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The Select Works
of
Robert Crowley,
Printer, Archdeacon of Hereford (1559-1567),
Vicar of St Lawrence, Jewry, &c. &c.

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

EDITED
With Introduction, Notes, and Glossary,

BY

J. M. COWPER,
EDITOR OF 'ENGLAND IN THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH,'
'THE TIMES' 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.

Robert Crole, Croleus, Crowlaus, 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 Magdalen 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. 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.

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.

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

1 Collier, Bib. Cat. i. 489. 2 The Vision, etc., ed. Skeat, xxxi.
3 In Ridley's register Crowley is styled Stationer of the parish of St Andrew, Holborn. Mackyn'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. 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.

In 1563 he was collated to the prebend of Mora in the Cathedral of St Paul, but was deprived in 1565. 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, from which it appears that Crowley and his curate expelled from the church divers clerks who were there in their surplices to bury a dead body. The clerks alleged that it was the custom, and that "my Lord of London" had commanded them to wear surplices within the churches. This gave rise to some tumult, and when Crowley appeared before Parker to answer for his behaviour, his conduct was such that the Archbishop "could do no less" than order him to be imprisoned in his own house. The Lord Mayor, too, lodged a complaint against Crowley, who answered "that he would not suffer the wolf"—"meaning the surplice man"—to come to his flock. This led to his further committal, and a Mr Bickley was sent to preach in his parish. In the further examination of Crowley it appears that he quarrelled with the singing men about their "porters' coats," that he said he would set them fast by the feet if they would break the peace, that he gave utterance to many "fond paradoxes that tended to Anabaptistical opinions, that he would preach until deprived, and that he would be deprived by order of the law." "But I dulled his glory," says Parker, who thought the suspension and secret prison would prove "some terror." In 1567 he is reported to have said that "he would not be persuaded to minister

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

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

3 Lansd. MSS. 982, f. 104.

4 Parker's Correspondence, Parker Society, pp. 275—278.
in those conjuring garments of popery,” meaning the surplice, which seems to have been the cause of as much bickering three hundred years ago as it is now.¹

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

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

¹ Remains of Abp Grindal. Parker Society, p. 211.
² Lansd. MSS. 982, f. 104.
⁴ Lansd. MSS. 982, f. 104.
⁵ Hist. Eng. Poet., iii. 187. But Warton was not quite right, for it seems Crowley left off printing about the time of his ordination.
dignities in a Church whose doctrines and polity his undiscerning zeal had a tendency to destroy." He seems to have preached anywhere, under any circumstances; at one time before Bonner's prison door, when the haughty prelate was confined in the Marshalsea,\(^1\) at other times at Paul's Cross, as we have seen above; now to a "grett audyens" at a funeral, and soon after at Bow on occasion of the marriage of "Master Starke to the dowthur of Master Allen.\(^2\) He closed his long and active but stormy career in 1588, when about 70 years of age, and was buried in the church of St Giles,\(^3\) Cripplegate, of which, two and twenty years before, he had been vicar.

For further particulars of Crowley and references to him and his works, the reader may consult Lansd. MSS. 9 ff. 157—162; Ib. 982, ff. 94, 104; *Writings of Bradford*, Parker Society, ii. 207, n. 3; *Tyndale's Answer to More*, etc., Parker Society, p. 220; *Fulke's Answers*, Parker Society, p. 3; Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* ii. pt 2, pp. 465—472; Wood's *Athenae 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, etc., 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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 Ecc. Mem. ii. pt 2, p. 465—472. The fifteen quoted by Strype are those commencing on pages 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 17, 20, 27, 33, 43, 45, 47, 48, and 49.
2 The proofs have been read with the original by Mr D. Hall of Cambridge.
3 For valuable information on the purposes of endowments the reader is referred to Mr Toulmin Smith's The Parish, 2nd ed. 1857, pp. 28, 30, 95, 597—604. For directing my attention to this work, and for the loan of a copy, as well as for other valuable aid, I have to tender my best thanks to Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith.
4 See A Supplication of the Poore Commons in "Four Supplications," ed. Furnivall and Cowper, pp. 79, 80; Westminster Review, No. Ixxvii, January, 1871, p. 101; and the Complaynt of Roderyck Mors, to be edited for this Series.
the country to beg their daily bread in London, sheltered themselves at night, present a picture of London life not yet extinct. Then it must have been horrible. It is curious to notice how long it takes to remove what all men are willing to acknowledge abuses. The streets of London at that time were little better, perhaps no better, than narrow lanes, undrained, often unpaved, unlighted, and the nightly receptacles of filth of all kinds. Now our streets are better. We strike out a new street through the most densely populated districts, such as Tothill Fields, Westminster, and we build a row of magnificent houses on each side. We let in the light, but do we care to follow with our eyes the darkness which has been made more dark? Do we care to inquire what becomes of the thousands who, thronging the district before, are now compelled to huddle more closely than ever, inasmuch as, while their numbers are ever on the increase, the space allowed for them is diminished? Until we provide homes for the poor who are to be unhoused, before we make these gigantic improvements, we are far from acting up to our convictions and our knowledge.¹

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

(2.) The Voice of the Last Trumpet . . . calling all estates of

¹ See note, p. xxiv.
² For the condition of Scotland about this time refer to Mr Furnivall's Preface to The Minor Poems of William Lauder, E. E. T. S., 1870.
men to the ryght path of theyr vocation, etc., printed in 1550, is a kind of metrical sermon containing twelve lessons addressed "to twelve several estates of men." Wood¹ says, "The said [John] Plough also wrote . . . The Sound of the Doleful Trumpet"—but when or where it was printed "I cannot tell, for I have not seen" it. I do not find the name of Plough in Bohn's 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

¹ Athenæ Oxon., fol. 126.
Yeoman's (p. 63). They are to bear all, to do all, and to possess their souls in patience, looking for no change in this world, unless one for the worse! The servant who is "sturdy and does his service with grudging" is promised scourging, drudgery, slavery, and, if he runs away, a worse master than the one he has left. Crowley's advice is excellent, but in the then condition of things "flesh and blood," it is to be feared, often rebelled against it.

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

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

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

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

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

The Scholar's Lesson is interesting as giving a glimpse of that muscular education which, as a nation, we are only now beginning to learn afresh. The scholar was to "recreate his mind" by fishing, fowling, hunting, hawking; while trials of strength, skill, speed—still to recreate the mind—were to be made in shooting, bowling, casting the bar, tennis, tossing the ball, and running base like men
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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," 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 and in the Times' Whistle, but in these two works we get a redeeming feature: all are not corrupt:

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

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

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

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

3 Sat. 2.

4 p. 42.

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

And the Times' Whistle:

"And you, which should true equity dispense,
Yet bear a gold-corrupted conscience,
Looke for some plague vpon your heads to light,
That suffer rich wrong to oppresse poore right.
All lawyers I cannot heerof accuse,
For some there are that doe a conscience vse
In their profession. This our land containes
Some in whose heart devine Astraea 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 justice ballance in faire Albians lands."²

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

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

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

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

¹ Nerves out of Powles, &c., Sat. 2.
² p. 50. For more on lawyers and bribery see my Preface to England in the Reign of Henry VIII., pp. cxv.—cxviii.
³ A Sir Ralph Fane, knight banneret, is mentioned in the Patent Rolls of Edward VI. Crowley was the first Englishman who versified the whole Psalter. In this work he may have been assisted by Lady Elizabeth Fane, for in Dibdin's Typ. Ant. iv. 381 n., mention is made of the Lady Elizabeth Fane's 21 Psalms and 102 Proverbs. See note, p. xxviii.
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in the Bodleian Library. 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.

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

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

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

1 Mr G. Parker read the proofs with the original.
2 This modernizing of the punctuation and the making the use of capital letters uniform are the only things to be desired in Mr Arber’s most valuable Reprints.
3 From the Bodleian copy. The proofs were read with the original by Mr G. Parker.
the advantage of the change from the old order of things;—all these may be seen by a reference to books which are in the hands of the readers of these "Texts," and Mr Furnivall's *Ballads from Manuscripts.* 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 boldy rebukes the wrong-doer; whether he be the king on his throne, or the beggar dying by the wayside of hunger, and disease, and neglect. The farmers, the graziers, the butchers, the lawyers, the merchants, the gentlemen, the knights, the lords—all who lived as "cormorants and gulls," by the plunder and oppression of the poor and needy—are here called to account, and have their misdeeds placed before them, and the charges which were commonly made against them by the suffering poor proclaimed in powerful language. That Crowley pitied these men, and longed to improve their condition is beyond doubt. But he could see and had the courage to

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

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

"It is not surprising that, under the anomalous state of things thus arising, anomalies were created in the endeavour to meet it. Acts distinguished by their attempts to keep down the natural fruits of such wrong-doing by force, terror, and barbarity, were passed, altered, and repealed. It was attempted—however paradoxical it may sound—to enforce voluntary alms. Almost the only provision that can be said to be marked by wisdom, is one found in an Act of 27 Henry VIII. cap. 25, which 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.
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declare that, though oppressed and trodden underfoot, they were not free from blame, and he endeavours to soothe their rebellious spirits by reasoning with them and arguing with them, and showing them that their open resistance to authority only put a whip into the hands of the rich who sought excuses for their evil deeds.

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

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

The whole is a masterly discourse, and will be read with much
interest as a sketch made by an eye-witness of the condition of things described in it.

(5.) An Informacion and Peticion agaynst the oppressours of the pore Commons of this Realme is a Petition to the Parliament of Edward VI. Of the many subjects which will have to be discussed, Crowley can see none demanding speedier attention than the oppressions under which the "pore commones" groaned, clergy and laity uniting to inflict the most 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.
NOTES.

Sunday drinking, &c., page 9. "What should I tell men in manye words, that which al men see & feele in continual & lamentable experience. Go to alehouses on the Saboth daies, there is as well sold all kinde of loosenesse as vitayles. Go to Greenes, there is myrth that would wounde a Christian mans heart with heauinesse. Goe to Fayres, there is a shewe and traffike, as well of all lewdnesse, as of wares. Yea, goe to all other places, both in City and countrey, and what shall you see, but so many euils that prouoke God, to the powryng forth of most fearefull judgements, the Theaters, Parish garden, Tanernes, streetes, fieldes, all full and prophauely 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-constable, 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 Dee*.

*Swearing*, pp. 18, 19. "They (the English) are also inconstant, arrogant, vain-glorious, haughty-minded, and above all things inclined to swearing, insomuch as if they speak but three or four words, yet must they needs be interlaced with a bloody oath or two."—*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 Aigna (many of them) use to colour their faces with certain oils, liquoris, unguenents, 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 *Anatomie*, p. 17, it is said, "Now there is such a confuse mingling 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. clxxxiv., 89, 90.

Rent-raisers, pp. xx., 46,

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

*Taylor’s Works*, folio, 280, and note.

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

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

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

"BOW-STREET.

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

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

² Anglia.

³ Londinium.
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 2l. 2s., and had been stolen from a van belonging to Mr Reeve, florist, Acton.

Mr Vaughan, to prisoner.—Where do you live?
Prisoner.—I don't live nowhere.

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

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

Mr Vaughan.—What does he say?
Gaoler.—He says he sleeps under the large posting board in front of the Lyceum Theatre.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The prisoner was then remanded for a week.

"MANSION HOUSE.

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

The case was originally heard by Sir Robert Garden, 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 tarpaulin, and among empty fish-boxes in Billingsgate-market. The witness, thinking it a case contemplated by the Industrial Schools Act, and desiring to reclaim the boy from the streets, to have him educated and taught a trade by which he might gain his own living, took him to the Seething-lane Police-station, and had him formally charged. Sir Robert Carden, before whom the boy was first brought, commended the witness very much for the course he had taken, and expressed a hope that many scores of poor destitute children would be taken from the streets of the City, and educated and taught some handicraft by which they might earn an honest livelihood, adding that he himself had for years in his own way been a 'boy's beadle,' long before that expression was in use. The case was eventually adjourned to admit of the attendance of the boy's parents, Mr Oke, the chief clerk of the Lord Mayor, doubting whether it was one which exactly came within the meaning of the Industrial Schools Act, according to which a child to be dealt with according to its provisions must be without home or settled place of abode, or proper guardianship, or visible means of subsistence. Meanwhile the boy was sent to the union.

