become a wyfe,  
 And hast an housbande to thy mynde,  
 Se thou prouoke him not to stryfe,  
 Lest haply he do proue vnkynde. 1536 [*i C*]or .xi.
- Acknowledge that he is thyne heade,  
 And hath of the the gouernaunce ;  
 And that thou must of him be led,  
 Accordyng to Goddes ordinaunce. 1540
- Do al thy busines quietly,  
 And delyte not idle to stand ;  
 But do thy selfe euer applye,  
 To haue some honest worcke in hand. 1544
- And in no case thou maist suffer  
 Thy seruantes or children to play ;  
 For ther is nought that may soner  
 Make them desire to renne awaye. 1548
- Se thou kepe them styl occupied  
 From morne tyl it be nyght agayne,  
 And if thou se they growe in pryde,  
 Then laye hand on the brydle rayne. 1552
- But be thou not to them bytter,  
 Wyth wordes lackyng discretion,  
 For thine housband it is fitter  
 To geue them due correction. 1556
- But if thou be of such degre,  
 That it is not for the semely  
 Emonge thy maydens for to be,  
 Yet do thy selfe styl occupye ; 1560
- Do thy selfe occupy, I say,  
 In readinge, or hearyng some thyng,  
 Or talkyng of the godly way,  
 Wherein is great edifyng. 1564
- Se thy children well nurtered,  
 Se them brought vp in the Lordes feare,  
 And if their meaners be wycked,  
 In no case do thou wyth them beare. 1568

If you have a  
 husband,

let him guide  
 you.

Be industrious,

and keep your  
 children and  
 servants from  
 idleness.

But do not be  
 too severe.

If you are above  
 mixing with your  
 servants,

spend your time  
 in reading.

See that your  
 children are well  
 brought up.

- If your husband  
does wrong,  
admonish him  
mildly.
- And if thine housbande do outrage  
In any thinge, what so it be,  
Admonish him of hys last age,  
Wyth wordes mylde as becommeth the. 1572
- And if he do refuse to heare  
Thy gentle admonicion,  
Yet se if thou can cause him feare  
Goddess terrible punission. 1576
- Allure him by  
your godly  
living.
- Do what thou canst, him to allure  
To seke God by godly liueing,  
And certenly thou shalt be sure  
Of life that is euerlastinge. 1580
- For though the  
first woman fell,
- For though the first woman did fall,  
And was the chiefe occasion  
That sinne hath pearsed through vs all,  
Yet shalt thou haue saluation. 1584
- you shall be  
saved if you are  
obedient,
- Thou shalt be salfe, I say, if thou  
Kepe thy selfe in obedience  
To thine housband, as thou didest vow,  
And shewe to him due reuerence. 1588
- and do all in  
faith.
- But in fayth must all this be done,  
Or else it doeth nothyng e auayle ;  
For without fayeth nought can be wone,  
Take thou neuer so greate traunayle. 1592
- Thou must beleue, and hope that he,  
That bade the be obedyent,  
Wyll be ryght well pleased wyth the,  
Because thou holdest the content. 1596
- But if your  
husband is godly,
- Nowe, if thyne housbande be godly,  
And haue knowleged better then thou,  
Then learne of him al thy dutie,  
And to his doctryne se thou bowe. 1600
- learn of him,
- [i Ti]mo. v.
- Se thou talke wyth him secretly  
Of su[c]h thinges as do the behoue ;  
And se thou obserue thorowlye
- and do all that  
he approves.
- [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. 1608
- Delite not in vaine tatyllars, Delight not in  
tattlers—  
 That do vse false rumoures to sowe ;  
 For such as be great babbelars  
 Wyll in no case their dutie know. 1612
- 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. 1616 they are worse  
than the devil ;
- They wyll fynd faute at thyne araye,  
 And say it is for the to base,  
 And haply ere they go awaye,  
 They wyl teach the to paynt thy face. 1620
- Yea, if al other talke do fayle  
 Before the idle tyme be spent,  
 They wyl teach the how to assayle  
 Thyne housband with wordes vehemente ; 1624 they will teach  
you to scold your  
husband,
- Thow muste swere by Goddes passion,  
 That long before thou sawest his heade,  
 Thou hadest ech gallaunt fassion,  
 And wilt agayne when he is deade. 1628 and tell him of  
your tricks  
before you knew  
him.
- Thou must tell him, that he may heare,  
 Wyth a lowd voyce, & eke wordes plaine,  
 That *thou* wilt sometyme make good chere  
 With ryght good felows one or twaine. 1632
- I am ashamed for to wryte  
 The talke that these gossepes do vse ;  
 Wherefore, if thou wylt walke vpryght,  
 Do theyr companye quite refuse. 1636 I am ashamed of  
these gossips,
- For they are the deuelles mynysters,  
 Sent to destroy al honestye,  
 In such as wyl be their hearars,  
 And to theyr wycked reade applye. 1640 for they are the  
devil's ministers.

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

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

1644

*Gene. xvi.*  
who always  
obeyed her  
husband,

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

1648

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

Folowe hir, and thou shalt be sure  
To haue, as she had in the ende,  
The lyfe that shall euer endure :  
Unto the whiche the Lorde the send.


1652

Amen.

Imprynted at

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

D. xlix. the  
laste daye of December.

 Autore eodem Roberto Croleo.

¶ Cum priuilegio ad impri-  
mendum solum.

# A Pleasure

And Payne, Heauen and Hell:

Remembre these foure,

and all shall be

well.

¶ Compyled by Roberte Crow-  
ley, Anno Domini, M.D.LX.

¶ Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum  
solum.

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

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

Math, xxv,



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

[Page 3]

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

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

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

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]

cent together. For so shal they also deserue the Lordis wrath, & in the ende be plaged by some other that God shal styr vp to reuenge the iniurye done to the innocent sorte. Moued therefore wyth the desyre to se the wealth of my contrey by the pacifyng of Gods ire, which (no doubt) wyl fal vpon this realme very shortly, if oppression and gredeye 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* inuentying of newe wayes to oppresse the pore of thys realme, whoes oppression doeth alreedy crye vnto the Lorde for vengeance. The Lorde work in the hertis of the ryche, that this vengeance fall not on thys realme in oure dayes, for doubtles it wyl be gret when it cometh. And if the oppression cease not, the vengeance can not ta\*rye longe. For the Lorde hath promised to reuenge his people in haste. This Lord preserue your good Ladiship to hys good pleasure in thys lyfe and geue you blysse in the lyfe to come.  
So be it.

Your Ladyships at commaundement, Robert Crowley.

[Page 6, blank]

**W**hen Christ shall come to iudge vs all,<sup>1</sup>  
 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.

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

7 *Mat. vii.*

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

He will bid them  
 come and possess  
*Mat. xxv.*  
 the kingdom pre-  
 pared for them,

11

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

[Page 8]  
 14 *Rom. viii.*

because when He  
 was hungry they  
 fed Him.

*Mat. xxv.*

18

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

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

21 *i. Cor. xiii.*

*Mat. xxv.*

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

25

and treated Him  
 courteously.

28

<sup>1</sup> Two lines of the original are put into one.

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



- ☞ “Yet all that I haue sayde before  
 Is true also ; for when you gauo  
 Ought to such as were sycke or sore,  
 Whome nede constray[ned] forto craue,  
 Then, I confesse my selfe to hauo  
 Receyued all that at your hande,  
 Whereof they dyd in greate nede stande.” 76
- ☞ Then shall the iuste wyth ioye enter  
 Into the ioyes that shall not ende ;  
 By cause theyr hertes were aye tender  
 To geue such thyngis as God dyd sende,  
 Mankynde from peryle to defende.  
 Thus shall they lyue in ioye and blyssø  
 In Paradiçe, where no payne is. 77
- But to the wycked Christ shall saye,  
 “Auoyde frome me, ye wycked sorte ;  
 For in my nede you sayde me naye  
 Wyth spytefull wordis of disconforte.  
 Yet my preachers dyd you exhorte  
 Me in my membres to refreshe,  
 Knoweynge that all are but one fleshe.” 84
- ☞ Then shall these men, wyth faynte herte, saye  
 “Lorde when dyd we see the in nede ?  
 Thou haste bene Lorde and Kynge alwaye ;  
 No wyght was whome thou dydest not fede :  
 All this we learned in oure Creede ;  
 For thou arte Iesus, that Gods Sonne  
 That hath create boeth sonne and mone.” 91
- ☞ “Oh,” shall Christe saye to them agayne,  
 “Ye deafe dorepostis, coulede ye not heare ?  
 Thynke you the heade bydeth no payne,  
 When the members make heauye chere ?  
 In you nought but flesh doeth appere.  
 For if my spirite in you had ben,  
 Me in myne you must nedis haue sene. 95
- But when we  
 gave anything to  
 the sick we gave  
 it to Him.
- Mat. xxv.*
- The just will  
 enter into ever-  
 lasting joys,
- [Page 13]  
 because their  
 hearts were  
 tender.  
*Mat. v.*
- They will live in  
 Paradise.
- To the wicked  
 He will say,  
 “Depart ! for in  
 my need ye  
*Mat. xxv.*  
 refused me.”
- 1. Corhi. x*
- [Page 14]  
*Mat. xxv.*  
 They will answer,  
 “Lord, when did  
 we see thee in  
 need ?
- Thou art Iesus,  
 who created all  
 things.”
- He will answer,  
 “You deaf door-  
 posts,
- 1. Cohr. xii.*
- [Page 15]  
 if my spirit had  
 been in you, you  
 must have seen  
 the poor.

- You did see  
them weep, but  
did not help  
them.
- 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. xvi.*  
acts in question,  
you put him into  
prison.
- [Page 17]  
Because a man  
toll you your  
duty, you said he  
wished to have  
all.
- But mine only  
wish for their  
own,  
as I shall tell  
you.  
*Luke .xvi.*
- [Sign. with Dr  
Bliss MS. note,  
"P. B. i. 34  
[Page 18]  
1 Q 8"]
- ¶ "The pore, the pore, and indigent  
Came vnto you ofte tymes ye knowe,  
And you sawe them wepe and lament,  
Yet would ye not on them bestowe  
The leaste frute that to you dyd growe.  
No, no, you were redy to take  
That other gaue them for my sake.
- "Your hertis were harder then the flynt—  
In them no pitie coulde be founde.  
Your greedye gutte coulde neuer stynt,  
Tyll all the good and fruitfull grounde<sup>1</sup>  
Were hedged in whythin your mownde.
- You wycked sorte, howe vsed ye  
The londis and goodis ye had of me?
- ☞ "You made your boaste all was your owne,  
To spare or spende, at your owne wyll ;  
And when any pore men were knowne  
That were so bolde to calle it yll,  
My landis and goodis in waste to spyll,  
You shet them vp in prisone strong,  
Tormentynge them euer emonge.
- "False libertynes you dyd them call,  
Because they tolde you your duitie.  
You sayde the loselles woulde haue all  
That you had gotten paynfully,  
And kept longe tyme moste carefully ;  
But ye belye them, I know well,  
And slaunder this my true Gospell.
- ☞ "Emonge all myne there is not one  
That would haue ought more then his owne,  
As I shall tell you playne anone ;  
For to me all theyr hertis be knowne.  
They reaped nought that you had sowne,  
But wyllled you to let them haue  
That I gaue you mankynde to sane.
- Orig. nownde.