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

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

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

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

Patrons, p. 118; Simony, pp. 118, 120. In 1585 it was said, "For even our plough boyes know it to be a common practise almost every where amongst patrons, that either they take a great summe of mony, or mony worth, as it were a fine, with such sleighty coneneance, as if they were iuglers, that no man shal espy them or any law prevent them, or make some reseruation of the tithes and glebeland, as it were a rent, & many times all these practises be vsed togither, whose rauenous teeth, and also the paiment of the first fruite 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 unto such an ebbe, that after their
death their executours doe not blesse them, except it be certaine of them which have sundry benefices."—A Lamentable Complaint of the Commonalty, By Way Of Supplication, To The High Covrt 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.
One and

thyrtie Epigrammes, wherein are
bryelly touched so many Abuses, that
maye and ought to be put away.

Compiled and Imprinted by

Robert Crowley, dwel-

lynge in Elye rentes

in Holborne.

Anno domini,

1550.

i. Cor. xiii.

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

Gala. i. 1

If I shoulde study to please men: than could I not
be the servant of Christe.

Orig. vi.

CROWLEY.
[Leaf 1, back, is a blank.]
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The Boke to the Reader.

If books may be bolde
  to blame and reprooe
The faultes of all menne,
  both hyghe and lowe,
As the Prophetes dyd
  whom Gods Spirite did moue,
Than blame not myne Autor;
  for right well I knowe
Hys penne is not tempered
  vayne doctrine to sowe,
But as Esaye hath bydden,
  so muste he nedes crye,
And tell the Lordes people
  of their iniquitie.
    Nowe, if I do the worldelinges
in anye poynte offende,
In that I reprooe 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; thersfore mine Autor
  biddeth me confesse,
TO THE READER.

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

That, sith they be determined still in their synne to dwell, 28
He accounteth them no better than fire brandes of hell.
Wherefore he bade me bid them holde them contente;
He hath not written to them that will not emende;
For to the willinge wicked no prophete shall be sente,
Excepte it be to tell them that, at the laste ende,
They shall be sure and certayne wyth Satanas to wende.
For before suche swyne no pearles maye be caste,
That in the filthye puddell take all their repaste.
To suche onely, therfore, I muste his message do,
As haue not their delite in wickednes to dwell;
But when they heare their fault, are sorye they dyd so,
And louingely imbrace suche men as do them tell;
Reformyne euermore their lyfe by the gospell,— 52
To these men am I sente, And these, I truste, will take
My warnynge in good parte, And their euill forsake.

Iohn .viii.
He that is of God, heareth the worde of God.
Finis.
Of Abbayes.

As I walked alone, and mused on thynges
That haue in my time bene done by great kings,
I bethought me of Abbayes, that sometyme I sawe,
Whiche are nowe suppressed all by a lawe.
O Lorde (thought I then) what occasion was here,
To prouide for learninge
And make pouertye chere?
The landes and the jewels that hereby were hadde,
Would haue found godly preachers, 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 preachers 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.
Of Alehouses.

We must have houses for refreshment.

But in each hamlet and town they have become places of waste,

[Leaf 6]

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

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

A commendation of London.¹

London is not so bad.

In service time alehouses are shut up.

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

But, Lorde, to howe greate abuse they be growne!

In eche lyttle hamlet, vyllage, and towne,

They are become places of waste and excesse,

And herbour for such men as lyne in idlenes.

And lyghtly in the contrey they be placed so,

That they stande in mens waye when they shoulde to church go.

And then such as loue not to hear theyr fautes tolde,

By the minister that readeth the newe Testament and olde, do turne into the alehouse, and let the church go;

Yea, and men accompted wyse and honeste do so.

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

For in service tyme no dore standeth vp,

Where such men are wonte to fyll can and cuppe.

¹ The side-notes of the original are printed in Italic throughout.
Wolde God in the countrey
they woulde do the same,
Either for Gods feare,
or for worldly shame!
How hallow they the Saboth,
that do the tyme spende
In drynkinge and idlenes
tyll the daye be at an ende?
Not so well as he doeth,
that goeth to the plowe,
Or pitcheth vp the sheues
from the carte to the mowe.
But he doeth make holye
the Sabothe in dode,
That heareth Goddes worde,
and helpeth suche as nede.

Of Allayes.

Two sortes of Allayes
in London I finde;—
The one agaynste the lawe,
and the other againste kinde.
The firste is where bowlinge
forbidden, men vse,
And, wastynghe theyr goodes,
do their laboure refuse.
But in London (alus!)
some men are deuillishelye
Suffered to professe it,
as an arte to lyue by.
Well, I wyll saye no more,
but suche as lyue so,
And officers that suffer them,
shall togither go

Would that the country would
do so.

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

Luke 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

1 Orig. Mat.
To Satan their sire,
for of God they are not,
Who commandeth to labour
syxe dayes, ye wotte,
And the seuenth he commandeth
all menne to sanctifie,
In beynge well occupied,
and not idlye.
The other sorte of Allayes,
that be agaynste kynde,
Do make my harte wepe
when they come to my mind.
For there are pore people,
welmoste innumerable,
That are dryuen to begge,
and yet to worcke they are able,
If they might have al thinges
provided aright.
Alas! is not thy
a greate owr syght?
Ye Aldermen and other,
that take Allaye rente,
Why bestowe ye not the riches,
that God hath you sente
In woule or in flaxe,
to finde them occupied,
That nowe lye and begge
by euerye highe waye side?
And you that be chiefe,
and haue the commune treasure,
Why can you never finde
a time of leasure,
To se where the treasure
will finde them workinge,
To the profit of the Citye,
in some maner thynge?
EPIGRAMS.  ALMS-HOUSES.

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

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 looked for this hospitall,
but none coulde he se;
For a lordely house was builte
where the hospitall should be.
Good Lorde (sayd this marchaunt)
is my contrey so wealthy,
 That the verye beggers houses
be builte so gorgiouslye?

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

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

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

A merchant
returning to his
country

had to pass an
hospital,

but in its place he
found a lordly
house.

[leaf 8, back]
"Is the country
so rich that beg-
gars' houses are
so fine?"
He soon saw a beggar, who told him they were all turned out.

Rich men had bought the place.

The merchant had never seen such cruelty even in Turkey.

Than, by the waye syde,
  hym chaunced to se
A pore manne that crauned
  of hym for charitie.

Whye (quod thy Marchaunt)
  what meaneth thynges thynges?

Do ye begge by the waye,
  and haue a house for a kyng?

Alas! syr (quod the pore man)
  we are all turned oute,
And lye and dye in corners,
  here and there aboute.

Men of greate riches
  haue bought our dwellinge place,
And when we craue of them,
  they turne awaye their face.

Lorde God! (quod this marchaunt)
  in Turkye haue I bene,
Yet emonge those heathen
  none such crueltie haue I sene.

The vengeaunce of God
  muste fall, no remedye,
Vpon these wicked men,
  and that verye shortelye.

Of Baylife Arrantes.

A Baylife there was
  in the weste contrey,
That dyd as they do
  in all quarters, men saye.

He serued with one wryte
  an whole score or twyne,
And toke in hand to excuse them,
  hauinge pence for his payne.
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 answere for them.
But when he mette his frendes,
than woulde he saye but, hem ;
But such as had no cheare,
nor money to paye,
Were sure to trudge
to the sessions alwaye.
Ye must gene him some thynge,
to sowe his hadlande,
Or else ye can haue
no favoure 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 thynge,
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.

Of Bawdes.

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

He was sure to
warn those who
did not pay him,
but only said
"ahem!" to his
friends.

The bayleifes
had lande.
You must give
him something—
puddings, bacon,
cheese, barley,
malt, wheat,

Thus the poor
are robbed by
those who should
serve them.
In taverns and tiplyng houses many myght be founde,  
If officers would make serch but as they are bounde.  
Well, let them take heede,  
I wyll say no more;  
But when God reuengeth, he punisheth sore.  
An horrible thynge it is, for to fall  
Into that Lordis handis, that is eternall.  

Of Beggers.

The beggars, whome nede compelleth to craue,  
Ought at our handis some reliefe to haue;  
But such as do counterfayt, haueyne theyr strength  
To labour if they luste, beyng knowne at the length,  
Ought to be constrayned to worcke what they can,  
And lyue on theyr laboure, as besemeth a Christyan;  
And if they refuse to worcke for theyr meate,  
Then ought they to faste, as not worthy to eate.  
And such as be sore, and wyll not be healed,  
Oughte not in any case to be cherished.

1 Orig. 1 Tim.
I heard of two beggars
that under an hedge sate,
Who dyd wyth longe talke
theyr matters debate.
They had boeth sore legges,
most lothsome to se;
Al rawe from the fote
welmost to the knee.
"My legge," quod the one,
"I thank God, is fayre."
"So is myne," (quod the other)
"in a colde ayre;
For then it loketh rawe,
and as redde as any bloud,
I woulde not hauie it healed,
for any worldis good;
For were it once whole,
my lyuinge were gone,
And for a sturdye begger
I shoulde be take anone.
No manne woulde pittye me,
but for my sore legge;
Wherfore, if it were whole,
I might in vaine begge.
I shoulde be constrained
to labour and sweate,
And perhaps sometime
wyth schourges be beate."
"Well" (sayde the tother)
"lette vs take hede therefore,
That we let them not heale,
but kepe them styll sore."
An other thynge I hearde
of a begger that was lame,
Muche like one of these,
if it were not the same;
Of Bearbaytynge.

What follye is thys, 
To kepe wyth daunger, 
A greate mastye dogge 
And a foule ouglye beare?

And to thyse onelye ende, 
To se them two fyght, 
Wyth terrible tearynge, 
A full ouglye syght.

And yet me thynke those men 
Be mooste foles of all, 
Whose store of money 
is but verye smale.
And yet euerye Sondaye
they will surelye spende
One penye or two,
the bearwardes lyuyng to mende.
At Paryse garden, eche Sondaye
a man shall not fayle
To fynde two or thre hundredes,
for the bearwardes vaile.
One halpenye a piece
they vse for to giue,
When some haue no more
in their purse, I believe.
Well, at the laste daye,
their conscience wyll declare
That the pore ought to haue
all that they maye spare.
For God hath commaunded,
that what we maye spare
Be geuen to the pore,
that be full of care.
If you giue it, therefore,
to se a beare fyght,
Be ye sure Goddes curse
wyl vpon you lyght.

Of Brawlers.

A brawler, that loueth
to breake the kings peace,
And seke his owne sorowe,
his fansye to please,
Is lyke a curre dogge,
that setteth vpon
Eche mastyfe and hounde
that he may light on.

1 Ecclesiasticus.

A brawler is like a cur

that sets upon a mastiff;
The son of Sirach says
Eccles.
[xxii.]

a swearer shall be filled with iniquity.

Of Blasphemous Swerers

The sonne of Syrach wryteth playnelye
Of suche menne as do sweare blasphemoyselye.

"The manne that sweareth muche shall be fylled," sayeth he,
"Wyth all wicked maners, and iniquitie.
In the house of that manne the plage shall not cease;
He shalbe stylly plagued either more or les."

He getteth hym hatered of evrye manne;
And meteth with his maister euer nowe and than.
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.
This is a worthye membre in a commune wealth,
That to worcke other wo will lose his owne health.
What other men will judge, I can not tell;
But, if he scape Tiburne, I thinke he wyll hange in hell.
Christe byddeth all his
affirme and denie,
Wyth yea, yea ; nay, nay ;
affirmyng no lye.
“ Whatsoeuer ye ad more " (saith he)
“cometh of iuell,
And is of the wycked
suggestion of the deuyll.”
But we can not talke
wythouten othes plentye.
Some swear by Gods nayles,
hys herte, and his bodye ;
And some swear [by] his fleshe,
his bloude, and hys fote ;
And some by hys guttes,
hys lyfe, and herte rote.
Some other woulde seme
all sweryng to refrayne,
And they inuent idle othes,
such is theyr idle brayne :—
By cocke and by pye,
and by the goose wyng ;
By the crosse of the mouse fot[e,
and by saynte Chyckyn.
And some swear by the Diuell,
such is theyr blyndenes ;
Not knowyng that they call
these thynges to wytnes,
Of their consciences, in that
they affirme or denye.
So boeth sortes commit
Moste abhominable blasphemie.