- “Not one so blynde emonge you all,  
 But he knoweth I made all of nought,  
 Appoyntyng all thyngis naturall,  
 To serue mankynde, whome I haue wrought 137  
 Lyke 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  
 Always sycke, sore, and impotent,  
 I indued you wyth such wysedome 144  
 As dyd honest stuardis become,  
 Committyn<sup>1</sup> whole into your hande  
 The riches, boeth of sea and lande. 147
- ☞ “My purpose was that you should haue  
 Always all nedefull thynges in store,  
 To succour such as nedis must craue  
 Of you thyngis nedefull euermore. 151  
 I made you ryeh to fede the pore ;  
 But you, lyke seruauentis prodigall,  
 Haue in excesse consumed all. 154
- ☞ “But when I found you negligent  
 In fedynge of my family,  
 Then my prophetes to you I sent,  
 Commaundyng that you should yerely 158  
 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 lykyng 165  
 In wantones and banketyng,  
 And in rayment past your degree,  
 As men that had no mynde of me. 168

You know I  
 made all things,

*Psal. viii.*

*Genis. i.*

that the needs of  
 all might be  
 supplied,

[Page 19]

*Mat. 24.*

147

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

151

154 *Mat. 24.*

When I found  
 you negligent

[Page 20]

I sent my pro-  
 phets to you,

*Malc. iii.*

but you heeded  
 them not,

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

<sup>1</sup> Cammittyn<sup>g</sup> in original,

- [Page 21] ¶ "Yea, some of you were not content  
To holde fast that ye should haue brought  
Into my barne, there to be spent ;  
But gredyly ye begde and bought, 173  
That my true seruantis, as they ought,  
Dyd at my true prophetis byddyng,  
Into my barne faythfully brynge. 175
- and, when once  
in my fold, ¶ "And when you had once gotten in,  
Into my folde, emonge my shepe,  
Then you thought it to be no synne  
Styll in your kennells forto slepe, 179  
Settyng such ones my flocke to kepe,  
As were more lyke to eate the lambe,  
Then to defende his feble dame. 182
- set others to keep  
my flock.  
[Page 22] *John .x.* ¶ "Ye robde, ye spoylde, ye bought, ye solde  
My flocke and me ; in euery place  
Ye made my bloude vylar then golde :  
And yet ye thought it no tre[s]passe. 186  
O wycked sorte, voyde of all grace,  
Auoyde from me downe into hell,  
Wyth Lucifer : there shall ye dwell. 189
- You had the  
tithes,  
*Ezech. 34.* ¶ "Ye had the tythes of mens encrease,  
That shoulde haue fedde my flocke and me ;  
But you made your selves well at ease,  
And toke no thought for pouertie. 193  
It dyd not greue you forto se  
My flocke and me suffer greate nedo  
For lacke of meate, harbour and wede. 196
- and were not  
sorry to see my  
flock and me  
have need. ¶ "No hell can be a worthy payne  
For your offence, it is so greate ;  
For you haue robbed me, and slayne  
My flocke for lacke of nedefull meate. 200  
The woule, the lambe, the malt, and wheate,  
You dyd by force cary awaye,  
And noman durst once saye you naye. 203
- You carried  
all awaye.

- ¶ “Howe can you loke to haue mercie  
 At myne hande? whome ye would not feede  
 Wyth that was myne, euen of dutie  
 To succoure me and myne at nede?  
 Syth you myght in the scripture rede,  
 That suche men shall no mercie haue  
 As kepe theyr owne when nede doethe craue. 210 *Jacob. ii.*
- “Unto the hungry parte thy breade,  
 And when thou shalt the naked se,  
 Put clothes on him; this myght you reade  
 In my prophetis that preached me. 214  
 And in Iohns Pistle these wordis be:—  
 ‘Howe can that man haue Charitie,  
 That beyng riche sheweth no pitie?’ 217 [Page 25]
- “Also, the man that stoppeth his care  
 At the crye of such as be pore,  
 Shall crye, and no man shall him heare,  
 Nor at his nede shewe him succoure: 221  
 Ryght so he that doeth endeuoure  
 To be made rych by oppressynge,  
 Shall leaue him selfe (at the last) no thyng. 224  
 “For he shall geue the ryche alwaye  
 More then he can scrape frome the pore,  
 So that in tyme he shall decaye,  
 And haue no nedefull thyng in store. 228  
 This might you reade, and ten tymes more  
 In the Bible, that holy boke,  
 If you had had tyme forto loke. 231  
 “But such scriptures you coulde not broke  
 As bade you geue ought to the pore;  
 You wyshed then out of the boke,  
 But you were suer to haue in store 235  
 Plentie of scripturs, euermore  
 To proue that you myght aye be bolde  
 Wyth your owne to do what you woulde. 238

[Page 24]

What mercy can  
 you expect?

207

210 *Jacob. ii.*

*Esai. [l]viii*

You might have  
 seen in the  
 Scriptures

214

217 [Page 25]

*Prou. xvi.*

that he who would  
 not hear the poor

221

*Prou. xxii.*

224 should not be  
 heard.

228

[Page 26]

if you had had  
 tyme to read.

231

*Math. x.*

235

But you wished  
 such things out of  
 the Bible.


238

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

<sup>1</sup> Original, slafegard.

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

<sup>1</sup> xviii in original.

- Rebels go to hell. “The wycked sorte, that dyd rebell  
 Agaynst you, when you dyd them wronge,  
 Shall haue theyr parte wyth you in hell,  
 Where you shall synge a dolefull songe : 312  
 [Page 33] Worlde wythout ende you shall be stonge
- Ecclcs. vii.* Wythe the pricke of the conscience :  
 A iuste rewarde for your offence. 315
- You who are  
 guilty of simony  
 will go to hell.  “And you that woulde nedis take in hande  
 To gyude my flocke, as shepheardis shoulde,  
 Onlye to possesse rent and land,  
 And as much richesse as you coulde, 319  
 To leade your lyfe euen as you woulde,  
 Auoyde from me downe into hell,  
*Actu. viii.* Wyth Simon Magus there to dwell. 322
- Your guilt  
 surpasses belief. “If I should rehearse all at large  
 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 hoolle earth for your synne onlye,  
 That woulde be called my cleargie. 329
- You made your  
 way into the fold  
 like wolves. “Firste (wyth Magus) ye made your waye,  
 Lyke gredy woules,<sup>1</sup> 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  
 as bad as your-  
 selves. Thynkyng that they myght bye as well  
 As the leadars of the clargie. 340  
 And then they founde meanes, by and by,  
 To catch, and kepe in theyr owne hande,  
 The tenth increase by sea and lande. 343

<sup>1</sup> woules in original.



- ¶ “Theyr owne chyldren they dyd present,  
 Theyr seruauntis, and theyr wycked kynne,  
 And put by such as I had sent  
 To tell my people of theyr synne : 347  
 And youe were gladde to take them in,  
 Bycause you knewe that they dyd knowe  
 That youe came in by the wyndowe. 350
- “Such as woulde haue entryd by me,  
 That am the dore of my shepe folde,  
 You sayde were not worthy to be  
 Admitted into my householde : 354  
 You thought by them you should be tolde  
 Of your moste wycked Simonie,  
 Your falsehead and your periurie. 357
- ¶ “You layde to theyr charge herecie,  
 Sisme, and sedicion also ;  
 But you dyd them falsely belye,  
 Thynckynge therby to worke them wo, 361 [Page 37]  
 And doubtlesse ofte it chaunced so :  
 For many of them you haue slayne  
 Wyth most extreme and bitter payne. 364
- ¶ “Thus by your meanes my people haue  
 Ben destitute of sheperdis good ;  
 They haue ben ledde by such as draue  
 Them from the fylde of gostly foode ; 368  
 They beate them backe wyth heauye mode,  
 And made them fede in morysh grownde,  
 Where neuer shepe coulde be fedde sownde. 371
- ¶ “The kyngis and rulars of the earthe,  
 For lacke of knowledge, went astraye ;  
 And you stopped my seruauntis breathe,  
 That woulde haue taught them the ryght waye ; 375  
 You thought your lyueynge woulde decaye,  
 If kyngis and rulars of the lande  
 Should theyr owne duitie vnderstande. 378
- They presented  
 their children  
 and seruaunts.
- John .x.*  
 [Page 36]
- Such as would  
 haue entered the  
 fold by me were  
 deemed un-  
 worthy.
- Esaie. xxx*
- Act xxiiii*
- Many of my  
 seruaunts you haue  
 slaine.
- Kings haue  
 strayed for lacke  
 [Page 38]  
*Apo. xviii*  
 of knowledge,
- John, xi.*

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

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

- ¶ Such as were here so loth to dye,  
 That they thought no ph[y]sicke to dere,  
 Shall there lyue in such miserie  
 That only death myght their hertis chere. 452
- where they shall  
 ever be wishing  
 to die.  
 They shall always desyre to here  
 That they myght dye for euermore,  
 Theyr paynes shal be so passynge sore. 455
- Then shall Christe wyth his chosen sorte  
 [Page 45] Triumphauntely returne agayne  
 To hys Father, geueyng conforte  
 To such as for hys sake were slayne. 459
- Apoc, xxii*  
 [See Rev. xx, 4.] No wyght shall there fele any payne,  
 But all shall lyue in such blysse there,  
 As neuer tonge coulde yet declare. 462
- That we may live  
 with Christ in  
 heaven,  
 That we maye then lyue in that place,  
 Wyth Christe oure kynge that hath vs bought,  
 Let vs crie vnto God for grace  
 To repent that we haue mysse wrought ; 466
- And where we haue wyckedly sought  
 To be made ryeh by wycked gayne,  
 [Page 46] Let vs restore all thynges agayne. 469
- Luke .xix.*  
 Let the pore man haue and enioye  
 The house he had by copyeholde,  
 For hym, his wyfe, and Iacke hys boye,  
 To kepe them from hunger and colde ; 473
- And thoughe the lease thereof be solde,  
 Bye it agayne though it be dere,  
 For nowe we go on oure laste yere. 476
- Phil. iiii.*  
 let the enclosures  
 be laid open  
 again ;  
 Caste downe the hedges and stronge mowndes,  
 That you haue caused to be made  
 Aboute the waste and tyllage growndes,  
 Makeyng them wepe that erste were glad ; 480
- [Page 47] Leste you your selves be stryken sadde,  
 When you shall se that Christe doeth drye  
 All teares from the oppressedis eye. 483
- Apoc, xxi.*

- Restore the fynes, and eke the rent,  
 That ye haue tane more then your due ;  
 Else certainly you shall be shent,  
 When Christe shall your euidence view ; 487  
 For then you shall fynde these wordes trew,  
 You are but stuardes of the lande,  
 That he betoke into your handes. 490 *Luke .xix,*
- And you that haue taken by lease  
 Greate store of growndis or of houseyng,  
 Your lyueyng thereby to encrease,  
 And to maynetayne you loyeterynge, 494  
 Fall nowe to worke for your lyueynge,  
 And let the lordes deale wyth theyr growndis  
 In territories, fieldes, and townes. 497
- You do but heape on you Gods ire,  
 Whych doubtles you shall fele shortly,  
 In that you do so muche desyre  
 The lease of eche mans house to bye. 501  
 You study no mans wealth, pardye,  
 But all men se you do aduaunce  
 Your selfe by pore mens hynderaunce. 504
- What though your liucing ly theron ?  
 Shoulde you not geue them vp therefore ?  
 It is abhominacion ;  
 And doubtles God wyll plage it sore. 508  
 Repent, I saye, and synne no more,  
 For nowe the daye is euen at hande  
 When you shall at your tryall stande. 511
- Let not the wealthy lyueynge here  
 (Which can but a shorte tyme endure)  
 Be vnto you a thyng so dere  
 That you wyll lose endlesse pleasure, 515  
 Rather then leaue the vayne treasure.  
 O, rather let your leases go,  
 Then they shoulde worke you endelesse woo. 518

let all fines and  
rents be restored;

and let the  
leasenongers  
work for their  
living.  
[Page 48]

*ii. The. iii*

You only heape on  
yourselves the  
anger of God.

*Esai. v.*

[Page 49]

It is an abomin-  
ation.

Repent, or else  
you will lose  
heaven.

[Page 50]

- Restore the tithes,  
that the poor,  
the blind, and  
the lame,
- Restore<sup>1</sup> the tythes vnto the pore,  
For blynde and lame shoulde lyue theron,  
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,  
That tr[e]we preachars may lyue theron,  
And haue all nedefull thynges in store  
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  
God, must give up  
your pluralities.
- Geue ouer your pluralities,  
Ye men of God, if you be so ;  
Betake you to one benifice,  
And let your lordelyke lyueynges go, 536  
For holy wryte teacheth you so.  
Learne at the laste to be content  
Wyth thynges that be sufficient. 539
- If you be mete to do seruice  
To any prince or noble man,  
Than medle wyth no benifice ;  
For certainly no one man can 543  
Do the duitie of moe men than  
Of one : which duitie you do owe  
To them that geue you wage, you knowe. 546
- Rob the people  
no more.
- ☞ Robbe not the people that do paye  
The tenth of theyr increase yerely,  
To haue a learned gnyde alwaye  
Present wyth them to edifie 550  
Them by teachyng the veritie,  
Boeth in his worde and eke his dede,  
And to succoure such as haue nede. 553
- Malac. iiii*  
[Page 53]

<sup>1</sup> Rehore in original.

☞ And you that haue tane vsurie Of such as nede draue to borowe, Make restitution shortly, Leste it turne you to great sorowe, When no man can be your borowe, Wich shal be at the daye of dome ; Which doubtlesse is not longe to come.	<p>You that haue taken usury, make restitution.</p> <p>557</p> <p><i>Psal. xv.</i> [See <i>Psal. xlix. 7.</i>] <i>Phil. iiii.</i></p> <p>560</p>
☞ And you that by disceyte haue wounne, <sup>1</sup> Were it in weyght or in measure, Be sorye that ye haue so donne, And seke to stoppe Goddis displeasure, By bestowyng this worldis treasure To the confort, helpe, and succoure Of such as be nedie and pore.	<p>[<sup>1</sup> Orig. wome.] You that haue deceived, be sorry and make recom- pense.</p> <p>564</p> <p>[Page 54] <i>Luke. iiii</i></p> <p>567</p>
¶ And you that erste haue bene oppreste, And could not beare it patiently, For you I thynke it shalbe beste To repent you must hertily, And call to God for his mercie, To geue you grace forto sustayne That crosse when it shall come agayne.	<p>You who haue rebelled, repent heartily.</p> <p>571</p> <p>574 <i>Marc. 14</i></p>
To make an ende—let vs repent All that euer we haue mysse wrought, And praye to God omnipotent To take from vs all wycked thought, That his glory maye be styll sought By vs that be his creatures, So longe as lyfe in vs endures.	<p>Let all repent, and pray God for mercy.</p> <p>[Page 55]</p> <p>578</p> <p>581</p>
And that henceforth eche man maye seke In all thyngis to profite all men, And be in herte lowly and meke, As men that be in dede Christen, As well in herte as name ; and then We shall haue blysse wythouten ende : Unto the which the Lorde vs sende.	<p>And let each man seek the good of others.</p> <p>585</p> <p>588</p>

Amen.

[Page 56, blank]

[Page 57]

## The Boke to the Christian Readers.


The "Trumpet"  
warned all to  
walk uprightly.

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


Directyng their wayes by Gooddis holy lore,  
knowyng that thei be always in the Lordis syght.  
Whoe seeth in the darcke as well as in lyght.  
He hath cryed vnto you all this last yere,  
And yet non emendment doeth in you appeare. 595

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

[\* Page 58]

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

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

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

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

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

[Page 59]

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

<sup>1</sup> payne in original.



Beholde me, therefore, wyth a gostly eie,

And let me not from your presence departe ;

For no doubt you wyll all wyckednes defye.

So longe as I shall remayne in your herte,

I shall cause you from wyckednes to conuert,

So that, in the ende, you shalbe ryght sure

To lyue wyth my father in ioye and pleasure.

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

620

623

Finis.

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

[Page 60]



[front leaf]

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

for Sedicion. Wrytten and imprinted

by Robert Crowley the .lii. of

Februarie in the yere of

our **ROYNE.**

A thousand five

hunderd & fil-

tie

(. .)

**W** In Elie Rentes in  
Holburne

¶ Cum privilegio ad impri-  
mendum solum.

**W**ho so thou be that doest desyre,  
To live and good dayes se,  
Take that in thy tonge and thy lyps,  
None yl or disceite be,  
Fle from yl and do that good is,  
Whercof commeth no blame,  
Seke thou for peace diligently,  
And then ensue the same.

Psalm .xxviii.

[A 11]

¶ By what meanes se-

dicion maye be put a-woaye, and

what distruction wil folow if it be

not put away spedely.

Consultatio Robert

Croici .\*

Conside=

ring that al men maye playnely perceiue the greate hurte *that* (of late daies) Sedicion hath done in thys realme, & that all wyse men maye esilye gather what greater hurte is lyke to ensue, if it be not spedely sene vnto, it shalbe euery true Englyshmans duty forth-wyth to employe his whole study to the remouyng of so great an euell oute of so noble a realme and commone wealth; leste, haply (if through negligence it growe and take deper rote) it be shortly to stronge and more suerly grounded than that it maye be rooted oute wythoute the vtter destruction of the whole realme. For what can be more true then that whych the Trueth it-selfe hath spoken? “Euery kyngdome” (sayeth Christe) “that \*is decided in it-selfe shall be broughte to nought.” Intendynge, therefore, to playe the parte of a true Englyshman, and to do all that in me shall ly to plucke thys stincking wede vp by the rote, I shal in thys good busines do as, in their euell exercise, the dise-playars (that gladlye woulde, but haue nothyng to playe for) do:—Holde the candle to them that haue wherewyth, and wyll sette lustily to it. And so doyng, I shal be no lesse worthy the name of a true herted Englyshman then the trumpettar is worthy *the* name of a man of war, though he do not in dede fyght, but animate and encourage other.

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

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

5

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

13

*Mathew .xiii.*

[\* A ii, back 1]

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

19

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

26

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

31

by putting away the cause. If the root be cut

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

the branch must die.

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

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

Do not disdain my advice,

[\* A iii] for the matter *Daniel .xiii.* requires every man's counsel.

If I tell you the truth, don't be ashamed to do what I bid.

*Gene. xvi.* Abraham obeyed Sarah ;

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

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

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

Herod.

[<sup>1</sup> orig. *care*]

If I ask the poor man the cause of the sedition, he will answer,

[<sup>2</sup> orig. *buthares.*]

"The farmers, graziers, lawyers, merchants, gentlemen, knights, and lords.

Men without a name, because

[† A iii, back]

they are doers of all things where gain is to be had. They are men without conscience, without fear of God ; yea, men who live as though there were no God at all.

They are never satisfied ; they are greedy gulls, and would eat up

And do not 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 perceined not. Geue eare, I saye, and if I tell you trueth, be not ashamed to do *that* I bid, though ye knowe me to be at youre commaundement. For Abraham was contented to do at the biddinge of Saraie his wife, because he knewe that hir biddinge was Gods will. And the Niniuites did, at the biddinge of pore Ionas, sit in sackcloth & ashes, because they perceined 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 therefore shulde be more loftie then the Babilonians, more shamefast then Abraham, more stubborne then the Niniuites, & more cruell then Herod, geue eare,<sup>1</sup> and patientlye heare what I shal saye ! 55

The causes of Sedition muste be roted oute. If I shuld demaunde of the pore man of the contrey what thinge he thinketh to be the cause of Sedition, I know his answer. He woulde tel me that the great ferm-ares, the grasiers, the riche bucharas<sup>2</sup>, the men of lawe, the marchautes, 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 void of Goddes feare. Yea, men that liue as though there were no God at all ! Men *that* would haue all in their owne handes ; men that would leaue nothyng for others ; men that would be alone on the earth ; men that bee neuer satisfied. Cormerautes, gredye gulles ; yea, men that would eate vp menne, women, & chyl dren, are the causes of Sedition ! They take our houses ouer

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

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

men, women, and children.

They take our houses over our heads, buy our lands, raise our rents, and enclose our commons. No law can keep them from oppression.

We don't know which way to turn so as to live. In the country we are their slaves, and they will have all; in the city they haue all in their hands,

84

and haue doubled and trebled the  
[\* A iv]  
rents these 12 years past.

88

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

They deuour all we get in our youth, and when we are old we must beg, and then they won't give us the crumbs which fall from their tables.

Better die like men than, after such misery in youth, die more miserably in age!"

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

104

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

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 per-  
suaded 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 .xvii.*  
was seen when He  
was asked about  
the inheritance,

and in the matter  
of the woman  
taken in adultery.

[† A v]

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

shepherde had bene a diligent watchman, & had espied  
the woulfe comyng vpon the, before *thou* hadst bene  
*within* his reach, he wold haue stepped \*betwene *the* &

112 thine enemy, & enstructed *the* in such sort, *that*, though  
he had come in nine shepe skinnes, yet he shoulde not  
haue deceiued thy syghte. The deuell shoulde neuer  
haue perswaded the *that* thou myghtest reuenge thyn  
owne wronge! The false prophetes shoulde neuer haue  
caused the to beleue that thou shouldeste preuaile  
against them with the swerde, vnder whose govern-  
aunce God hath apointed the to be. He would haue

119 told the that to reuenge wronges is, in a subiect, to  
take and vsurpe the office of a kinge, and, consequently,  
the office of God. For the king is Goddes minister to  
reuenge the wronges done 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-  
sumeth to do the office of a kinge, so he that taketh in hand  
126 to do the office of a kinge, so he that taketh in hand  
to do the office of a king, taketh Goddes office in hand.

We reade that oure Sauoure Christ, beinge in  
the estimation of the worlde but a priuate man, wold  
not walke out of the boundes of that vocacion. But  
when a certaine man came vnto him & desired that  
he would commaund hys brother to deuide the en-  
heritaunce wyth him, he axed who had appointed  
him to be iudge in suche matters? And againe, when  
the woman taken in adultery was broughte vnto hym,  
he shoulde not geue sentence † of the lawe againste her,

137 but axed hir if any man had condemned hir, and vpon  
hir deniall let hir go. If these examples, with the  
terrible stories of Corah, Dathan, Abira[m] and Absolom  
had ben diligently beaten into thine heade, thou  
wouldeste (no doubte) haue quieted thy selfe, and haue  
suffered thy selfe rather to haue bene spoyled of al-  
together, yea, and thy bodie toren in peeces, rather then  
thou wouldest haue taken on the more then thou art



called vnto. For no cause can be so greet to make it 145  
 lawful for the to do againste Goddes ordinaunce. But  
 thy shepherde hathe bene negligent, as (alvs the  
 while!) all shepherdes be at this daie, and hath not  
 enstructed the aright. He espied not the wolf before  
 he had worried the, or happlye he knewe him not frome 150

But all shepherds  
 are negligent at  
 this day,

a shepe. But it is moste like he was but an hirelinge,  
 and cared for no more but to be fedde with the milke  
 & fattinges and cladde with the woule, as the greateste  
 numbre of *them* that beare the name of shepherde in  
 Englande be at this daie. Yea, perchance he had  
 many flockes to kepe, & ther-fore was absent from them  
 al, leauing with euerye flocke a dogge that woulde  
 rather worye a shepe then driue away the woulfe. 158

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

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

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

These are great  
 plagues, an I  
 [\* A v, last']  
 your sins here  
 haue been such  
 to deserue them.  
 Se if you haue not  
 deserued them.  
 Haue you not  
 your neighbour  
 as yourself, and  
 done nothing  
 vnto him that  
 you would it do  
 to yourself?  
 Nexte if thou  
 ouerthrust him  
 in any thing?  
 Nexte if thou  
 haue laboured  
 him oute of his  
 home or ground?