Christ told us to say yea and nay.

But we can’t talk without oaths.

Some swear by God’s blood,

some by cock and
pye,

[leaf 14]

Math. v.
some by the
devil.

They all commit blasphemy.
A collier at Croydon might have been a knight, but he would not.

It would be well if knights cared no more for coal than this collier did for knightly duty.

[Page 14, back]

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

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

Of the Collier of Croydon.

It is said, that in Croydon the collier sometime dwell for his riches this Collier might have been a knight; but in the order of knighthood he had no delight.

Would all our knights dye minding their coal no more, than this Collier did knightly duty, as is said before!

For when none but poor Coliers have paid, and had few sacks to take, the royal lode that of late years was sold, they dyed their coals sell; for a reasonable price, they dyed their coals sell; and had few sacks to take.

We have paid much money.

God grant these men grace theyr praying to referre, Or els bring them hack to their olde state agayne. For when none but poor Coliers have paid, and had few sacks to take, the royal lode that of late years was sold, they dyed their coals sell; for a reasonable price, they dyed their coals sell; and had few sacks to take.

We have paid much money.

God grant these men grace theyr praying to referre, Or els bring them hack to their olde state agayne.
Of Commotionars.

When the bodye is vexed,  
through humors corrupted,  
To restore it to helth  
those humours muste be purged.

For if they remayne,  
they wyll styll encrease  
Every daye, more and more,  
and augment the disease;

So that in short tyme  
the body muste decaye,  
Except God gene health  
by some other waye.

Euen so doth it fare  
by the weale publyke,  
Whych chaunceth to be often  
diseased and sycke,

Through the mischeuouse malice  
of such men as be  
Desyrouse to breake  
the publyke unitie.

Eche publyke bodye  
must be purged therfore,  
Of these rotten humours,  
as is sayed before.

Els wyll it decay,  
as do the bodyes naturall,  
When rotten humours haue  
infected them over all.

But if the publyke bodye  
can not be purged well,  
By force of purgation,  
as phisickes rules do tell:  
When bodyes be weake,  
and so lowe brought,
That by purgation,  
no health can be wroght:  
Then must there be sought  
some easyar waye,  
To kyl the strength of those humours:  
thus doth phisicke saye.  
When the swerde wyl not helpe  
in the common wealth,  
To purge it of Commotionars  
and bryng it to health:  
Then must discrete counsell  
fynde wayes to kyll  
The powr of those rebelles,  
and let them of theyr wyll.  
And that must be by cherisheyng  
the humours naturall,  
And by quickenyng agayne  
of the spirites vitall;  
Whych, in the commune wealth,  
are the subiectes trew,  
That do alwaye study  
sedition to eschew.  
When these men, through cherishing,  
do growe and be strong,  
Then can no Commotionars  
continew long.  
For as, when the strength  
of ill humours is kyled,  
In a naturall bodye  
they be sone consumed,  
Or made of iuell good,  
as it is playne to se:  
So wyll it bytyde  
of such men as be,  
In the Commune wealth,  
geuen vnto sedition,
When they se they can not
finyshe their intention.

And what is their power,
but the people ignoraunte,

Whom thei do abuse
by their counselles malignaunte?

When the hertes of the people
be wonne to their prince,

Than can no Commotioners
do hurte in hys provinçe.

If this wyll not help,
than God wyll take cure,

And destroy these Commisioners,
we may be right sure:

Excepte the tyme be come
that the bodye muste dye;

For than there canne be found
no maner remedy.

God graunte that our synne
haue not broughte vs so lowe,

That we be paste cure:

God onelye doeth thys knowe;

And I truste to se healthe agayne,
if the finall ende

Be not nowe nere at hande;

whyche the Lorde shortelye sende.

Of Commen Drunkardes.

Saye lamenteth,
and sayeth, "oute, alas!"

Muche wo shall betide you,
that do youre tyme passe

In eatinge and drinkyng,e,
from morninge to nighte,
Drunkards and Liars.

Because the Jews rose up early to drink like beasts.

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

i. Cor. r.

Paul tells us not to eat or drink with drunkards.

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

Solomon says a liar slays the soul. 

Of Commune Liars.

Solomon the sage,

Solomon doth saye,

That the mouth that lyeth doeth the very soule slye.

If the murderer of bodies be worthye to dye,

1 Orig. i.
The murderer of soules
    shoulde not escape, trowe I.
For as the soule doeth
    the bodye excell,
So is his treaspace greater,
    that doeth the soule quell.
But lyars (alas !)
    are nowe muche set by,
And thought to be menne
    in a maner necessarie
To be entertayned
    of eche noble manne,
Who are muche delighted
     wyth lyes nowe and than.
But this delite will be sorowe,
    I feare me, at the laste ;
Whan the liar, for hys liyng,
    into paynes shall be caste.

Of Dicears.

Emonge wytye saiynge,
    this precept I finde,
To auoid and fle dice (mi son)
    haue euer in mynde.
For diceynge hath brought many
    wealthye menne to care ;
And manye ryche heyre
    it hath made full bare.
Some menne it hath sette vp,
    I wyll not denye,
And brought to more worship,
    than they be worthye.
God knoweth to what ende
    he suffereth thys thing ;

Liars are not punished,
648
but are thought much of,
652
and are thought necessary to noblemen,
656
This delight in lies will not last.
664

Cato advised to flee dice-playing,
668
which has stripped many.
672
It has set up some,
676
[leaf 18, back]
Perchaunce to rewarde them wyth hel at their endynge.
For doubtlesse those goodes are gotten amisse,
That are gotten from him that prodigall is;
And especially at the dyce, where boeth do intende
To get others goodes, or else hys owne to spende.
Nowe if prodigalitye or couetise be vyce,
He cannot but offend that playeth at the dyce.
For be they two or mo, thys thyng is certayne,
Prodigalytie and couetise do in them all raygne.
Besyde the wycked othes, and the tyme myspent,
Werof they thincke they nede not them selues to repent.
But thys I dare saye, that though dyceyng were no sin,
Nor the goodis mysgotten, that men do ther at wynne;
Yet the othes that they swere, and the tyme myspent,
Shall be theyr damnacion, vnlesse they repent.
Leaue of your vayne dyceyng, ye dycers, therefore,
For vnlesse ye repent, God hath vengeaunce in store;
And when ye thynke least, then wyl he pour it oute,
And make you to stoupe,
be ye neuer so stoute.

Of Double Benificed Men.

The kyng of that realme,
where justice doeth regne,
Perused olde statutis,
that in bokis remayne.
And as he turned the boke,
him chaunced to se,
That such as haue benifices
shoulde resident be;
And haue theyr abydyng,
whyles theyr lyfe shoulde endure,
Emong them, ouer whome
God hath geuen them cure.
Then sayed he to him selfe,
"I thyncke well there is
No lawe in thys realme
worse obserued then this.
Yet can there nothyng
My flocke more decaye,
Then when hyrelynges suffer
My shepe go astraye."
Then called he his counsell
And tolde them his mynde,
And wylled that they shoulde
some remedy fynde.
Whoe, wyth good aduice,
agreed on this thyng,
That visitours should be sent,
wyth the powre of the kyng,
To punyshe all such
as herein dyd offende,
The visitors found only one priest who would surrender none. Osee iii.

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

and said if he had right he must keep them for his lifetime.

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

Vnlesse they were founde thorowe wylynge to amende. 748
These visitours found many stout priestes, but chieflie one That hadde sondrye benifices, but woulde surrender none.
Than was this stoute felowe brought to the kynge, Who sayde vnto hym, "Syr, howe chaunceth this thing? 756
Wyl ye transegresse my lawes? and than disobeye Menne hauing my power?
"If it mai like your grace," (quod he) "Ie, heare is to se, Your scale at a graunte of a pluralitie." 764
"Well," saide the kinge than, "I repente me of all yll; But tell me, maister doctoure, wil you haue your benifices styll?" 768
"If your grace do me ryghte," (quod he) "I must haue them my life tyme." 772
"So shalt thou," (quod the kynge) "for to morow by pryme,

God wylynge, thy body shalbe diuided, and sent, To eche benifice a piece, to make the resident.
Away wyth hym" (quod the kynge) "and let al thyngis be done,
As I haue geuen sentence, to morow ere none.
For syth thou arte a stout priest, an example thou shalt be,

1 stont in original.
That all stouburne priestes
may take warnyng by the.

Of the Exchequer.

In the weste parte of Europe
there was sometyme a kynge,
That had a court for receyt
of money to him belonging.
But the ministers of that court
dyd longe, and many a daye,
Take brybes to bare with suche men
as should forfaytis pay.
At the laste, to the Kyng
this theyr falshode was tolde,
By suche as about hym,
were faythfull and bolde.
Then dyd the Kyng sende
for these ministers ill,
And layde all theyr faltes
before them in a byll.
Then were they abashed,
and had nought to saye,
But cryed for hys perdon;
but he bade, "Awaye;
Ye haue borne wyth theues,
and haue robbed me,
And suffered my people
impoueryshed to be.
No statute coulde cause
thoffendars to emende,
Because you bare wyth them,
when they dyd offende.
Awaye wyth them all,
laye them in prisone,
FLATTERERS WORSE THAN FOES.

Tyll we haue determined, 
what shall wyth them be done.”

What judgment they had
I haue not hearde yet ;
But well I wot they deserved
a Tyburne tippet.

Of Flaterars.

A flatterer is worse than an enemy.

A Flatterynge frende
is worse then a foe;
For a frende is betrusted,
when the other is not so.

Of an open enimie,
a man may be ware;
When the flatteryng freund
wyl worcke men much care.

If Abner had known Joab's heart
For if Abner had knowne
what was in Ioabs harte,
I do not doubt but he would
haue out of his waye sterte ;
Or, at the leaste, he would not
haue admitted hym so ny
As to be embraced of hym,
and on his dagger to dye.
Wherefore I aduertise
al men to be ware
Of all flatterynge frendis,
that bring men to care.

[leaf 21, back]

They deserved a Tyburn tippet.

As for open enimies,
trust them if ye wyll ;
I can not forbyd you
to admyt your owne yll.
Woulde God all men wouldo
such flatterars trye,
As hange at theyr elbowes, 848
    to get some what therby.
But (alas !) nowe adayes, 852
    men of honour do promote
Many a false flatterynge 856
    and lewde harlot;
Whych thynge may at the lenth the 860
    be theyr owne decaye;
For if the wynde turne, 864
    the flatterars wyll awaye.
The swallowe in sommer 868
    wyll in your house dwell;
But when wynter is commynge, 872
    she wyll saye farewell.
And when the short dayes 876
    begun to be colde,
Robinredbrest wil come home to ye, 880
    and be very bolde;
But when summer returneth, 884
    and bushes wax grene,
them Robyn your man 888
    wyll no more be sene.
So some of your flattera[r]s 892
    wyll in prosperitie,
be of your householde, 896
    and of your family;
And some other wyl, 900
    when nede doth them payne,
Sue to do you servise, 904
    tyll they be welthy agayne.

Of Foles.

The Preachar sayeth thus, 908
    "a pore wytty ladde

A witty lad is better than a Eccle. iii., foolish old king.
THE CONDUCT OF FOOLS.

is better than an olde Kynge,
whose wytte is but badde.”

The wyse man in pouertie
is ryght honourable,

When the fole in his ryches,
is worthy a bable.

Some foles there be of nature,
that vnderstande nought;

Some other vnderstand thynges,
but haue euer in theyr thought,

That they them selues be wysest;
whych folly passeth all,

And doeth soneste appeare,
as well in greate as small.

These foles wyll not heare
any mans reade or counsell,

And what soeuer they them selfe do,
is excedyng well;

But other mens doynges
they wyll euer dyprease,

For other can do nought
that may theyr mynde please.

And, further, they thyncke
it becometh them well,
in evry mans matter
them selfe to entermel.

And when they come in place
where is any talke,

No man shal fynde a tyme to speake,
so faste theyr tonges shal walke.

Of theyr owne dedis and goodes,
they wyll bragge and boaste,

And declare all theyr mishaps,
and what they haue loste.

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

Of Forestallars.

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

CROWLEY.
Reversions of farms and benefices are bought long ere they fall.

And ryght so are benifices in euery coaste,
So that persons and vicars kepe neyther sodde nor roste.

The pore of the paryshe, whome the person shoulde fede,
Can haue nought of oure tythis, to succoure theyr neede.

Reursions of fermes are bought on ech syde;
And the olde tenant must pay well, if he wyll a byde.

And where the father payde a peny, and a capon or twayne,
The sonne muste paye ten pownde:
[t]his passeth my brayne.

Well, let thes forestallars repent them bytyme,

Leste the clarke of the market be wyth them ere pryme.

For he, when he cometh, wyll punysh them all,
That do any nedeful thynge ingrose or forestall.

For well I wotte thys, when he went laste awaye,
He sent vs his servaunt, and thus dyd he saye.

Se that emong you none seke his owne gayne,
But profyte ech other wyth trauaiyle and payne.
Of Godlesse Men.

Olye Dauid, that was boeth prophet 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 utterlye peruerte.
And so there are nowe, the pitye is the more,
That lyue more carnalye than euer men dyd before.
These men (sayeth kinge Dauid) in their herkes do saye,
Surelye there is no God, let vs take our owne waye.
Thus iudged kyng Dauid, and that for good skyll,
Because he sawe their worckes, were wycked and euyll.
They are (sayeth he) corrupt, and nought in all theyr wayes,
Not one doeth good;
That they thincke there is no God, theyr worckis do declare,
For to do the thynge 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 justifie theyr yl weyes?

1 Orig. i. 2 Repeated in orig.
WHAT GODLESS MEN SAY.

They leave the good undone, and do that yll is;
And then they call that yll good—what woulde Dauid saye to this?

I know not what Dauid would saye in this case;
But I knowe that good Esay doeth curse them apase.

Woe! sayth this prophete, to them that do call
That thyng good that euell is.
but this is not all:
He sayeth woe to them that call dearkenes lyght,
Preferryng theyr fansey before the worde of myght.

If they fynde a thyng wrytten in Paul, Luke, or John,
Or any other scripture, they wyll therof none,
Except they may easily perceyue and se
That, wyth theyr fleshly fansey, they may make it agre.

All other testis of scripture they wyll not stycke to deny;
Yea, some of them wyll God and his scripture defie,
And say they wyl make merie here, for when they be gone
They can haue no ioye, for soule they haue none.
If these menne be not godles, muehe meruell haue I.

Well, the cause is the Lordes, lette hym and them trye.
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.  

Of Idle Persons.

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

let every man see for himself.

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

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

Idlenes, therfore,
maye ryghte well be named
The gate of all mischief
that euer was framed.

Ye masters and fathers, therfore,
that feare God omnipotent,
Kepe youre families,
leaste ye be shente;
For if thorowe their idlenes
they fall into outrage,
Your judgemente shall be straught,
for they are committed to your charg.

Kepe them, therfore, stylly occupied,
in doynge youre busines,
Or els in readynge or hearynge
some bokes of godlines.

And woulde God the maiestrates
woulde se men set a-worke,
And that within thys realme
none were suffered to lurke,
This realme hath thre commoditie
woule, tynne, and leade,
Which being wrought w'thin the realme,
eche man might get his bread.

Of Inuenters of Straunge Newes.

Some men delight
to invent news

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

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

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

Of Foreign parts,
[leaf 28]
Then was there a man before hyr accused, For tythes that he toke, and priuately vsed. When dewe proufe was had, and the thyng manifeste, The wyttnesses sworne, and the treaspace confeste; Then gaue the judge judgmenent and these wordes he spake:— "Se that from this caytyle ye do all his goodes take; For seynge he made that priuate, that commune shoulde be, He shall haue this justice, by the iudgment of me. Those pore men, that by the tithes shoulde be releued, Shal haue all his goodes emonge them diuided. And because he shewed no mercie, no mercie shall he haue. The sentence is geuen, go hange vp the slaue."

Of Leasemongars.

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

Of Marchauntes.

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

They are unprofitable.

We muste needes call them membres unprofitable,
As men that would make all the Realme miserable.

Howe they leaue theyr trade, and lende oute theyr money,
To yonge marchaunte men, for greate vsurie;
Whereby some yonge men are dreuen to leaue all,
And do into moste extreme pouertie fall,
It greueth me to wryte.

but what remedy?
They muste heare theyr faute,
syth they be so greedye.
And thus I saye to them, and trewe they shall it fynde,
The Lord will have them in mind.
The Lorde wyll haue all theyr iuell doynges in mynde.

And at the laste daye, when they shall aryse,
All shall be layed playne before theyr owne eyes,
Where judgemente shall be geuen, as Saynte Iames doeth wytnes,

Wythoute all mercy
to suche as be merciles

What is the remedy?

Of Men that haue Diuers Offices.

In Rome ambition was punished with exile,

W

Han the Citye of Rome was ruled aryght,
As aunciente autours do recorde and wryte
EPIGRAMS. MEN WHO HOLD MANY OFFICES. 43

Ambition was punished
  wyth vtter exile;
Yet were there some that dyd
  venter some whyle.
But we reade not of anye
  that ever wente aboute,
To have two offices at once,
  were they never so stoute.
But, alas! in this Realme,
  we counte hym not wyse,
That seketh not by all meanes
  that he canne devise,
To take offices together,
  wythoute anye staye.
But Christe shal saie to these menne
  at the laste daye,
Geue accounts of your baliwickes,
  ye mene wythout grace,
Ye that soughte to be rulers
  in euerye place,
Geue accountes of your baliwike,
  for come is the daye
That ye muste leaue youre offices,
  and walke your fathers waye.

Of Nice Wyues.

The sonne of Sirach
  of women doeth saye,
That theire nicenes & hordom
  is perceiued alwaye
By there wanton lokes,
  And lyftynge vp of eyes,
And their lokinge ascoye,
  in most wanton wise.

yet some venture to return.

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

At the last day Christ will de-
mand an account of your steward-
ship.

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.

If these thynges be trew,
(as, no doubt, they be)

What shold we thynk of the women
that in London we se?

For more wanton lokes,
I dare boldly saye,

Were neuer in Iewyshe whores,
then in London wyues thys daye.

And if gate and garmentes
do shewe any thynge,

Our wiues do passe their whoris
in whorelyke deckynge.

I thynk the abhominable
whores of the stews

Dyd neuer more whorelyke
attyrementes vse.

The cappe on hyr heade
is lyke a sowes mawe;

Such an other faction
I thynk neuer iewe sawe.

Then fyne geare on the foreheade,
sette after the new trycke,

Though it coste a crowne or two,

What then? they may not stycke.

If theyr heyre wyld not take colour,
then must they by newe,

And laye it oute in tussockis:
this thynge is to true.

At ech syde a tussocke,
as bygge as a ball,—
A very fayre syght
for a fornicator bestiall.
Hyr face faire paynted,  
to make it shyne bryght,  
And hyr bosome all bare,  
and most whorelyke dight.  

Hyr mydle braced in,  
as smal as a wande;  
And some by wastes of wyre  
at the paste wyfes hande.  

A bumbe lyke a barrel,  
wyth whoopes at the skyte;  
Hyr shoes of such stuffe  
that may touche no dyrte;  

Upon hyr whyte fyngers,  
manye rynges of golde,  
Wyth suche maner stones  
as are most dearlye solde.  

Of all their other trifles,  
I wyll saye nothynge,  
Leaste I haue but small thanckes,  
for thys my writynge.  

All modeste matrons  
I truste wyll take my parte,  
As for nice whippets, wordes  
shall not come nye my hert.  

I haue tolde them but trueth,  
let them saye what they wyll;  
I haue sayde they be whorelike,  
and so I saye,styll.  

Of Obstinate Papistes.

A obstinate papiste,  
that was sometyme a frier,  
Hadde of his friers cote  
so greate a desire,  

Their faces are painted, their bosoms bare.  
Their waists are braced in,  
and their bums like a barrel.  
Shoes must not touch the dirt.  
Rings on fingers.  
[leaf 32, back]  
All modest matrons will, I hope, take my part,  
I have said they are whorelike, and so they are.
That he stole out of England,  
and went to Louayne,  
And gate his fryers cote  
on his foles backe agayne.  

1344

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

1348

Would God all the papists,  
that he lefte behynde,  
Where wyth him in fryes cotis  
acordlyng to theyr kynde ;  
Or els I woulde they were  
wyth theyr father the Pope,  
For whyse they be in England,  
thei do but lyue in hope.  

1352

1356

1360

1364

1368

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

Of Rente Rayser.

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

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

1372
So that of tenne pounde
he made well a score
Moe poundes by the yere
than other dyd before.
But when he was tolde
whan daunger it was
To oppresse his tennauntes,
he sayed he did not passe.
For thy thyng, he sayde,
full certayne he wiste,
That wyth his owne he myghte
always do as he lyste.
But immediatlye, I trowe
thy oppressoure fyl sicke
Of a voyce that he harde,
“geue accountes of thy baliwicke!”

Of Vayne Wryters, Vaine Talkers,
and Vaine Hearer.

O
Of late, as I laye,
and lacked my reste,
At suche time as Titan
drew faste to the Easte,
Thys sayinge of Christe
came into my minde,
Whyche certayne and true
all maner menne shall fynde:—
Of euerye idle worde
ye shall gene a rekeninge;
Be it spoken by mouthe,
or put in wrytyng.
O Lorde (thought I then)
what case be th[eu] y in,
That talke and write vaynely,
And thynke it no synne?

—

1376 When he was
told it was dan-
gerous to oppress
his tenants, he
said he could do
as he liked with
his own.

1380 But he soon died.


1384 But he soon died.

1388 Of a voyce that he harde,
“geue accountes of thy baliwicke!”

1392 Christ’s saying
about idle words
came into my mind.

Math. xii.

1396 What a case they
are in who write
and talk vainly!
I thought I saw three vain men condemned and punished.

[leaf 34, back]
The writer's head was opened, and the talker stirred his brains with a stick;
while the writer pulled the talker's tongue out a hand-length;
and the listener's ears were pulled almost up to his eyes.

Than slombred I a little,
and thoughte that I sawe
Three sortes of vayne menne
condempned by Gods lawe.
The one was a wryter,
of thynges nought and vayne,
And an other a talker;
And thys was theyr payne:
The wryter hadde the crowne
of hys heade opened,
Whose braynes wyth a stycke
the talker styred;
And he wyth boeth handes
drew the talkers tonge,
So that wythout hys mouthe
it was an handefull longe.
The thirde was an herkener
of fables and lyes,
Whose eares were almost
drawn vp to his eyes.

Of Vnsaciable Purchasers.

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

"Jack, I have bought this ground."
"Marry, men say your purchase is great, but your householde small."

An unreasonable ryche man
dyd ryde by the way,
Who, for lacke of menne,
hadde wyth hym a boye.
And as he paste by a pasture
most pleasaunte to se,
"Of late I haue purchasid
thys grounde, Iacke," quod he.
"Mary, maister" (quod the boye)
"men saye ower all,
That your purchase is greate,
but your housholde is smal."
“Why, Jacke” (quod this riche man)
“what haue they to do?
Woulde they haue me to purchase
and kepe greate house to?”
“I can not tell” (quod the boye)
“what maketh them to brawle;
But they saye that ye purchase
the Deuill, his dame, and all.”

Of Usurers.

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 reade golde,
And let that for double the rente
of the lande that was solde.
Than came there a broker,
and sayde if he woulde do
As he woulde advise hym,
he shoulde make of one penye two.
“Marye that woulde I fayne do”
(quod this vsurer than)
“I praye the teache me
the feat if thou can.”
“You shall” (sayde thys broker)
“lende but for a monethes day,
And be sure of
a sufficiencte\(^1\) gage alwaye,
Wyth a playne bill of sale;
if the day be not kept,
And se that ye do
no causis accepte.

\(^1\) Orig. suffitience

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

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

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

Psal. xcv.