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

171  
 Haue you not  
 accused him  
 falsely or of  
 malice?  
 Nexte if  
 thou haue  
 euill counsell  
 given his  
 wife or  
 seruauntes  
 euidence against  
 him?  
 Haue you not  
 coveted his  
 good?  
 And would'n't  
 you haue brought  
 it about if you  
 could without  
 blame?  
 God looks on the  
 heart, and if you

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

And if you are  
abominable in

[\* A vi]

your behavi-  
our to your neigh-  
bour, how do you  
stand in God's  
sight?

God requires

*Math. x.ii.*

your whole  
heart, mind, and  
body,  
and how could  
you love Him if  
you loved not  
your brother?

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

182

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

194

and how often hast thou gone whole dayes together,  
whole weakes, yea whole yeres, and neuer thought once  
to loue hym aryght? How many and how great bene-  
fites hast thou receyued at Goddes hand, and howe  
vnthankful hast thou bene for them, thyneckyng that  
thou haste gotten them by thyne owne labour and not  
receyued them frely at Goddes hand? As though God  
had not geuen the thy lyfe, thyne health, and thy  
strength to labour! Yea, and as thoughe it were not

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

203

God only that geueth the increase of euerye mans  
labour. But knowyng 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 yerely to growe out of *the*  
earth, *that* there is a God Almyghty. Yet *thou* hast  
† not honoured him as God, but hast turned the glorie of  
God into an image made after the shape, or similitude,  
of mortall man; renninge and ridinge from place to  
place to seke and to honoure thinges of thine owne  
makeinge; erienge and callinge vpon them in thy nede  
and paying vnto *them* thy vowes, and thaneking *them*  
for thyne health receiued; doinge *them* dayly worshi-  
pe

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.

216

and reuerence in the temples, and bestowinge thine

almes vpon them in deekinge them and setting lightes 217

before them! Biside this thou haste put confidence of saluacion in pardones that *thou* haste bought, in prayers that thou hast hiered, or mumbled vp thy selfe, in Masses that thou hast caused to be saide, and in worckes that thou thy selfe haste fantasied; and haste not thanckefullye receyued the free mereye of God offered vnto the in Christ, in whom onely thou maiste

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

haue remission of thy sinnes! And therefore God hath geuen the vp in to a reprobate minde to do the thinge that is not beseminge. Euen to stande vp againste

So God has given you up to a reprobate mind,

*Rom. i.*

God and Goddes ordinaunce, to refuse his Holy Word, to delite in lies and false fables, to credite false prophetes, and to take weapen in hand against Goddes chosen ministers: I saye his chosen ministers, for be they good or bad, they are Goddes chosen, if they be

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

232

[\* A vii]

\*good, to defende the innocente, if they be euell, to plague the wicked. If thou wilt therefore that God shall deliuer the or thy children from the tirannie of them that oppresse the, lament thine okle sinnes, and endeouour emendment of life. And then he that caused King Cirus to send the Iewes home to Ierusalem againe, shall also stire vp our yong king Edward to restore the to thy liberty againe, and to gene straight charge that non shalbe so bolde as once to vexe or trouble the. "For the herte of a kinge is in Goddes hand, & as he turneth the riuers of water, so turneth he it."

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

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

243

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

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

252

*Reade Ieremie hys prophecie.*

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

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

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

Then you shall have true prophets,

[† A viii]

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

diligent in feadyng the, as Dauid was in gouernynge the  
people of whom he had gouernaunce. 289

Geue care therefore ye shepherdes of thys church of  
Englande! Ye Bysshoppes, ye Deanes, Archdiacons and  
Canons; ye Persons and ye Vicars, what soeuer ye be,  
that receyue any parte of the tenth of mens yerelye en-  
crease, or any other patrimony of preachers, geue care to  
*the* prophet Ezechiel! For *the* same Lord *that* bad him  
speake vnto *the* sheperdes of Iuda, byddeth hym speake  
vnto you nowe also. "Thou some of manne," sayth the  
Lord, "prophecy agaynst the shepherdes of England,  
prophecy and say vnto those shepherdes:—thus sayeth  
the Lord God: Wo be to the shepherdes of England,  
that haue fed them selues! What ought not those  
shepherdes to haue fed those flockes of England? Ye  
eate the fatte, and decke youre selues \*with the woule,  
& the mutton that is fat ye kil to fede vpon, but these  
silli shepe ye fede not. The soroweful & pensiuē ye  
haue not comforted, the sicke ye haue not healed, *the*  
broken ye haue not bound vp, the stray shepe ye haue  
not brought againe nor sought for *the* lost. But *with*  
extreme crueltie ye haue plaid the lordes ouer them,  
&c." I neele not to reherse more of this prophets  
saiyng vnto you, for ye know where to haue it, and  
haue leysure inough to seke it, for ought that I se you  
busied withal; onlesse it be with purchaisinge landes  
for youre heires, & fiude fingered ladies, whose woman-  
like behauiour and motherlike housewifry ought to be  
a lighte to al women that dwell aboute you, but is so  
fare otherwise, that, vnlesse ye leaue them landes to  
marye them wythall, no man wyll set a pinne by them  
when you be gone. Wel, loke to this geare be tyme,  
leaste perhappes it brede a scabbe emonge you.

I woulde not your wiues shoulde be taken from you,  
but I wold you shoulde kepe them to the furthraunce  
of Goddes truth, wherof ye professe to be teachears.

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

298

*Ezech.**xxxiii.*

"Woe to the  
shepherds of  
England, who  
haue fed them-  
[\* A viii, back]  
selves.

You eat the fat,  
and wear the wool,  
and kill the best,  
but these sheep  
you feed not.

The sorrowful  
you haue not  
comforted; the  
sick you haue  
not healed; the  
broken you haue  
not bound up;  
the straying you  
haue not re-  
covered. But  
with extreme  
ernelty you haue  
played the lords  
ouer God's  
heritage."

*Nota bene*  
*how pryestes*  
*ryces ought*  
*[t]o behaue*  
*them selves*  
*ſe ſe.*

320

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

- 325 Let youre wiues therefore put of theire fine frockes and Frenche hoodes, & furnishe them selues with al pointes of honest housewifery, and so let *them* be an helpe to youre studie and not a lette. S. Paul teacheth \*you not to make them ladies or gentlewomen. Neither doeth he teache you to be so gredie vpon liueings, that,
- 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 parson here and a parson there, a Maister of an house in Oxforde or Cambridge and an officer in the kinges house, and yet to do none of the duties herof thorowly ; *then* set your pennes to the paper, and satisfie vs bi Goddes Word, and we wil also helpe you to oure power to satisfie the consciences of them that be offended at youre doinges herin. If you can not do so, then geue ouer youre pluralities and make your vn-saciabie 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 ! Your checkinge of one or two in a corner can not stop euerye mannes mouth in a matter of trueth, beyng so great an infamie to *the* Gospel of God which ye professe. And if ye wil nedes hold stil your pluralities for your lordlike liueing sake, doubt
- 352 †ye not ye wyll be charged with that whiche ye woulde seme to be cleare of. For a great nombre of youre vnworthye curates haue bene the stirrars vp of the simple people in the late tumultes that haue bene ;
- 357 where as if you had not robbed *them* of that which thei paye yearely to haue a learned and Godly teacher, they had bene better enstructed, as appeared by the quietnes that was emonge them that had such shepetherdes.

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

If God's word allow you to hold diuers offices in diuers places, to be a dean in one, a canon in another, a parson here, and a parson there, set your pens to paper, and prove it, and we will aid you all in our power. If you can't do this, give over your pluralities, and be content with one living, and do your duty,

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.

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

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

375

[\* B ii]

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

381

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

389

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

you shall be edified, and learn as much as is

necessary for you, and for your sake your curate shall speak plainly, so that you can understand him.

[\* B ii, back]

402

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

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

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

409

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

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

418

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

"Peasant knaves are too wealthy; prouender pricks

[† B iii]

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

cast down our parks; lay our pastures open;

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



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

and have the law  
in their own  
handes.

They liked the  
breakfast they  
had last summer;  
they were well  
cooled then.

439

We will leaue  
them nothing.

We will hang  
them at their  
own doores.

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

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

448

I will answer for  
these poor idiots.

Oh good maisters, what shuld I cal you? You *that* haue no name, you *that* haue so many occupacions & trades *that* ther is no on name mete for you! You vngentle gentlemen! You churles chikens, I say! Geue me leue to make answeere for the pore ideotes ouer whom ye triumphe in this sorte. And this one thing I shal desire of you that ye report me not to \*be one that faouureth their eucl doinges (for I take God to witnes I hate boeth theyre euell doinges and youres also), but geue me leaue to tel you as frely of your faultes, as I haue already told them of theirs. And for asmuch as you be stronge and they weake, I shall desire you to beare with me though I be more earnest in rebuking your faultes, then I was in rebuking theirs.

[\* B iii, back]

Don't say I  
favour their evil  
doings—I hate  
them and yours  
also.

Allow me to tell  
you your faults.

456

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

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

463

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

Are they disobedient? you were first disobedient,

469 laye vnto their charge, but they haue had examples of the same in you? If you charge them wyth disobedience, you were firste disobedient. For without a law to beare you, yea contrarie to the law which forbiddeth

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

473 al maner of oppression & extortion, & that more is contrarie to conscience, the ground of al good lawes, ye enclosed from the pore their due commones, leauied greater fines then heretofore \*haue bene leauied, put them from the liberties (and in a maner enheritaunce) that they held by custome, & reised their rentes. Yea, when ther was a law ratified to the contrary, you ceased not to finde meanes either to compel your tenants to consent to your desire in enclosing, or else ye found such maistership that no man durste gaine saye your doinges for feare of displeasure. And what obedience shewed you, when the kinges proclamations were sent forthe, and commissions directed for the laying open of your enclosures, and yet you lefte not of to enclose stil? Yea, what obedience was this which ye shewed at such time as the kinges moste honourable counsell, perceiueinge the grudginge that was emong the people, sent forth the second proclamation concerning your negligence, or rather contempte,

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?

492 in not laieinge open that which contrari to the good estatutes made in Parliament you had enclosed? It appeareth by your doinges that there was in you neither obedience to your prince and his laws, nor loue to your contrei. For if there had ben obedience in you, you wold forthwith haue put al his laws in execution to the vttermost of youre power. And if you had loued your contrei, woulde you not haue preuented the great destruction that 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-

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

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

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

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

realme which has had such a valiant commonalty.