"You are to live on £20 a year till God shall increase the amount; and with the increase you are to profit all who live near you.

Than muste you be sure that your intereste be
One penye for a shyllynge, and thre pence for three.
So by the yeres ende, twelve moneths geue twelue pens, For the vse of a shyllynge.
Io, I haue tolde you all sens."

Than saide this vsurer, "this matter goeth well, For my twentye pounde lande, that I chaunced to sell,
I shall haue fouxe hundred pounde rente by the yere, To lyue lyke a Lorde, and make iolye chere."

Than came there a Propheete, and tolde thys manne playne, That h[e]auen is no place for suche vnlawefull gayne.

"Why, sir" (quod this Vsurar) "it is my liuyenge."

"Yea, sir" (quod this Prophet) "but it is not youre calling; You are called to liue after twentye pounde by yere, And after that rate ye shoulde measure your chere, Tyll God did encrease you by his mercifull wayes, By encreasynghe youre corne, and youre cattell in the leyes; Whyche encrese wyth your landes you are bounde to employe, To the profite of all them that do dwell you bye."
Ye are not borne to your selfe, neither maye you take That thynge for youre owne, where of God did you make But stuarde and baylife, that shall yelde a rekeninge At the Daye of Iudgmente for euerye thyng. And do ye not doubte, but then ye shall knowe, Whether ye maye your goodes at your pleasure bestowe; And whether ye maye vse wayes wycked and yl, To incraese your riches at your owne will. But chieflye to lende youre goodes to vsurie, Is a thinge that you shall moste dearelye abye; For Christe saieth in Luke that the heathen do so. Take hede lest ye flytte frome pleasure to woe." Finis.
The Voyce of
the laste trumpet, blowne by the se-
venth Angel (as is mentioned in the ele-
venth of the Apocalips) calling al estats
of men to the ryght path of theyr vocati-
on, wherein are conteyned xii. Lessons to
twelve seueral estats of men, which if
thei learne and folowe, al shall be
* wel, and nothing amis *

† The voyce of one criyngge
in the deserte.
Luke .iii.

† Make redy the Lords waie, make his
pathes streight. Every valley shalbe fyl-
led, and every 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[li]th of God.
Esaie .xl.

† Imprinted at London by Ro-
bert Crowley, dwellinge in Elieents in Holburn. Anno Do.
M D L.

† Cum privilegio 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
Plainly to such men as walk not upright:
For truth gette[.]h hatred of such as be yll,
And wil sufer nothing that bridleth their wil.

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:
And for thys intent I was firste bigonne,
That, hearing your fautes, ye myght them emende,
And reigne with our master Christ in the end.
The Contents of this Boke.

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The Beggars Lesson.

Whoso woulde that all thynges were well,
   And woulde hymselfe be wyth out blame,
Let hym geue eare, for I wyll tell
The wyaye how to performe the same.
   Fyrste walke in thy vocation,
And do not seke thy lotte to chaunge;
For through wycked ambition,
Many mens fortune hath ben straynge.

If God haue layede hys hande on the,
   And made the lowe in al mens syght,
Content thiselfe with that degre,
And se thou walke therin upryght.
   If thou, I saye, be very pore,
And lacke thine health or any limme,
No doubte God hath inough in store
For the, if thou wylt truste in hym.
   If thou wylt truste in hym, I saye,
And continue in patience,
No doubt he wyll fede the alwaye
By his mercifull prouidence.
   Call thou on hym, and he wyll moue
The hertes of them that dwel the by,
To geue the such thynges for hys loue
As serue for thy necessitie.
   When Daniell was in the denne
Of Lions, haveynge nought to eate,
Abacucke was sent to him then,
With a pot of potage and meate.
And when Elias fled away

From Ahab and queene Isabel,
The rauens fed him by the way,
As the story of Kinges doeth tel.
And as King David doth record,

The rauens byrdes left in the nest,
Are, when they cry, fed of the Lord,
Though they know not to make request.
Trust thou thercforc in God above,

And cal on him with confidence,
And doubts he will mens hertes moue
To fede the of beneuolence.

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.

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.

Then thincke Gods iustycye could not leane
The unplaged, for that thou hast
Mispente the gyftes thou didst receyue
To lyue vpon, and not to wast.

Then must thou nedes giue God glorio
For his vpryght and just iudgement,
And be most earnestly sory,
For that thou hast his giftes mispent.

But if thou finde thy conscience cleare,
As few men can I am righte sure,
Then let Iobs trouble be thi chere,
That thou mayst pacientlie endure.

Yea though thou shouldest perishe for fode,
Yet beare thou thy crosse pacientlie;
For the ende shal turne the to good,
Though thou lye in the stretcs & die.
Pore Lazarus died at the gate
Of the ryche man (as Luke doth tell);
But afterwarde in rest he sate,
When the riche glutton was in hel.

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

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

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

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

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

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

¶ The Seruauntes Lesson.

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

¹ Orig. ouetie.
I am sent to call the, I say, 
Backe from thy stout & stubborne mynd:
Take hede therfore, and beare away
Such lessons as thou shalt here find.

Fyrst, consider that thy calling
Is to do service, and obey
All thy maisters lawful biddynge;
Bearynge that he shal on the laye.

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.

Remember thou Iacobs kynred,
That in Egypt were sore oppreste;
But when they were most harde bested,
The Lorde brought them to quiete reste.
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.

He wyl, I say, deliuer the
Out of bondage and seruitude,
And bringe to passe that thou shalt be
Maister of a great multitude.

And becausse thou didest walke yrpright,
Shewyng thy selfe obedyent,
Thy seruanthes shall haue styl in sighte
The feare of God omnipotent.

And like seruice as thou hast done,
Thou shalt haue done to the againe:
For sence the world was first begonne,
Neuer true seruanunt lost his payne.

Jacob serued full fourtene yere,
And dealt truly with his maister,
As in the Bible doth appeare,
And was exceedinge rich after.
Fourtene yere he serued Laban,
Who was made riche be hys laboure;
But afterward, Iacob began
To growe to much greater honour.
Laban was neuer of such might
As Iacob was within short space:
For his true service, in Gods sight,
Had purchest him favour and grace.
Thus seest thou how God doth regard
The good service of seruauntes true,
And how he doth in them rewards
The service that is but their due.

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

140

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

144

148

152

156

160

164 [Eph]es .vi.
[Col]oss .iii.

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,

but only for love, not fear.

168
SERVANTS MUST NOT RUN AWAY.

Do thus, and then thou shalte be sure
Thy Lord wil euer prospere the;
And at his good wil and pleasure,
Thou shalt not mysse to be made fre.

But if thou wilt be styl sturdy,
And do thy seruice wyth grudgyng;
The Lord shall plage the worthely,
With manifalde kindes of scourginge.

Thou shalt be put to drudgery
Many a daye, maugrea thyne head;
And be kepte stil in slauery
Al thy life dayes, til thou be deade.

And if thou chaunce to renne awaye,
Either thou shalt be brought agayne,
Or else, when thou doest chaunce to staye,
A worsse master shal the retayne.

Once thou shalt be certeine of this,
That, if thou refuse thy callying,
Of misery thou shalt not mysse,
Though thou escape sodaine fallynge.

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.

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 preserved be.

And beside thys, Gods wrath is bent
Toward the for disobedience;
Wherfore, onles thou do repent,
He wyl add thereto vehemence.

He wyl plage the here wonderously,
And at the end cast the in paine,
Wher thou shalt lye eternallye,
And wysh to be a slaue agayne.¹

¹ Orig. rgayne.
Repent therefor, I the advise,
And seke thine owne salvation;
And then thou must in any wise
Walke stil in thy vocation.
   Do thy service dilygently,¹
And shew no disobedience;
Be thou not stoute, but stil apply
And do all thynges with reverence.
   Refuse nothing that must be done,
But do it wyth al redines;
And when thou hast it once begun,
Then set asyde all slouthfulnes.
   Be true, trusty, and tryfle not;
Be gentle and obedient;
And blessyng shal lyght on thy lot,
For doynge Gods commaundement.
   To make an ende: haue stil in minde
Thyne estate and condition,
And let thyne herte be styll enclynde
To walke in thy vocation.

The Yeomans Lesson.

Thou that are borne the ground to tyll,
   You that are a
   tiller of the
   ground, must not
   remain idle,
Or for to laboure wyth thyne hande,
If thou wilt do nought that is yil,
Desyre not idle for to stonde.
   But se thou do plowe, plant, and sow,
   you must plow,
   plant, and sow.
If thou wilt do nought that is yil,
Desyre not idle for to stonde.

But se thou do plowe, plant, and sow,
And do thy nedeful busines,
As one that doth his duty knowe,
And wyll not the Lords wyll transgresse.
   For what doste thou, if thou desyr
   If you desire to
   be a gentleman,
you will gain
God's anger.
To be a lord or gentleman,
Other then heape on the Gods ire
And shewe thyse[l]fe no Christian?
¹ Orig. diligently.
Yeomen should be contented.

For Christes shepe do hear hys voyce,

Whych biddith the worke busily
Sixe days, and in the seuenth rejoyce,
And gene somewhat to the nedy.

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.

Haue minde, theryfore, thyselfe to holde
Within the bondes of thy degre,
And then thou mayest ever be bold
That God thy Lorde wyll prosper the.

And though the Lord gene the plentye
Of corne, cattell, and other thynge,
Be thou neuer the more gredy,

Nor set thy mynd on gatheringe.

But thinke the Lorde doth these thynges sende
To the, as to his stuard true,
That wile not his goodes wast & spende,
But bestow them wher they be due.

Money much more then thou doste nede,
Do not thy mynde on rayment set,
Neither on deynty fode to fedde.

Set not (I say) thy minde on pride,
Neither upon delicious fare,

To gene the pore that thou mayest spare.

But when thou hast sufficient
Of fode and honest apparrayle,
Then holde thy selfe therwyth contente,

As wyth the wage of thy travayle.

The reste (if ought remayne vnspent

Upon thyne owne necessity)

Bestowe as he that hath it sent,
Hath in hys word commaundedy the.
THE LAST TRUMPET.  THE YEOMAN'S LESSON.

And yf thou fynd not written there
That thou mast heape thy chest wyth golde,
To bye greate linelode for thyne hyere,
Howe darest thou then be so bold
276
How dare you hoard up riches!

Howe darest thou be bolde, I say,
To heape up so much goulde in store,
Out of the due that thou shouldest puye
To them that be pore, sicke, and sore?
280
Esaie .v.
Isaiah pronounces a woe upon all such.

Wo be to them, sayth Esaie,
That heape togither house and lande ;
As men that wolde never fynde stay,
Tyll all the earth were in theyr hande.
284
What, wil ye dwel alone (sayeth he)
Upon the earth that is so wyde?
Wyll you leaue no part of therof free
From your unsatiable pryde?
288
Your greace houses shall stand empty,
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
[Dr]en
You shall never dwell in them,
And Moses sayth that thou shalt builde
Houses, and never dwell therin
Thyself, nor leaue them to thy chyld,
And why? because thou hast no mynd
To kepe the Lords commandement,
But sekest cuyer for to fynde
Wayes to encrease thine yerely rent.
296
because you have no mind to keep
God's commandments.

No maner threatnyng can the let
From purchasyng the deviill and all ;
It is all fysh that commeth to net,
To maintayne thy great pryde wyth all.
300
All is fish that comes to your net—you would
buy the Devil.

Well, turne agayne I the aduise,
And learne to walke in thyne estate,
And set Gods feare before thyne cies,
Lest, when thou wouldst, it be to late.
304
Crowley.

CROWLEY.  5
But repent, and walk in your vocation.

And have in thy mynde ever more,
Thys rule of thy profession,

i. Cor. [vii.] Whych is in dede Gods holy lore,
To walke in thy vocation.

If you should not prosper, still thank God.

But if the Lorde do the not bless
In thy labours wyth greate plenty,
Yet thanke thou hym neuer the lesse;
Thou hast more then thou arte worthy.

If your rent is raised, pray for your landlord.

If thy landelorde do reise thy rent,
Se thou paye it wyth quietenes;
And praye to God omnipotent,
To tak from hym his cruelnes.

So shall you obtain a blessing.

So shall thou heape coles on his heade,
And purchase to thy selfe greate reste:
By the same man thou shalt be fedde
By whom thou wast biforn opprest.

For God, who ruleth ech mans herte,
Shal turne thy landlords hert, I saye,
And shall all his whole lyfe convent,
So that he shall by thy greate staye.

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.

Sure thou shalt be he wyll the set
Free from thy landlords tyranny;
For he dyd neuer yet forget
Any that walked orderly.

If he is not worthy to repent, God will destroy him,

and you will be set free.

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.

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.

1 Orig. looks like see.
In like sort, if thy prince wil take
More tribute then thou canst well spare,
See thou paye it him for Goddes sake,
Whose officers al princes are.

For in his nede both thou and thine
Are his to maintaine his estate ;
It is not for the to define
What great charges thy king is at.

Yea, though thou se euidently
That he wasteth much more then nede,
Yet pay thy duty willyngly,
And doubtles God shal be thy mede.

Now touching thy religion :
If thy prince do commaunde the ought,
Against Goddes Euangelion,
Then praye for him styl in thy thought.

Pray for him styl, I say, that he
May haue Godly understanding
To teach Gods word to such as be
Committed to his gouerning.

And se thou do not him dispyse,
But aunswered him wyth reuerence ;
And though thou mightest, yet in no wyse
Do thou forget obedience.

Take not his sworde 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.

Thy maister Christ hath taught the wel
When he would no resistence make :
Neither agaynst the powers rebell,
When men were sent him for to take.

Yet if the Lord haue geuen to the
Such knowledge, that thou art certaine
Of thy fayth, knowyng it to be
Of the truth, do therin remaine.
For though man may thy body kyl,  
Yet oughtest thou not him to feare;  
For he can do thy soule none yll:  
Wherfore be bold, do not dispaire.

Be bold, I say, Christ to confess  
Wythout feare of this worldly paine;  
For when thou shalt be in distresse,  
Christ shal acknowledge the agayne.

Christ shal acknowledge the, I say,  
If thou conquire by sufferyng;  
And do thy selfe hereupon stay,  
That thou must walcke in thy callynge.  
But if thou do lyfte up thy sword  
Agaynst thy kynge and soueraine,  
Then art thou judged by Gods word  
As worthi therwith to be slayne.  
Yea, thou maist not grudge or repine  
Against thy kynge in any wise,  
Though thou shouldst se plaine with thine eien  
That he were wicked past al sise.

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.

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.  
Corah and Dathan dyd rebell,  
And thought that thei them selues culd poynt  
A better prieste in Israel  
Then Aaron, whom God dyd annoynte.

But what came of their phantasie?  
Was not distraction theyr ende?  
God dyd distroye them sodenly,  
Because thei woulde his workes emende.
Let this example suffice the,
To kepe the in obedience
To such as God shal set to be
Ouer the in preheminence.
    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.
    Contrariwise, if thou rebell,
Be sure the Lorde wyll the distroye ;
Which thyng hath ben declared wel
Wythin this realme very lately.
    For notwythstanding that oure kynge,
And eke oure rulers euerychone,
Be mercifull in theyr doynge,
Yet haue the rebelles cause to mone.
    And why? because no rebelles shall
Escape Gods hand vpunished ;
For God hym selfe doth princis call
Hys Christes and hys annoynted.
    Whoso therfore doth them resiste,
The same resisteth God certayne ;
For God hym selfe doeth them assiste
Agaynst them ouer whom they raygne.
    If thou therfore fynde the gxeeued
Wyth men set in Autoritie,
Seke thou not to be auenged,
But let God take vengeance for the.
    Let me take vengeance, saith the Lord,
And I wyll quyte them all theyr lyre :
Do thus, and scripture doth recorde
That thou shalt haue all thy desyre.
    Thou shalt haue thy desyre, I saye,
Upon the wicked maiestrate,
If thou wylt kepe thy selfe alway
Wythin the boundes of thine estate.
Thus leave I the, wyth threatenynge
To the thy soules damnation,
If thou, mislykynge thy callynge,
Wylt nedes change thy vocation.

The Lewde or Vulerned Priestes Lesson.

Thou that art lewde wythoute learnyng
Whom communly men cal syr Iohn,
Gene care, for I wyll saye somethynge
Concernyng thy vocation.

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.

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

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

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

Thy state therfore, and thy callyng,
Is none other than for to wyrcke,
And not to liue by forestallyng,
And name thy selfe one of the kyrcke.
If thou therfore wylt lyue for aye,  
And reigne with Christe for euermore,  
Desyre no mo masses to saye,  
But get thy fode wyth laboure sore.  

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

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

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

And se thou go'nt idely  
From house to house, to seke a place  
To saye men a masse secr[e]ly,  
Theyr fauoure thereby to purc[h]ase.  

Put not the ignorant in hope  
That they shall se all vp againe,  
That hath ben broughte in by the Pope,  
And all the preachars put to payne.  

But if thou canste do any good  
In teachyng of an A B C,  
A primar, or else Robynhode,  
Let that be good pastyme for the.  

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

But if thou wylt knowledge reiect,  
And all honeste laboures refuse,  
Then arte thou none of Gods elect,  
But art wo[r]se then the cursed Iewes.
GET KNOWLEDGE QUICKLY.

If Repent therfore, I the advise,
And take wholesome counsell bityme;
And take good hede in any wise,
That knowledge double not thy crime.

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

The Scholars Lesson.

Come hither, young man, vnto me;
Thou that arte brought up in learnynge,
Give ear, young man,
and observe that schools were founded
for such learning as the country had need of.

When you have decided what knowledge to get,
get it at once,
and do not idle.

I will pray that you may leave your popishness.
Se thou do not thy mynde so set
On any kynde of exercise,
That it be either stay or let
To thy studye in any wise:
To fyshe, to foule, to hunt, to haulke,
Or on an instrument to play;
And some whyles to commune and talke,
No man is able to gayne saye.

To shote, to bowle, or caste the barre,
To play tenise, or tosse the ball,
Or to rene base, like men of war,
Shal hurt thy study nought at all.
For all these thinges do recreate
The minde, if thou canst holde the mean;
But if thou be affectionate,
Then dost thou lose thy studye cleane.

And at the last thou shalt be founde
To occupye a place only
As do in Agime ziphres rounde,
And to hynder learnynge greatlye.
For if thou hadst not the lyuing,
Another shoulde, that wold apply
Him selfe to some kynde of learnynge,
To profyte his contrey therby.
If thou therfore wilte not be founde
Worthy Goddes indignacion,
Make thy studye perfecte and sounde,
And walke in thy vocacion.
Let not tyme passe the idelly,
Lose not the fruite of any houre;
Or else suffer hym to supply
Thy place, that wyl hym endeououre.
Thou doest but rob the commone wealth
Of one that would be a treasur;
Better thou were to lyue by stelth,
Then for to worke such displeasure.
There is no need for you to resign your living, but you must keep yourself exercised, and must teach others, and let your life be as a book before them.

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

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

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

Let all thy doynges edifie.
Thus leaue I the, wyshynge that thou Maiste, by thyss admonition,
Henseforth desyre, as I do nowe,
To walke in thy vocation.

The Learned Mans Lesson.

Thou learned man, do not disdayne, To learne at me, a symple wyght, Thy great abuses to refrayne,
And in thy callynge to go ryght.
Thou arte a man that sittest hye
In the simple mans conscience;
To lyue therefore dissolutly,
Thou shouldste be vnto them offence.
Offence, I say, for thou shoulde think
All that thou doste to be godly;
Wherfore do not at this thynge wyneck,
But do emende it spedily.

Emende thy wycked lyfe, I say,
And be (in dede) a perfecte lyght,
As Christe our Savioure dothe say,
And let thy workes shine in mens syght,

For it is thy vocation
To leade other the redy waye;
Howe greate abominotion,
Arte thou then if thou go astraye?

But herein lyeth the whole matter,—
To know which waye thou shouldest then lead:
Wherfore I wil not the flatter,
But tell the truth wythouten dreade.

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

This way thou canst not walke, so longe
As thou wylt traualye sea and lande,
And frame all the wordes of thy tonge,
To get promotion at mans hande.

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

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

Thou must, I saye, stryue to enter,
And not to get promocion;
Thy lyfe thou must put in venture
For Christes congregation.

624 Math [xxviii.] Amend your life and serve as a light to others.
628 i. Corh [iv.] If you lead men astray, you are an abomination.
632 Mut. [vii.] You must humble yourself, and acknowledge your sin.
636 You must not the flatter,
640 Thou must humble thy selfe I saye,
644 Thou must acknowledge that thou arte,
648 You must confess your unworthi-
652 John. x
656 You must venture your life for Christ.
LEARNED MEN TO BE BLAMELESS.

How dost thou walke in thys callyng,  660
When thy mynde is earnestly bent
To gather up eche mans falling,
By al the wayes thou canst inuent?

Give ear, you fool, and learn your
first lesson again,

Mat. vii.

Give ear, you fool,
and learn your
first lesson again,


and take the
beam out of your
own eye,

then you will
pick the motes
from other men's
eyes.

[T]ite ii.

If you wish
others to repent
and forsake their
sins,

If you speak of
their apparel,
you must be
faultless yourself.

If you speak of
usury or simony,
see that you are
free.

If thou wylt that thei do repent,
Repeat thou fyrst, that they maye see
That the whole some of thyne intente
Is to make them like vnto the.

For, if thou wylt them to refraine
Mur[†]her, thefte, whoredome, & inceste,
If they se these thynge in the raigne,
They wyl al thy doctryne deteste.

If thou forbid them gluttony,
And wil them the flesh for to tame,
They wil defie the verterly,
If they se the not do the same.

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.

What shouldest thou speake of vsurie,
When thou dost take vnlawfull gayne?
Or rebuke men for Simonie,
When nothynge else doeth in the rayne?
Maye not the lay man saufly saye,
I learned of the to by and sel
Benefices? whych, to thys daye,
Thou canst put in practise ful well.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And fyrste, before all other thynges,
Seke thou to fynde good ministers,
And appoynt them honest lyuynge,
To be the peoples instructers.
have none in whom is any vice.

[Eze]ch. 33. If any perish through you, you will have to answer for them.

Do not trust to any trifle.

and see that the young are instructed.

[1 Tim. v.]

Let none haue cure wythin thy see, In whome any greate vice doth reigne; For where mislyuyng curates be,

The people are not good certayne.

And for them all that do perishe Through thy defalte, thou shalt answer; Wherefore, I do the admonishe To loke earnestly to thyse geare.

Looke vnto it thy selfe, I saye, And trusste not to a trysfelar, That wyll allowe all that wyl paye Somewhat vnto the regester.

Se that they do instruct the youthe Of eche paryshe diligently, And trayne them vp in the Lords truth, So much as in theyr powre shall ly.

Now if so be thou be called, To be thy Princes councelloure, Beware thou be not corrupted By the vayne desyre of honour.

Be not carful how for to holde Thy selfe stylly in autoritie; But to speake truth be euery bolde, Accordyng to Gods veritie.

If Winke not at faltes that thou shalt se, Though it be in thy Souerayne; But do as it becometh the Exhort hym all vice to refrayne.

If thou perceyue him ignoraunt In any parte of hys dutie, Se thou do hym not checke or taunte, But tell hym wyth sobrietie.

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

Be bold to speak the truth,

and exhert him to leaue his sins,

and tell him his faults with all submission.
Thus haue I tolde the, as I wolde
Be tolde, if I were in thy place;
To the intent that no man shoulde
Hauie cause to tel the to thy face.
    Thus do I leaue the wyth wyshyng
To the a wyll for to aduaunce
Gods glorie by godly learnyng,
And not thy lyuyng to enhaunce.

The Physician's Lesson.

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

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

God made the to succour mans nede,
As Iesu Sirach wryteth playne,
But by due proufe we know in dede
That many thousands thou hast slaine.
    But now am I sent from the kyng
Of powre and domination,
To call the from thy murtherynge,
To walke in thy vocation.
    First, wher thou didest heretofore vse
To haue respect to the ryche man,
I wolde not now thou shouldest refuse
To helpe the pore man if thou can.
    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.