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

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

519

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

[\* B v]

526

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

530

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

538

I will not burden you with any more faults,

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

548

[\* B v, back]

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

[ orig. *disturbe* ]

559

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

564

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

569

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

576

can not wel beare them. But thys I shall say vnto you :—You shall neuer the soner be gentlemen for your stout oppression, nor the later haue thynges in priuate for that ye let youre tenauntes lyue by you vpon theyre labour. And thincke not to prospere the better in youre vnsatiable desyre, for that you tryumphe so lordelyke ouer the poore caytyfes, that, beyng seduced by the vayne hope of vycторыe promysed theym in piuyshe prophecies \*haue greatly offended God by rebellion : for the greater their offence is, the greater shall your plage be when it commeth. For you haue bene the only cause of theyr offence. If he 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 haue bene the occasion of so many mens fallyng into so detestable synne and trespass agaynste God, as to disturbe<sup>1</sup> the whole estate of their contrei with the great perill and daunger of their auointed kyng in hys tender age, whose bloud (if he had perished) should haue bene required at your handes, as the bloud of al them that haue perished shal?

Oh merciful God, were it not that Goddes mercy is more then your synnes can be, ther were no way but to despeyre of forgeuenes ! But God is not onely mightye in mercy & able to forgeue al the synnes of the whole world, but he is also redye to forgeue al that returne from theyr wycked wayes, and, with a constant faith & sure beleue to obtayne, do call on hym for mereye. 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 towards the poore members of Christ (your brethren boeth by religion and nacion) whome you haue so cruellye oppressed, [and] wyshe euen from the bot-

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

Grudge not to se *the* people growe in wealth vnder you, neither do you inuent waies to kepe them bare, lest haply it chaunce vnto you as it did to Kinge Nabuchodonozer<sup>1</sup> and hys seruauntes when they diuised wayes to kepe the Hebrues in slavery stil.

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

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

Content yourselves with that state in which your fathers left you, and don't strive to place your children above it.

If you are called to office, deal justly in all things, and do not follow filthy luere.

591

Grudge not to see the people grow in wealth,

*Exodi. i.*

597

[\* B vi, back]

lest God serve you as He did the Egyptians, whom, when they thought to obtain the victory,

*Exodi. xii.*

He drowned in the Red Sea, and then cast their bodies on the land for the Hebrews to spoil.

607

He is as mighty now as he was then.

*Exodi. xiiii.*

<sup>1</sup> ? Pharaoh.

- 612 firste borne of the Egiptyans. And then who shal haue  
 the spoile? Be warned betime, least ye repente to  
 late! Leauē of your gredie desire to pul away the line-  
 ynge from the cleargy, and seke diligentl̄ye to set suche  
 ministers in the churche as be able and wyl enstruct  
 the people in al pointes of theyr dutie, that you with  
 them and they with you may escape the wrath of God  
 that hangeth presently ouer you both. The kinge &  
 citizens of Neniue were not ashamed to sitte in sacke-  
 cloth and in ashes lamentynge their synnes, and there  
 vpon \*founde merewe. Wherefore, if ye wyll fynde  
 merewe, ye muste not be ashamed to do the lyke, for  
 certenlye the greatnes of your sinnes importeth as  
 present distruccon 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 merewe. Leauē of your *communions*  
 in a corner & come to *the open* temples, *that* men may  
 se *that* ye regard *the* Lords institution. 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, &  
 geue the same (or the value therof) to the nedy. So shal  
 you both fele & know theyr disease, and ease it also.
- Trust not to your great number of valiant war-  
 rours, neither to your mightye prouisions, but re-  
 member what befel to Holofernes *the* stout captaine  
 of King Nobuchodonozer, when he woulde not harken  
 to the right aduice of Achior hys vndercaptaine. For  
 certenly I say vnto you, God was neuer more redy  
 to deliuer his people of Israel *from* oppression at al  
 times when they, walkinge in his wayes, committed  
 their cause vnto him, then he is now redy to deliuer al  
 Christen men that do wyth lyke confidence cal vpon  
 him. † If you therfore wyl not hearken vnto Achior his
- Be warned in  
 time;
- appoint good  
 ministers; such  
 as are able and  
 willing to in-  
 struct the people;
- Jonas .iii.*  
 repent as the  
 Ninevites did, if  
 you would find  
 mercy, and be  
 [\* B vii]  
 not ashamed to  
 behaue as they  
 did.
- Be not ashamed  
 to proclaim a  
 fast, and to show  
 to all men that  
 you cry for  
 mercy.  
 Come to the  
 temples, that men  
 may see you  
 regard Christ's in-  
 stitution;  
 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  
 captain.  
*Judeth .v.*
- God is now  
 ready to deliver  
 all Christians  
 who confidently  
 [† B vii, back]

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

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

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

656

Be warned; seek not to kepe the commones of England in slavery, lest you destroy yourselves.

For if they commit their cause to God, you may be sure He will fight for them.

666

[\* B viii]

As you value your own and the public wealth of this realme of England; as you desire to enjoy the same, and not be led away captiue or murdered, look upon these causes of sedition, and put them away.

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

681

Don't rob the people of golly ministers, who

instruct them in  
their duty,

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

689

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

[\* B viii, back]

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

700

May you by  
repentance

705

escape the  
danger,

710



715

Amen.

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

Thus doinge, ye shall not onely escape the venge-  
ance that hangeth presentlye ouer you but also be re-  
warded at Goddes hande, boeth with excedinge plenti  
of al good thinges in this life, & also with life euerlast-  
inge \*when nature shal ende the same. Where as  
if ye wyl not take counsell, but remayne styl  
in your wycked purpose, Pharao nor *the* So-  
domites 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-


ter. The Spirite of  
GOD worcke  
in youre her-  
tes, that  
ye,  
beynge  
admonished  
of the sword that  
is commynge, maye  
by repentance  
of your syn  
escape  
the daun-  
ger therof.

 So be it. 






## An informa-

tion and Petition agaynst the oppressours  
of the pore Commons of this Realme, compi-  
led and Emprinted for this onely purpose  
that amongst them that haue to doe  
in the Parliamente, some godlye  
mynded men, may hercat take  
occacion to speake more in  
the matter then the Au-  
thoure was able to  
write. \* 

### ¶ Esaye .lviii.

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



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

[leaf 1]

**A** Monge the manyfold & moste weyghty mattiers  
(moste worthy counsaylours) to be debated  
and *communed* of in this present Parliament,  
and by the advise, assent, and consent therof  
spedily to be redressed, I thinke ther is no  
one thyng more nedfull to be spoken of then  
the great oppression of the pore communes by the  
possessioners, as wel of Clergie as of *the Laitie*. No  
doubt it is nedfull, and ther ought to bee a spedy  
redresse of many mattiers of religion, as are these:—  
The vse of the sacraments and ceremonies; the  
vsurpyng of tenthes<sup>1</sup> to priuate *commoditie*; the super-  
fluouse, vnlearned, vndiscret, and viciouse ministers of  
the church, and their superstitious and idolatrous ad-  
ministracions. Of these thynges, I saye, ought ther to be  
a spedy reformation. For they are now most lyk hastely  
to brynge vppon thys noble realme the ineuitable  
vengeaunce of God, if they bee not shortly reformed; 18

Of all matters  
to be discussednothing is more  
urgent than that  
concerning  
oppression of  
the poor.Religious matters  
also need to be  
redressed and  
reformed,

14

<sup>1</sup> Orig. tuthes.

because God has  
made them  
known to us.

for asmuch as it hath pleased the almyghty and luyng  
God to open vnto vs those abhominacions, whych  
haue heretofore ben kept secret and hyd from vs.

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

[leaf 1, back]  
The ignorant  
people still  
believe

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

in the super-  
stitutions of their  
fathers,

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

and will do so till  
better ministers  
are appointed.

32 such preachers as shall be able, and wyll, by the  
manifeste Scriptures, prone 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 com-  
mitted they most detestable blasfemie, and were  
abhominable before hym.

Ministers now  
are hirelings and  
butchers:

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

they come to be  
fed, not to feed:

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

*Actu. 1.*

*Jere. 23.*

did reyne but I sent you not." They shalle be called [leaf 2]  
 feedars of feedynge them selues, and not of fedynge 56  
 the flock. They shall studye to please men & not to  
 please God. In fine, they shall differ nothyng from  
 the craftes men whyche applye an occupacion to get  
 theyr lyuynge vppon, and not to the intent to profite  
 the common weale. 61

they differ  
nothing from  
craftsmen

The craftes man sueth for the fredom of a Citie,  
 not because he intendeth to be a maintainer of the  
 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  
 (so longe as they maye bee receyued when they come  
 vncaled), applye them selues to priestynge, because they  
 lyke wel the ydelnes of the lyfe.

who seek for the  
freedom of the  
City,

because they will  
be better off.

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

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

The Sacraments  
are still abused;

they must be  
paid for, and  
then every man  
may have them.  
The priests look  
upon the money  
only.

They know this  
is true,

but excuse them-  
selves by sayng  
[leaf 2, back]

the money is not  
paid for the  
Sacraments, but  
for the four  
offering days.  
If so they should

Why thei appoint not another time to receiue it in  
 then that tyme whyche is to lyttle to bee occupied in

collect the money  
at some other  
time.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 111 But as for the oppression of the pore, whych is no lesse nedfull to be communed of and reformed then the other, I feare me wyll bee passed ouer with silence, or if it bee communed of, I canne scarcely truste that any reformation 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 me. For I take God to wytnes I meane no suche thyng. But with all myne herte I woulde wysh that

I fear the op-  
pression of the  
pore will be  
passed over in  
silence,

- 116 no man wer suffered to eate but such as woulde labour

[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.

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

2 *Thess.* 3.

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

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

133

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

137

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

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

“It is myne owne ; whoe shall warne me to do wyth myne owne as me selfe lysteth?”—it shall not bee possible to haue any redresse at all. For if I may do wyth myne owne as me lysteth, then maye I suffer my brother, hys wyfe, and hys chyldrene to lye in the strete, excepte he wyll geue me more rent for myne house then euer he shal be able to paye. Then may I take his goods for that he oweth me, and kepe his body in prison, tournynge out his wyfe and chyldren to perishe, if God wyll not moue some mans herte to pittie them, and yet kepe my coffers full of goulde and syluer.

143

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

148

[leaf 3, back]

If ther were no God, then would I think it leafull for men to vse their possessions as thei lyst. Or if God woulde not require an accompt of vs for the bestoweynge of them/, I woulde not greatly gaynsaye, thoughe they toke theyr pleasure of them whylse they liued here. But forasmuch as we haue a God, and he hath declared vnto vs by *the* Scripturs *that* he hath made the possessioners but stuardes of his ryches, and that he wyl holde a streygh[t] accompt wyth them for the occupiynge and bestoweynge of them ; I thynke,

152

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

157

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

162

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

The Philosophers  
said friends  
should possess  
in common :

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

169 not suffer one frende to holde frome an other the  
thyng that he hath nede of. And what shal we saye?  
Are we not frendes? Surly if we be not frendes, wee  
beare the name of Christe and bee called Christians in  
vayne. Yea if wee haue not a more perfecte frende-  
shyppe then that whereof the Philosophers speake,  
wee are but fayned Christians, we beare the name onely

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

176 and are nothyng lesse in dede. For this is the  
token that Christe gaue whereby wee shoulde be knowen

*John* .13.

to be of hym :—" If we loue one an other as he loued  
vs." Howe he loued vs is declared by the wordes of  
the Apostle, sayinge, that Christe gaue hymselfe for vs.

*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.

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

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

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

*John* .10.

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

This friendship  
refers to the  
laity and clergy,

because both  
belong to the  
flock of Christ.