Thus I have told you your duty.
And if thou do on him thy cure,  
For hys sake that gene herbes their strength,  
Thou shalt undoubtedly be sure  
He wyll rewarde the at the length.  
Thys maister of hys doth regarde  
Mercie so much, that he hath tolde  
All hys that they shal haue rewarde  
For genyng water thynce and colde.

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

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

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

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

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

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.

Yea, if a man should try the wel,  
To pronne what thy counnyng can do,  
He should fynde that thou canst not tell  
Whether the man be sycke or no.
If I graunt the water sheweth somthing, But not so much as thou dost crake; Neither is thy labour condynge That thou shouldest money for it take. But if so be thou canste espy By the water what is amisse, Teach hym how to seke remedy, And worthy some rewarde that is. But if thou do but gesse, as doeth The blyndeman that doth cast hys staff; Though thou by chaunce hit on the soth, Thy labour is scase worthy chaffie. Thou dost but gesse money to wyn, And wyth strang words make men agast; And yet thou thinkest it no synne To cause pore men theyr goods to wast. But now, I saye to the, repent, And do thy selfe henseforth applye To vse the gifte God hath the sent, To the profite of thy contrey. Let not lucre make the professc Before thy knowleeg be perfect; For he that ministreth by gesse, Shall not so sone heale as infect. Apply the earnestli therfore To get phisikes perfection; That thou maiste ease the sike and sore, And remedy infection. And shut not vp thine helpe from suche As stande in moste nede of the same, And certes thou shalt gaine as much By them, as by men of greate fame: For God hymselfe hath promised To make for them a recompence Wherfore doubt not to be paied, Both for thy labour and expence.
If you will not listen,

But if thou wylt not take my rede,
But folowe after lucre styll,
I wylt put the out of all dreade
Thy last rewarde shall be full ill.

For when cruel death shall the styng,
And thy lyfe from the separate,
Then shalt thou se thou hast nothyng,
Thy silly soule to recreat.

Wherfore I must nedes greatly feare
That in that extreme agonie,
Thou wylt of Gods mercie dispare,
And so perishe eternally.

Take hede therfor, take hede by time,
Let not slyppe this occasion;
But spedily repent thy cryme,
And walke in thy vocation.

The Lawiars Lesson.

Nowe come hither thou manne of lawe,
And mareke what I shall to the saye,
For I intende the for to drawe
Out of thy moste vngodly waye.

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

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.

But now I call the to repent,
And thy gredines to forsake,
For Gods wrath is agaynst the bent,
If thou wylt not my warmyng take.
Fyrst call vnto thy memorye
For what cause the laws wer fyrst made;
And then apply the busily
To the same ende to vse thy trade.

The lawes were made, vndoubtedly
That al suche men as are oppreste,
Myght in the same fynde remedy,
And leade their lyues in quiet reste.

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

I saye ballyng, for better name
To haue it can not be worthye;
When lyke a beast, withoute al shame,
Thou wilt do wrong to get money.

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

Thou knowest not at the first, I graunt,
But whye wy't thou be retained
Of playntyfe, or of defendaunt,
Before thou hast their cause learned?

For such a plea I blame the not,
When neither parties right is knowne;
But when thou thy selfe dost well wot
Thy client seketh not his owne,

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

If thou be a mans attourney,
In any court where so it be,
Let him not waite and spende money,
If his dispatch do lie in the.
and take no more than your due.

*Luke* [xxi.]

If you are a counsellor, don't be a trifler.

**If a wrong-doer wishes you to defend him, don't.**

Respect 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. xvi.*

*Eccl. xx.*

Admit no delays.

JUDGES TO BEWARE OF BRIBES.

Apply his matter earnestly,
And set him going home again;
And take no more than thy duty;
For God shall recompence thy paine. 940

If thou be calle a counsellor,
And many men do seake thy read;
Se thou be found no trifeller,
Eythre for money or for dreade. 944

But weigh mens matters thorowlie,
And se what may be done by right,
And further as well the needie
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 desire
Him to defend in doinge wronge,
Though he woulde geue the triple hire,
Yet geue none care 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 judge in commune place,
In the kinges bench, or Exchequier,

**If they blind your sight.**

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 delays
In matters that be manifest?
Why doest thou not seake all the wayes
That may be to rd the opprest? 972
To thine office it doeth belonge
To judge as justice doth require;
Though the party that is to stronge,
Would geue the house and land to hire.
I haue no more to say to the;
But warne the that thou be contente
To lyue only vpon thy fee,
Fearyng the Lorde omnipotente.
And for to see that no man wrest
The lawes, to do any man wronge;
And that no pore man be oppreste,
Nor haue his sute deferred longe.
Now if thou be Lord Chauncelloure,
As censor ouer al the rest;
Se thou do thy best endeuour
To see al open wronges redrest.
And of this one thynge take good hede,
That amonge them that do appeale,
Thou do not, for favoure or mede,
Suffer any falsely to deale.
Beware of them, I saye, that vse
First for to tempt the commune lawes,
And yet the judgement to refuse
When they be like to lose their cause.
Beware of them, and let them not
Abuse thy courte in any wyse,
To werie suche as, by inste lotte,
To cleim their ryght do enterpryse.
When they shall make peticion
Examine them diligently,
And graunt not an iniunction
To eche false harlot by and by.
Graunt thou not an iniunction
To him that doth nought else entende,
But, by subtile inuention,
His owne falsehode for to defend.

Leuit. xix
and do justice to all men.

976
I warn you to be content with your fees,

980
and to see that the poor are not oppressed.
If you are Lord Chancellor, see all wrongs redressed,

984
and show no favour.
Beware of such as refuse to abide by the laws.

988
Be careful in granting injunctions.
You may see your duty in God's word.

So I leave you.

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

The Marchauntes Lesson.

NOWE marke my wordes thou marchaunte man,
Thow that dost use to bie and sell,
I wyll enstruct the, if I can,
How thou maiste use thy callynge well.

Fyrst se thou cal to memori
The ende wherfore all men are made,
And then endeuer busily
To the same ende to use thy trade.

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

Applye thy trade therfore, I sai,
To profit thy countrey with all;
And let conscience be thy stay,
That to pollinge thou do not fall.

If thou venter into straunge landes,
And bringe home thynges profitable;
Let pore men haue them at thine handes
Upon a price reasonable.
Though thou maist thi money forbeare,
Til other mens store be quite spent,
Yet if thou do so, that thy ware
May beare high price, thou shalt be shente.

1 Orig. lorde.
Thou shalt be shent of him, I say,
That on the seas did prosper the,
And was thy guide in all the way
That thou wentest in great jeopardy.

For he gave the not thy riches,
To hurt thy contrei men withal;
Neither gave he the good successe,
That thou shouldst thereby make men thrall.

But thy riches was given to thee,
That thou mightest make provision,
In farre contreys, for things that be
Needfull for thine owne nation.

And when, by Gods helpe, thou hast brought
Home to thy coast any good thing
Then shouldst thou thank hym that all wrought
For thy prosperous returnyng.

Whych thyng thou caust not do in dede,
Unles thou walke in thy callyng;
And for hys sake that was thy spede,
Content thy selfe wyth a lyuyng.

But oh! me thinke I wryte in vayne
To marchaunte men of thyssour tyme;
For they wyll take no maner payne,
But only vpon hope to clyme.

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.

Ther can be none vnthrifty heyre,
Whome they will not smel out anon,
And handle him with wordes ful fayre,
Tel al his landes is from him gone.

The ferrmes, the woodes, and pasture groundes,
That do lye round about London,
Are hedged in within their mowndes,
Or else shalbe ere they haue done.
They have thier spies uppon 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.
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.

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

If ye aske of the coliar,
Why he selleth hys coles so dere,
And rightso of the wodmongar,
They say marchauntes haue all in fere.
The wood, say thei, that we haue bought
In tymes past for a crowne of golde,
We cannot haue, if it be ought,
Under ten shyllynges ready told.

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

Applye thy trade, as I have tolde,
To the profyt of thy contrey,
And then thou maiste1 eer be bolde
That thy Lord God wil guide thy wai.

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.

1 Orig. maisse.
The last trumpet. The merchant's lesson.

Thou shalt not need to be or sell
Benefices, which should be free,
To true preachers of God's gospel,
To help them with that helpeth be.
No more shalt thou need for to lend
Thy goods out for unlawful gain,
In such sort that, by the years' end,
Thou maist of one shilling make twaine.
Thou shalt aye have enough in store
For the and thine in thy degree;
And what shouldst thou desire more,
Or of higher estate to be?
Let it suffice the to marry
Thy daughter to one of thy trade:
Why shouldst thou make hir a lady,
Or bye for her a noble ward?
And let thy sons, every chone,
Be bounde prentise yeres nine or ten,
To learne some art to lyue vpon:
For why should they be gentlemen?
There be already men inowe
That beare the name of gentil bloud;
Tell thou me then, what neede hast thou
So vainly to bestow thy good?
For thou canst not promote thy sonne,
But thou must bye him land and rent,
Wherby some must needs be vndone,
To bryng to passe thy fonde entent.
Some man, perchaunce, need doeth compel
To morgage hys lande for money;
And wilt thou cause hym for to sell
The liuelode of his progeny?
Tell me if thou wouldest have thy sonne
(If haply he should stand in need)
To be so servd, when thou art gone,
Of marchauntes that shall the succede?
Be just and show mercy.

Do as you would be done by,
As very nature doth the teache,
And let thy loue and charitie
Unto all the Lordes creatures reach;
And if any man stande in nede,
Lende hym frely that thou maiste spare,
And doubtlesse God wyll be thy mede,
And recompence the in thy ware.

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

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

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

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

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

¶ The Gentlemans Lesson.

Thou that are borne to lande and rent,
And arte cleped a gentleman,
Gene care to me, for myne intent
Is to do the good if I can.
Thou arte a man that God hath set
to rule the route in thy countrey;
Wherfore thou hadste nede forto get
Good knowledge rather then money.

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

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

Get the knowledge, I saye, and then
Thou shalt perceyue thyn owne degre
To be such that, emong all men,
Thou haste moste nede learned to be.

Thou shalt perceyue thou haste no tyme
to spare, and spende in bankettyng,
For though thou watch tyll it be pryme,
Thou shalt haue inough to doyng.

Thou shalt not fynde any leasure,
To dice, to card, or to reuell,
If thou do once take a pleasure,
In vseying thyn owne callyng well.

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

Thy mynd shall be styll sanctified
With the desyre to walke vptryghte,
And to se al vice punished,
So much as shall ly in thy myght.

Thou shalt delite for to defende
The pore man that is innocent,
And cause the wicked to amend,
And the oppressour to repent.
MEN MAY NOT USE THEIR OWN AS THEY LIKE.

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

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.

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

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

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.

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

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

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

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.
For knowledge will teach the to seke
Other mens wealth more th'en thine owne,
And rather to fede on a leke
Then one house should be overthrown.

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

Thou shalt by knowledge understand
That thou must succour the needy,
And in their cause such men wythstande
As shew themselves ouer greedy.

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

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

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

Wythout knowledge thou wylt folowe
Thy fleshe and fleshy appetye,
And in the luste therof wallowe,
Settyng therin thy whole delyte.

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

Wythout knowledge thou wilt aray
Both the and thyne paste thy degree,
And eke mayntayne outragiousse playe,
Tyl thou haue spent both lande and fee.
GET KNOWLEDGE, AND FEAR GOD.

If you have no knowledge you will be worse than a slave.

To make an end; vnlesse thou haue
Knowledge remaynyng in thy breste,
Thou shalt be worse then a vile slaue
That doth all honestie deteste.

Get the knowledge, therefore, I saye
And eke the feare of God aboue;
And let thy study be always
To knowe what thyng doth the bihoue.

But fyrrste, before all other thynges,

Set the Lords feare before thy face,
To guyde the in all thy doynges,
That thou delyte not in trespace.

For he that doth delyte in synne
Shall neuer gouerne hys lyfe wel,
Nor any godly knowledge wynne;
For wisdoume wyl not with him dwel.

Then seke for knowledge busilie,
And leaue not off tyll she be founde;
And when thou hast her perfectlie
To the Lordes feare let her be bounde.