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



me (moste worthy counsaylours) not to feare the dis- 199

pleasure of men in this behalfe; knoweynge for cer-  
tentie, that the greateste numbere of thys assemble are

This makes me  
feare man's  
displeasure.

not free from this oppression that I speak of, and that  
it is far vnlyke that a priuate persone, by no meanes

204

worthy to be called to suche an assemble, shoulde be  
faoutably hereade and accepted of them whom God

hath called to be counsaylours of a realme; and  
chiefly in a cause taxynge & blameyng the iudges

befor whom it is pleaded. I might well coniecte wyth  
my selfe, that I shoulde in this poynte be compted a

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

busy body,<sup>1</sup> and one that renneth before he is sent.  
But I am redi to suffer, not onli al such report, but

[leaf 4, back]

euen the verye death also (if it shall please the al-  
mightie and euerlyueyng God to laye it vpon me) for

anything for  
your sakes.

youre sakes, most worthy counsaylours, and the residue,  
my naturall brothe[r]s of this noble realme.

215

And here I proteste vnto you all, that the same  
Spirite that sent Ionas to the Ninivits, Daniel to the

The Spirit that  
sent Christ and  
the prophete.

Babilonians, Nathan to Kyng Dauid, Achior vnto  
Holofernes, Iudith vnto the Priestes and Elders of the

220

Iewes, the prophete to Ieroboam in Bethel, Iohn the  
Baptist vnto Herode, and Christ vnto the Iewes, wyt-

witnesseth that  
I am sent

nesseth wyth my conscience that I renne not vn-  
sent. For euen the same Spirit that sayd vnto Esaie, "Crye

Esaie. 58.

and sease not, declare vnto my people theyr wycked-  
nes;" cryeth also in my conscience, bydyng me not

225

spare to tell the possessioners of this realme, that vn-  
lesse they repente the oppression wherewyth they vexe

to tell you pos-  
sioners to repent  
of your oppres-  
sions, and show  
yourselves  
brothers, of one  
father, and  
members of  
one body.

the pore commons, and shew themselues, through loue,  
to be brothers of one father & membres of one body

wyth them, they shal not at the laste daye enherite  
wyth them the kyngdom of Christe, the Eldest Sonne

231

of God the Father, whych hath by his Worde be-  
gotten hym many brothers & coheritours in<sup>2</sup> his kyng-

dom. Vnlesse, I saye, the possessioners of this realme

Unless you all  
repent of the

<sup>1</sup> Orig. boby

<sup>2</sup> Orig. is

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

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

[leaf 5]

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

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

Now hear what  
complaints are  
made against you  
in heaven:

Lord, hast thou  
forgotten us?

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

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

258 “Lorde” (sayeth the Prophete) “hast thou forsaken  
vs? Doest thou hyde thy selfe in the tym of our trou-  
ble? Whylse the wycked waxe proud the pore man  
is afflicted and troubled. Would to God the wicked  
myght feale the same thinges that they inuent for  
other. For the sinnere prayseth hym selfe in the  
desyres of hys soule, and he extollethe and sette[t]h  
forth the couetouse man. He prouoketh the Lorde and  
is so proud that he wyll not seke hym. He neuer  
267 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 thinketh thus wyth hym selfe, I wyll not remoue frome one generacion vnto an other wythout mischiefe. His mouth is full of malediction and euill reporte, fraude & deceyte, and vnder his tonge is affliction and iniquitie.

He thinks he shall remain.

He is full of fraud and deceit.

275

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

[leaf 5, back]  
He lies in wait in villages to slay the innocent, to take the poor man; and when he has taken him he uses him violently.

282

He says God has forgotten and has turned away His face.

287

What sentence (thinke you) wyll the Lorde geue vpon this euidence? No doubt (most worthy counsellers) euen the same that we reade in Esaye the Prophet:—“I loked for iudgment and rightouse dealeyng amongeste my people, and beholde there is iniquitie, I loked also for iustice, and beholde ther is an outerye. Wo be vnto you therfore, that do ioyne house vnto house, & couple one fiede to an other, so longe as there is any grounde to be had. Thinke you that you shal dwel vpon the earth alone? The Lorde of hostes (sayth the prophete) hath spoken these wordes vnto me. Manye large and goodlye houses shall be deserte & without inhabitantes; x acres of wynes shall yelde but one quarte of wine, and xxx bushelles of sede shal yelde but x bushelles agayne.” Beholde, you engrossers of fermes and teynements, beholde, I saye, the terrible threatynnges of God, whose wrath you can not escape. The voyce of the pore (whom you

*Esai. 5.*

292

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

Many houses shall be desolate, ten acres of vines shall only yield one quart, and 30 bushels of seed shall only yield ten.

304

[leaf 6] haue with money thruste out of house and whome) is  
 307 well accepted in the eares of the Lorde, and hath  
 You cannot escape God's threatenings, 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  
 The seed of God's Word shall remain barren in your hearts, sede but x bushelles agayne. The sede of Goddes  
 Worde sown in youre hertes shalbe barrayne and not  
 bringe fourth fruite.

314 For couetous, the rote of all yuelles, occupieth that  
 grounde so that the heauenlie sede can bi no meanes  
 gene encrease. This is a plage, of al plages most  
 God will punish you "lease mongers" who take lands that you may let them out again, horryble. And doubt ye not, you lease mongers, that  
 take groundes by lease to the entente to lette them out  
 agayne for double and tryple the rent, your parte is in  
 this plage.<sup>1</sup> The Lorde shal take his Spirite from you.

321 He shall forbyd the cloudes of hys mercy to rayne vpon  
 you wyth the swete dwe of hys grace. And you sur-  
 and you surveyors, that of ten-pound land make twenty, ueighers<sup>2</sup> of landes, that of x. li. lande can make xx,  
 you shall not be forgotten in the effucion of thys plage.

For when you haue multiplied your renttes to the  
 higheste, so that ye haue made all your tenants your  
 When you have raised your rents to the highest, slaues to labour, and toyle, and bringe to you all that  
 327 maye be plowen and digged out of youre groundes,  
 then shal death sodaynly strike you, then shall God  
 you'll die suddenly, and God's grace will be taken from you, wythdrawe his comfortable grace from you, then shall  
 your conscience prycke you, then shall you thynke

332 with desparat Cain, that your sinne is greater then that  
 it may be forgeuen. For your owne conscience shall  
 and you will think yourselves unworthy of mercy, because you have shown no mercy. iudge you worthye no mereye, because you haue shewed  
 no mercy. Yea the same enimie that hath kendled  
 and doeth yet maynetayne in you thys mischeuouse,  
 outragious, and vnsaciabie couetousnes, shall then bee  
 as busy to put you in mynde of the wordes of Christ,  
 saienge, "the same measure that you haue made vnto  
 other, shalbe nowe made vnto you."

340

<sup>1</sup> Orig. palge

<sup>2</sup> Orig. surneighers

You haue shewed no mereye, howe can you than  
loke for mercie? Oh noble counsailours, be mercyfull

to your selues. Destroye not your owne soules to en-  
riche your heires. Enlarge not your earthly posses-  
sion wyth the losse of the eternall enheritaunce.

Do not destroy  
your souls to  
enrich your  
heirs.

Learn 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  
are ministres in  
the common-  
wealth.

that the porcion which you are borne vnto, or that  
your prince geueth you, is your estate. Knowe that

Your duty is to  
distribute, and  
not scrape  
together.

your office is to distribute & not to scrape together on  
heapes. God hath not sette you to suruey hys landes,

but to playe the stuardes in his householde of this 353

world, and to se that your pore felow seruantes lacke  
not theye[r] necessaries.

Consider that you are but ministers and seruauntes  
vnder the Lorde oure God, and that you shal render a

You are only  
servants, and  
will have to give  
an account of  
your adminis-  
trations.

streight accompt of your administracion. Stand not  
to much in your own conceyte, gloriyng in the worthy-

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[ld]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  
can only claim  
[leaf 7]  
what you earn.

claime no thyng but that whiche you shall gette with  
the swet of your faces. That you are lordes and

That you are  
lords comes by  
ordinaunce, not by  
nature.

gouernoures therefore, commeth not by nature but by the  
ordinaunce & appoyntment of God. Knowe then that

he hath not cauled you to the welthe and glorie of this 372

worlde, but hath charged you wyth the greate and rede  
multitude.

And if any of them perishe thorowe your defeaute,  
knowe *then* for certentye, that the bloude of them

If any peor  
perish through  
*Ezech. 33.*

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

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

380

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

If the sturdy fall to stealeing, robberyng, & reueynge, then are you the causers therof, for you dygge in, enclose, and wytholde from them the earth out of the whych they should dygge and plowe theyr lyueynge. For as the Psalmiste wryteth:—"All the heauen is the Lordes; but as for the earth hee hath geuen to the chyldrene of men."

387

*Psal.* 113.

You are ap-  
pointed to giue  
meat to God's  
household.

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

394

*Luke* .12.

*Daniel* .4.

[leaf 7, back]  
Remember  
Nebuchadnezzar,  
who became a  
beast,

But because the sturdy shoulde not oppresse the weake and impotent, God hath apoynted you stuards to geue meate vnto his housholde in due seasoene. And if 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 seruauantes, 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 Kyng Nabuchodonosor, whoe for his presumption became as a brute beast, fead[ing] vpon grasse and hey as other beastes dyd.

403

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

Consyder Pharao with his great armie, whom the Lord overwhelmed in the Red Sea for oppresseing and persecuteing his people. Yea, consider all the nobilitie that haue possessed the erth, euen from the begynnyng; and then saye howe you bee theyr successours, & by what title you may cleyme that which was theyrs.

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

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 invaded and vanquished the impier of Rome ; and wher are theyr successours ? Who are the successors of the Goths ?

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

*Dani. 4.*

Ther shall you learne that it is God that geueth the impiere to whome it pleaseth hym, and that all powre is from aboue, accordyng to the answer that our sauoure Christe made vnto Pilate, when he bragged hym wyth the powre that he had to crucifie hym and to deliuer hym. "Thou shouldest," sayed our Sauour, "haue no powre ouer me at all, were it not geuen the from aboue."

All empire is from God, and He gives it to whom He will, as Chr.st said to Pilate.

424

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

*John .19.*

428

I doubt not therefore but that your consciences do condesende and agre vnto that which I haue spoken concernyng your office and ministerie ; knoweyng that God hath appointed you to minister necessities to the impotent, and to defende the innocent.

Thus it is clear all your power and property come from above. [leaf 8]

433

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

I do not doubt but that in your consciences you agree to what I have said.

438

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

Do not neglect your duty, but redress this oppression.

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

Landlords make the uttermost penny of their grounds, besides fines and incomes ;

448

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

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

The mischiefs  
that flow from  
such oppression  
to men, women,  
and children, are  
feartful.

What a sea of mischifes hath floued out of thys  
more then Turkyshie tyranie! What honeste hous-  
holders haue ben made folowers of other not so honest  
mens tables! What honeste matrones haue ben  
brought to the needy rocke and cardes! What men-

459 chyldrene of good hope in the liberall sciences, and  
other honeste qualities (wherof this realme hath great

[leaf 5, back]

lacke), haue ben compelled to fal, some to handy-  
crafts, and some to daye labour, to sustayne theyr  
parents decrepet age and miserable pouertie! What  
464 frowarde and stoubourn children haue herby shaken of  
the yoke of godly chastisement, rennyng hedlonge

Young men  
garnish the  
gallows;

into all kyndes of wickednes, and finally 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 serui-  
tude, or else to marye to perpetuall miserable pouertie!

young women  
are made  
"Sisters of the  
Bank,"

What immodeste and wanton gyrles haue hereby ben  
made sisters of the Banek (the stumbling stock of all  
frayle youth) and finally, moste miserable creatures,  
lyeing and dieyng in the stretes ful of all plages and  
penurie! What vniuersall destruction chaunceth to

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

this noble realme by this outrageous and vnsaciable  
desyr of the surueiers of landes! I reporte me to you  
(moste Christian counsayellours) whichar here assembled  
from all partes of this noble realme, to *consulte* for the

480 welth of all the membres of the same.

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

On the other syde, ther bee certayne tenauntes, not  
able to be lande lordes, and yet, after a sorte, they  
conterfayte landelordes, by obtaynyge<sup>1</sup> leases in and

<sup>1</sup> Orig. obtaynydge



vpon groundes and tenementes, and so reyse fynes, 484  
 incomes, and rentes; and by suche pyllage pyke out a  
 porcion to mayntayne a proude porte, and all by  
 pylngge and pollyngge of the poore commons, that must  
 of necessitie seke habitations at their handes. 488

That this is true, I report me to my Lorde the  
 Maire, and other the hed officers of the Citie of Lon-  
 don, whoe (if they be not ignorant of the state of the  
 Citie) can witnes with me that the moste parte, yea I  
 thinke ix of the x partes, of the houses in London  
 bee set and let by them that haue them by lease and  
 not by the owners. 495

Nine-tenths of  
 the houses in  
 London are  
 let in this way.  
 [leaf 9]

Howe thei polle the pore tenants would some be  
 tryed, if theyr leases were conferred with theyr rent-  
 rolles. It is not to be thought contrary but that the  
 greate leasungers haue greate gains by their leases, for  
 the litleons, that hold but a piece of housing of xx. or  
 xxx s. by yere, can fynde the meanes to holde and dwell  
 vpon the chiefe parte therof rent fre, by letyngge out  
 the residue for the whole yere rent. 501

How they impose  
 upon the tenants  
 would soon be  
 seen if the leases  
 and rent-rolls  
 were compared.

I thinke not contrary, but these thinges do appeare  
 in the syght of many to bee but verey trifles, and not  
 worthy to be spoken of in so noble an assemble as this  
 most honorable Parliament. For they are no mattiers  
 concerneyng the welth of the nobilitie; yea it is rather  
 hyndrance to many of them, to haue these thynges  
 redressed, then any encrease of theyr wealth. 510

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

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

Even you, Chris-  
 tian Councillors,  
 are not all so free  
 from this op-  
 pression, but you  
 would rather  
 wink at it;

be so great as they are in dede; I thinke it no 519

so I shall not wonder if you laugh at my fool-hardiness and rashness in entering upon this subject, because men do not agree to such things as will diminish their profits.

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 membres of the same.

528

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

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

534

realme.

The upper members of the body should clothe the lower members from any harm which might happen to them in their carrying the body about,—

For what *discommoditie* is it to *the* heade, shoulters, the armes, and other the vpper membres of the body, beynge all redy sufficiently clothed, to put on the legges & feete a peare of hose and shoes to defende them also from the iniuries of the wether, and other hurtes that might chaunce vnto them in theyr trauaylyng to cary the body from place to place, for hys *commoditie* and pleasure? Verily in myne opinion, that body is far vnworthy to haue either legges or feete that wyll lette them goe bare, haueyng wher-  
545 wyth to couer them.

541

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

Euen so you, beynge the chiefe membres of this noble realme, and haucing in your handes the wonderful and incomparable riches of the same, what shoulde it grene you to departe wyth some porcion therof, that the inferioure membres therof may at all tymes bee able to do theyre ministerie and office accordyngly.

551

Heare in mind that the body without the legs is only like a block, and cannot move; so you, if

Once remembre, that as the body wythout the inferiour partes is but lame and as a blocke vnweldy, and muste, if it wyll remoue frome place to place, creepe vpon the handes; euen so you, if ye had not the pore

members of this realme to tyll the grounde and doe your other droudgerie, no remedy, you must nedes do it your selues.

you had not the poor to till the ground, must do it yourselves.

Vse them therefore as the necessarie membres of the mystical body of this most noble realme, and be not in this poynt nor vnnatural then the heathen Philosophers were.

Therefore you must use the poor as members of this realm, else you will be more unnatural than the heathen,

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

564

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

whom, as Christians, you ought to surpass.

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

570

By religion you are all members of Christ's body,

574

and Christ esteems what is done to His membres as done to Himself.

“What so euer ye do to one of the lest of these litleons that beleue in me, ye doe it vnto me.” If you therefore, neither wil your selves oppresse our Sauioir Christe in his membres, nor suffer other to do it, fayle not to fynde a redres of this greate oppression, whych I haue declared to the same ende. And then I doubt not but God shall so worke wyth you, that euerie man shall wyllyngely embrace a reformation of all mattiers of religion. For the Spirit of God shall dwell in you and in vs all, and Christe himself (as he hath promised) shall bee in the myddes amonge you. Wher as, contrariwise, if you suffer our loueing Sauioir thus to be oppressed, he wyll forsake you, he wyll leaue you to the spirite of errour. Your reformacions shal take no

Mat. 25.

If you will not oppress Christ through His membres, redress these wrongs, and then every man will assist you in reforming religion.

584

[leaf 10, back]

If you oppress the poor, Christ will forsake you and leave you to a spirit of error.

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

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

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

The intent of that assemble was no lesse to reform the abuses of our religion then thys is. But because Christe was not deliuered frome oppression he woulde

602 not be amonge them.

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

1. *Epist.* 4.

They were not congregated in hys name, but rather agaynste hym and hys doctrine, for he hym selfe is dear loue, & (as his Apostle Iohn writeth) wher this dear loue is not, ther is not he. Thys thyng is well

607 proued by theyr procedynges in the same Parliament.

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

You will, I doubt not, call these articles in question.

For they established Articles euen directly agaynst Gods worde, forbedyng to mary, and commaundyng to put asunder those that God hath ioyned together.

615 If you wyl call these Articles into question agayne (as in dede you haue iuste occacion to do) I doubt not but you shal be fully perswaded that they proceeded of the spirit of erreure, and not of the Spirite of God; because the charitie of God was not amonge them in that assemble.

[leaf 11]  
Christ's poor members are oppressed in other things—I am unwilling to mention them lest I should offend with the multitude of words.

Some you know: as extortion and usury, authorized by Parliament;

Other thynges therbe wherby the pore membres of Christe in thys noble realme are oppressed; wherof I haue made no mention, partely because I am loth to offende wyth the multitude of my rude wordes, & partely for that I know you can not seke for a redres of these thynges wherof I haue spoken. But the other wil offer them selues vnto you, I meane the greate extortion and vsurie that reigneth frely in thys realme, and seme to be authorised by Parliament wythin these

627 .iii. yeres laste paste.

The Cleargie of the Citie of London haue, for the clergy over-  
 theyr parte, optayned by Parliament authoritie to tithe, and for  
 ouertenthes euen after the exem[ple] of the landlordes double rent  
 and leasemongers, and maye, by the vertue of the acte, demand double  
 requir for double rentes double tenthes. If the rent of 631  
 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 take of the pore commons is to much beyonde al  
 reason and conscience. No couple can be married  
 but these men must haue a dutie, as they cal it. No  
 woman may be purified but they and theyr ydle  
 ministers must haue some duties of hir. None can  
 be buried but they wyl haue a slyese. Not thre  
 monethes before *the* begynnyng of this present Parlia-  
 ment, I had iust occacion to be at the payment of this  
 dutie for *the* buriyng of an honest pore man, whose  
 frendes wer willyng to haue hys body reuerendly layed  
 in the grounde; and, accordyng to the custome, gaue  
 warnynge to the curate that they woulde brynge the  
 deade body to the church, desyryng hym that he wolde  
 do hys dutie, and to be ther to receye it, and accord-  
 ynge to the custome to laye it in the grounde. But 642  
 this rauen, smellynge<sup>1</sup> the carion, coulde not but  
 reueile it to the other carion byrdes of the same  
 chur[c]h, and so woulde needes come all together in a  
 flocke to fetch theyr praye, wyth crosse and holy water  
 as they were wont to do, not wythstandynge the  
 Kynges Iniunctions and late visita[t]ion. The frendes  
 of the deade man refused all this, and required to haue  
 no mor but the commune coffen to put the bodye in,  
 agreynge to paye to the keper therof hys accustomed  
 dutie, and in lyke maner to the graue maker, and the  
 they exact money  
 from the poor  
 for marriages,  
 churchings,  
 burials.  
 (How the clergy  
 acted at St  
 Sepulchre's  
 Church  
 [leaf 11, back]  
 648  
 652  
 in the City of  
 London,  
 657  
 when an honest  
 poor man  
 was brought to  
 be buried

<sup>1</sup> Orig. smellydge.

664 foure pore men to cary the bodye, so that the whole charges had ben but vii.d.

in St Sepulchre's,  
London.)

But when the corps was buried, wythout other crosse or holy water sticke, Dirige, or Masse, wyth prayers of as small deuocion as any pore curate could saye, yet must we nedes paye .vii.d. more. That is to saye .i.d. to the curate, which he called an heade peny,<sup>1</sup> and .vi.d. to .ii. clarkes that we had no nede of.

669

This was done in London, and I am ready to prove the truth of the statement anywhere.

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

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.

all the ydle ministers of the same church. This haue I written (most worthy counsaylours) to geue you occasion to set suche an ordre in this and suche other thynges, that eyther we may haue ministers founde vpon the tenthes that we paie yerli to the churches, other els that it may be leafull for vs to do such ministeries our selues, and not to be thus constrained to feede a sorte of carion crowes, whyche are neuer so mery as when we lament the losse of our frendes.

682

Thus much of the extortion of the clergy.

I will now speak of the usury which prevails.

This much haue I spoken of the extortion that reigneth frely in the Clergie. Nowe, with your paciencie, I wil, *with* like breuitie, speak of the great and intollerable usurie, whych at this daie reigneth so frely this realme ouer al, and chiefly in the Citie of London, that it is taken for most leaful gaines. Yea it is welmost heresie to reprove it, for men saye it is allowed by Parliament. Well, the most parte, I am sure, of this most Godly assemble and Parliament do knowe *that* the occasion of the acte that passed here concernynge usurie, was the unsaciable desyre of the usurers, whoe coulde not be contented with usurie vnesse it wer vnreasonable muche. To restrayne thys

689

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.

<sup>1</sup> Orig. pedye

gredy desyre of theyrs, therefore, it was communed and agreed vpon, and by thauthoritie of Parliament decreed, that none should take aboue .x. li. bi yere,<sup>1</sup> for the lone of an .C. li.

Alas, *that* euer any Christian assemble shoulde bee so voyde of Gods Holy Spirit *that* thei should alowe for leafull any thyng that Gods Worde forbedeth. Be not abashed (most worthy counsaylours) to call this act into question agayne. Scan the wordes of the Psalmist concernyng this mattier. "Lord," sayeth he, "who shal enter into thy tabernacle, and who shal rest in thy holy mountaine?" He answereth: "That entreth *without* spot & worketh righte. That speaketh truth in his herte, & hath not deceiued *with* his tonge; that hath done his neybour no harme, nor accepted any reproch against his neighbour. He regardeth not the wicked, but them that feare the Lorde he glorifieth and prayseth. He that swereth to his neighbour & deceiueh hym not. He that hath not geuen 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 acte to stande, whych shalbe a wittnesse agaynste you in the later daye that you alowe that which Gods Spirite forbideth?

If he that geueth not hys money to usury shal dwell in the Lords tabernacle, wher shal he dwel that geueth his money to usuri? Shal he not be shut out, & caste into vtter dareknes? Their workes be contrary, & why shoulde not theyr rewarde be also contrary? If the one be receyued in, the other muste be shut out. Yea, and you that haue made this lawe,

<sup>1</sup> See *Supplication of the poore Commons*, ed. J. M. Cowper, p. 84, 'Men myghte take x li. by yeaere,' &c.

Alas, that any Assembly should allow what God forbids!

705

Consider the subject again, *Psalm. 14.* and see what the Psalmist says. From his wordes, the man who does not give his money upon usury shall enter heaven. [leaf 12, back]

713

718

How can you allow this Act to stand? It shall be a witness against you in the Last Day.

725

Usurers must be shut out of heaven, and those who made the law allowing

- usury, unless you vnlesse you do reuoke it and establysh an act to the  
revoke it. contrary, the Brydegroume, the onely Sonne of God,
- 734 shal at the laste daye deny you, and saye that he  
*Math. 7.* neuer knewe you; "Depart from me," shal he saye, "al  
ye workers of iniquitie." Scanne the wordes of the  
Prophete therefore, and scanne the wordes of oure  
738 Sauioure Christe also, in the vi. of Luke, wher he  
sayeth thus:—"Do you lende<sup>1</sup> lokyng for no gaynes  
therof, and your rewarde shalbe plentuouse, and you  
shall be sonnes of the Hygheste, because he is gentle &  
liberal toward the vnthankfull and wicked."
- 743 I am not ignoraunt what glosses haue ben made  
vpon this place, and howe men haue wrested & made it  
Men have wrested this [leaf 13] no precept but a counsaile of our Sauiour; & therefore  
saying, and made it no precept, but to infer necessitie to Christians, but to leaue them  
only a counsel of Christ. at libertie either to do it or leaue it vndone.
- What religion do Oh mercifull Lorde, what maner of religion is it  
these men profess? that these men professe?
- They boast them selues to bee the disciples of  
751 Christe and setters forthe of his glorie.
- They bear Christ's They wyl beare the name of hym and be called  
name, and yet think they may Christians, and yet wylbe at libertie to chose whether  
choose whether they luste to folowe hys counsayle or leaue it vndone.  
they will follow His counsel or Our shepherd Christe, of whose flocke they boaste  
not; those who do not hear His them selues to bee, sayeth that hys sheepe heare his  
voice are none of His; voyce and folowe hym.
- John .10.* And immediatly before he sheweth the cause why  
the Iewes dyd not credyt hys wordes, to be none other  
760 but that thei wer not his shepe.
- And doubtte ye not (moste worthy counsaylours)  
but they who teach that men what so euer he is that wyl defende or teach, that any  
are at liberty to practise Christ's one lytle iote of the counsayles of Christ shoulde be so  
counsels or not, as they may see vaynly spoken that any of hys flocke myght refuse to  
fit, are practise the same in hys luyng to the vttermoste of  
765 hys power, is nolesse then a membre of the Deuell, and  
a verey Antichriste.
- members of the devil and very Antichrists.

<sup>1</sup> Orig. leuue.



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

and shall be  
numbered with  
the Jews.

773

Wyshyng vnto you (most worthy counsaylours) *the*  
same Spirit that in *the* primitiue church gaue vnto the  
multitude of beleuers one herte, one mynde, & to  
esteme nothyng of this worlde as theyr owne, minist-  
trynge vnto euerie one accordyng to his necessities;  
that you, led by the same Spirite, may at the lestweye  
ordeine such a lawe that the oppresion of the pore  
reigne not frely amonge them that beare the name of  
Christians. But if they wyll be styll oppressing the  
pore membres of Christ, after once or twyse admou-  
cion, let them no more be named Christians after Christ  
whom thei serue not, but Mammonistes after Mammon  
whose badge they beare. And this reformacion had, no

May the Spirit  
which dwelt  
in the primitive  
Church dwell in  
[leaf 13, back]  
*Acta. 4.*  
you, and cause  
you to make a  
law preventing  
oppresion; and

780

doubt the maiestie of God shall so appere in all your  
decrees, *that* none so wicked a creatur shall be 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  
his wisdom. Al the Kynges christined shal learne at  
you to reforme theyr churches. You shall be euen the  
light of al the world.

if men will still  
oppress let such  
be called Mam-  
monistes and not  
Christians.

786

But, if you let these thynges pas and regarde *them*  
not, be ye sure the Lorde shal confound your wisdom.  
Inuent, deere, establysh, and authorise what you *can*;  
al shal come to nought. The wayes that you shall  
inuent to establish vnitie and concorde shal be the  
occasions of discorde. The thynges wherby you shal  
thinke to wyn prayse through all the worlde, shall  
turne to your vtter<sup>1</sup> shame; and *the* wayes *that* you shall

791

Then all kings  
shall learn of you,  
and you shall be  
the light of the  
world.

If you do not,  
God will confound  
your wisdom, no  
matter what you  
deeree.

798

802

<sup>1</sup> Orig. vnter.

803      inuent to establish a kyngdome shalbe the  
             vtter subuertion of the same. The mer-  
             cifull Father of our Lorde Iesus  
             Christe indue you wyth hys  
             Spirit, that you be not par-  
             takers of these plages.

God give you  
His Spirit.

Amen.

Amen.

## GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

- ABYE, 51/1524, abide, expiate.  
     Disparage not the faith thou dost  
     not know,  
     Lest, to thy peril, thou *aby* it dear.  
     *Mil.-Sr. N. Dr.* iii. 2, l. 176  
     (Globe ed.).  
 Agime ziplres, 73/571 ?  
 Alleyes, 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.  
 Babbelars, 103/119. See Acts  
     xvii. 18.  
 Bable, 32/884, bauble.  
 Baliwike, 43/1257, the jurisdic-  
     tion of a bailiff.  
 Ballyng, 83/27, bawling.  
 Banck, 166/472, sisters of the  
     Bank, prostitutes, inhabitants of  
     Bankside.  
 Barre, to cast the bar, 73/33.  
     See *note*, p. xvii.  
 Base, to run base, 73/35. See  
     *note*, p. xvii.  
 Bealies, 132/92, bellies.
- Bearwardes, 17/388.  
 Beastish, 144/505, beastlike,  
     brutish.  
 Bested, 60/19, circumstanced.  
     See *Chaucer, C. T.*, 5069, and  
     Isaiah viii. 21.  
 Betrusted, 30/823, trusted.  
 Bisemeyng, 95/14, besecming.  
 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.  
 By yere, 173/700, for a year.  
 Byll, 29/800, bill, a petition.  
 Candle, to hold the, 130/21, phr.  
 Cardes, 166/458 ?  
 Cessions, 94/143, sessions.  
 Checkinge, 139/348.  
 Christined, 175/792, christened.  
 Cocks and Pye. 19/469, a petty  
     oath. See *Merry Wives of W.* i. 1,  
     l. 316 (Globe ed.).  
 Coheritours, 159/233, coheirs.  
 Commone, 155/73, commune.

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

- Loselles, 112/121, lozel, a lazy lubber.
- Luste, 174/754. See Lyste.
- Lynge, 13/276, ling, saltfish. Consult *The Babees Book* for information about ling and fish generally.
- Lyste, 157/154, list, like, choose.
- Malt, 114/201.
- Mammonists, 175/785.
- Markis, 116/251, a Mark was of the value of 13s. 4d.
- Maugrea, 62/86, maugre, in spite of.
- Mawe, 44/1294, maw, stomach.
- Meaners, 101/75, manners, ? demeanours.
- Mell, 20/494, meddle.
- Morysh, 119/370, marshy.
- Mowe, 9/132, mow, a stack of corn.
- Mownde, 112/110, a boundary.
- Noble, 80/52, a coin of the value of 6s. 8d. See *Four Supplications*, Glossary in v. *noble*.
- Nownde, 112/110, for mound, a fence or hedge—boundary.
- Omage, 175/791, homage.
- Other, 172/665, either.
- Ouertenthes, 171/630, to 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 kyrteis, and mych waste in apparell, rynges, and owehis, wyth partelettes and *pastis* garneshed wyth perle." More's *Supplicacyon of Soulys*, sig. L. ii., quoted in Halliwell's *Arch. Dict.*
- Peltrye, 46/1366. The word *pelt* is still in use in Kent, signifying *rubbish*, the sense in which *peltrye* is used here.
- Plowen, 162/328, plowed.
- Pold, 13/277, polled, robbed, cheated, polling, 20/506.
- Poppyshnes, 72/71, popishness.
- Porte, 167/486, bearing, carriage, or manner.
- Possessioners, 153/8, holders of large estates.
- Praye, 148/669, prey.
- President, 170/597, precedent.
- Priestyng, 155/68, the calling or duties of a priest.
- Primer, 71/55, a little book, which children are first taught to read. *Phillips*.
- Prollynge, 144/529, prowling, searching about.  
*Prollyng*, and *pochyng* to get somewhat  
At every doore lumpes of bread, or meat.  
R. Copland's *Ilye way to the Spyltel 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.
- Register, 78/12, ? registrar.
- Reucynge, 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 spur-rials at 15s. each. The *rial farthings* went at 2s. 6d. each in the reign of the "Tiger King."
- Salfe, 102/93, safe, or saved.
- Scan, 173/706, 174/736.
- Scase, 81/72, scarce. See Glossary to *England under H. VIII.*
- Schourges, 15/344, scourges.
- Shamefast, 131/53, shamefaced, modest.
- Shente, 38/1096, 86/24, ruined, destroyed.
- Shote, 155/79, shot, amount.
- Slyese, 171/643, slice.
- Smered, 154/53.
- Spittlehouse, 11/211, hospital.
- Stick, holy water stick, 172/666.
- Stockefyshe, 13/276, stockfish, saltfish dried. For much curious information concerning *Stockfish*, see Mr Furnivall's *Babees Book*.
- Stynt, 112/108, stint, stop.
- Swea, 94/133, sway, bear the sway, have rule.
- Tattlers, 103/117, tattlers. See 1 Tim. v. 13.
- Thral, 87/32, make men thral, enthrall men.
- Thyne, 80/32, thin, weak.
- Tipillyng, 71/33, tipping.
- Tussocke, 44/1303, a heap.
- Typpet, a Tyburn tippet, 30/820, a halter.  
To weare . . . . .  
A *Tiburne Tippet*, or old Stories cap.  
This is the high'st degree which they can take.  
Taylor's *Works*, fol. 287.
- Vaile, 17/392, avail, profit, advantage.
- Vitayls, 8/90, victuals.
- Vnechristined, 169/568, unchristened, unbaptized.
- Vndercaptaine, 147/641.
- Vngrate, 166/469, ? unbecoming.
- Vnweldy, 168/553, unwieldy.
- Wede, 113/140, clothing.
- Wel, 61/68, weal.
- Welmoste, 10/166, almost, well nigh, nearly.
- Whippets, 45/1331, ? short petticoats. See Halliwell's *Arch. Dict.*
- Wit, 55/8, blame.
- Wodmonger, 88/75, a dealer in wood.
- Yuelles, 162/314, evils.
- 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. Werburgh'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. "Argentynne, 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 Hebreycyon, and-Cynomome. This saying is quoted in Cogan's *Haven of Health*, 1596, p. 109 (*N. & Q.*), and is not in the *Regimen Sanitatis Salerni* (as saith Riley's Dict. of Latin Quotations), in which however is a similar and well-known line, "Cur moriatur homo cui *salvia* cressit in horto?" Villanova, c. 60. Crokes, Sir Alex. 1830.—C. Innes Pocock.

p. 308, note 1, line 1, for *Ocium* read *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 solemnest that I have seene,' to 'the newe building [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 *Bunfyceal*, *Bunfyceys*, *Bunfyte*, read *Benefyceal*, 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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