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

By their aduise survei thy lande,
And kepe thy courtes both farre & nere,
And se they do fast by the stande,
In thine housekeping and thy chere.

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.

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.

1 Orig. lare.
And last of all, leave them to guide
Thy children and their families;
That thy house and flocks may abide,
And rule the route in godly wise.

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

So doyng I dare the assure
That in the ende thou shalt obteyne
The blisse that shall euer endure,
Wyth Christe our Maister for to rayne.

\[ The Maiestrates Lesson. \]

Whoso thou be that God doeth call,
To beare the sword of punishment,
Mark wel my words and take them all
Accordyngly as they be ment.

When thou art in authoritie,
And haste the bridle rayne in hande;
Then be well ware that tirannie
Do not get the wythin hir bande.

Loke not vpon thy sword alway,
But loke sometyme on thy ballaunce,
And se that neither do decay
In the tyme of thy governaunce.

For to punyshe wyth equitie,
Is, and aye shalbe, bisemeyng;
 Whereas to shewe extremiti,
Is founde rather a bloude suckeyng.

If any man be accusede
Se thou hear him indifferently,
And let him not be punished,
Tyl thou knowe his cause thorowly.

\[ The Last Trumpet. \]

\[ The Magistrate's Lesson. \]
If a man err through ignorance or poverty,
consider what extreme need is,
and that witnesses may lie.

If he dyd it of ignorance,
Of need, or by compulsion,
Or else by fortune, and by chance,
Then must thou use discretion.

Consyder what extreme need is,
And howe force may the weake compel,
And how fortune doth hit and misse,
When the intent was to do well.

And though the evidence be plaine,
And the accusars credible;
Yet call to mynde the elders twayne,
That Daniell found reproeuable.

If And if thou fynde them false, orayne,
Forged to worcke theyr brother yll,
Then let them suffer the same paine
That he shoulde haue had by their wyll.

Much myght be sayde in this matter
Out of the workes of writers olde,
And, for to prove it the better,
Many late stories might be tolde.

But I leaue this to the study
Of them that haue had exercise
In judgement, in whose memorie
It is as styll before theyr eyes.

I thought mete to tuch it only,
That thou myghtest haue occasion
To call to mynde the chief dutie
Of thy state and vocation:

Whych is to scanne the evidence,
And eke to try the accusars all,
Though they be men of good credence,
Leste happily the iuste be made thral.

Your duty is
to weigh evidence, and examine accusers,

Your duty is
To call to mynde the chief dutie
Of thy state and vocation:

Whych is to scanne the evidence,
More ouer it behoueth the,
If thou wylt walke in thy callyng,
To se that all good statutes be
Executed before al thynge.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The heavenly housband man, therfore,
Who planted the, vice to suppresse,
Shall drye thy rote for euermore,
And geue the vp to wyckednes.

and to see the statutes enforced,

and brings oppression upon the poor.

and because neglect of statutes makes a realm decay,

Let men know you are set to administer justice.

Do not wink at things which are too plain.

If you will not administer justice,
Beware of thys vengeaunce betyme,
Lest it come on the sodaynly,
When thou wouldest faine repent thy cryme,
But shalt despeire of Goddes mercy.
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?
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 mercy.
Yet haue I more to say to the
Concernyng thy vocation,
Which, if it grow styl, must nedes be
double abomination.
For he that bieth must nedes sel:
Thou knowest alreadlye what I meane;
I nede not wyth playne wordes to tel,
If sinne haue not blinded the cleane.
Se vnto it, I the advise,
And let not offices be solde;
For God wyll punyshe in straite wyse
Such as wyth him wyl be so bolde.
He wyl not aye suffer his flocke
Of wolfes to be so devoured,
Neither shall they that would hym mocke,
Escape his handes vnpunyshed.
His arme is as stronge as it was
When he plaged Kyng Pharao
In Egipt, and can bring to passe
Al that he listeth now also.
He spent not al his power vpon
The Kyng Nabuchodonoz zer;
He shal neuer be found such one,
That he shoulde not haue michte in store.
Take hede, take hede, I saye therfore,
That thou fal not into his hand;
For if thou do, thou art forlore,
Thou canst not be able to stand.
Yet one thynge more I must the tell,
Which in no wyse thou mayst forget,
If thou wylt profess Gods Gospel,
And thyne affianse therin set:
Thou must not couet imperye,
Nor seke to rule straunge nacions;
For it is charge inough, perdie,
To aunswere for thyne owne commons.
Let thy study, therefore I saye,
Be to rule thyne owne subiectes wel,
And not to maynetayne warres alwaye,
And make thy contrey lyke an hell.
Let it suffice the, to defende
Thy limites from invasion;
And therein se thou do intende
Thine owne peoples salvation.
For, marke this: If thou do invade,
And get by force commodite,
The same shal certenly be made
A scorge to thy posteritye.
This haue I sayde, to call the backe
From the Philistines stacion;
Trustynge thou wylte my counsell take,
And walke in thy vocacion.

The Womans Lesson.

Whoso thou be of woman kinde,
That lokest for salvacion,
Se thou haue euer in thy mynde,
To walke in thy vocacion.
If thou have no husband, improve your manners.

If thy state be virginitic,
And hast none husband for to please,
Then se thou do thyselfe apply

In Christen maners to encrease.

If thou be ynder a mestres,

Se thou learne hir good qualityes,
And serue hir wyth al redines,
Haneuyng Goddes feare before thine eies.

If thou se hir wanton and wilde,
Then se thou cal vpon God styl,
That he wyl kepe the vndefilde,
And kepe from the al maners yl.

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 countenance.

Let thyne apparyle be honest;
Be not decked past thy degre;
Neither let thou thyne hede be dreste

Dress according to your condition.

Otherwyse then besemeth the.

Let thyne haare beare the same colour
That nature gaue it to endure;
Laye it not out as doeth an whore,
That would mens fantacies allure.

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 enclie.

Be thou modeste, sober, and wise,
And learne the poynetes of houswyfry;
And men shall haue the in such price
That thou shalt not nede a dowry.

Neither dye your hair,

Let thyne haare beare the same colour
That nature gaue it to endure;
Laye it not out as doeth an whore,
That would mens fantacies allure.

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 enclie.

But be modest, learn your duties,

Be thou modeste, sober, and wise,
And learne the poynetes of houswyfry;
And men shall haue the in such price
That thou shalt not nede a dowry.

And try to please God.

Studye to please the Lorde aboue,
Walkynge in thy callyng vpryght,
And God wil some good mans hert moue
To set on the his whole delite.
Nowe when thou arte become a wyfe,
And hast an housbande to thy mynde,
Se thou prouoke him not to stryfe,
Lest haply he do proue vnkynde.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And if he do refuse to heare
Thy gentle admonicion,
Yet see if thou can cause him feare
Goddes terrible punission.

Do what thou canst, him to allure
To seke God by godly liueing,
And certenly thou shalt be sure
Of life that is euerlastinge.

For though the first woman did fall,
And was the chiefe occasion
That sinne hath pearsed through vs all,
Yet shalt thou haue salvation.

Thou shalt be safe, I say, if thou
Kepe thy selfe in obedience
To thine housband, as thou didest vow,
And shewe to him due reverence.

But in fayth must all this be done,
Or else it doeth nothyng anayle;
For without fayth nought can be wone,
Take thou never so greate tranayle.

Thou must beleue, and hope that he,
That bade the be obedient,
Wyll be ryght well pleased wyth the,
Because thou holdest the content.

Nowe, if thyne housbande be godly,
And haue knowleged better then thou,
Then learene of him al thy dutie,
And to his doctryne se thou bowe.

Se thou talke wyth him secretly
Of su[c]h things as do the behoue;
And se thou observe thorowlye
Al such things as he shall aprone.
Seek to please him in thine araye,
And let not newe trickes delyte the;
For that becometh the alway,
That with his minde doth best agre.

Delite not in vaine tatyllars,
That do vse false rumoures to sowe;
For such as be great babbelars
Wyll in no case their dutie know.

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

They wyll fynd faute at thyne araye,
And say it is for the to base,
And haply ere they go awaye,
They wyl teach the to paynt thy face.

Yea, if al other talke do fayle
Before the idle tyme be spent,
They wyl teach the how to assayle
Thyne housband with wordes vehemente;
Thow muste swere by Goddes passion,
That long before thou sawest his heade,
Thou hadest ech gallaunt fassion,
And wilt agayne when he is deade.

Thou must tell him, that he may heare,
Wyth a lowd voyce, & eke wordes plaine,
That thou wilt sometyme make good chere
With ryght good felows one or twaine.

I am ashamed for to wryte
The talke that these gossepes do vse;
Wherefore, if thou wylt walke vpryght,
Do theyr companye quite refuse.

For they are the denuelles mynysters,
Sent to destroy al honestye,
In such as wyl be their hearars,
And to theyr wycked reade applye.
i. Pet. iii.
But do you learn of Sara,

Gene. xvi.
who always obeyed her husband.

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

But thou that art Sarais daughter,
And lokest for salvation,
Se thou learne thy doctrine at hir,
And walke in thy vocation.

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

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.

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 privilegio ad impri-
mendum solum.
C Pleasure
And Payne, Heaven and Hell:
Remembre these foure,
and all shall be well.

I Compiled by Roberte Crowley, Anno Domini, MDXX.

Cum privilegio 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 cursed sorte into the everla-
styng fyre that was prepared for
the Deuill and his Angelles.

Math, xxv,
To the ryght worshipful Lady
Dame Elizabeth Fane, wyfe to the
ryght worshipfull Syr Rafe
Fane Knyghte: Roberte
Crowley Wyshethe
the Lyfe cuer-
lastynge

After 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
harueste. 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 wayne 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 euyn as he dyd often
tymes styr vp the heathen to plage hys people of
Israelij; but yet it is not necessarie that the same
should continue in oppressyng the offenders and inno-
DEDICATION.

cent togethier. 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 injurye done to the innocent sorte. Mowed therefore wyth the desyre to se the wealth of my contrey by the pacifying of Gods ire, which (no doubt) wyl fal vpon this realme very shortly, if oppression and gredye couetise cease not, I haue, so playnely as I could, set forth in thys little boke the terrible indgmet 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 inuertyng of newe wayes to oppresse the pore of thys realme, whees oppression doeth alredy crye vnto the Lorde for vengeance. The Lorde work in the hertis of the rych, that this vengeauce fall not on thys realme in our 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.
When Christ shall come to judge vs all,\(^1\)
And gene eche one as he hath wrought,
Hys Fathers frendis then wyll he call,
To enioye that whych they haue sought,
By beleueng that they were bought
Wyth his bloude shedde vpon a tree,
As by theyre workis all men maye see.

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

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

"And at all tymes, when I haue bene
Of nedefull lodgelynge 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.

\(^1\) Two lines of the original are put into one.
LORD, WHEN SAW WE THEE IN PRISON?

When He was naked, they
Mat. xxv.
clothed Him.

When He was sick and in prison, they comforted Him, and visited Him, Mat. xxv., and ransomed Him.

When He was weake and sycke, and had no conforte aboute me, To come to me you dyd not stycke, And succour my necessitie. And when it chaunced me to be In prisone, and could not get oute, To raunsome me you went aboute."

Is He not Lord of land and sea?

If thou gaue vs not frute and grayne.

He owns He gave us life and fed us,

He gave us life and fed us,

And has been with us in all our ways.

John xv.

But if you lackt sufficient,
Then dyd you my greate lacke lament.

"Infyne, when I was weake and sycke,
And had no conforte aboute me,
To come to me you dyd not stycke,
And succour my necessitie.
And when it chaunced me to be In prisone, and could not get oute,
To raunsome me you went aboute."

Then shall the iuste answere agayne
And saye, "O Lorde, when sawe we the
In prisone, or in other Payne
Through extreme nede and pouertie ?
Arte not thou Lorde of lande and see ?
What ? Lorde, we knowe that sea and lande
Hanne euermore bene in thyne hande ;

I. Cor. iii. 11.
He gives all things to all men,
and every man is in His hand.

"We know that thou gaueste all thynge
To all estates, boeth hygh and lowe.
There is no myghty lorde nor kynge,
But he is in thyne hande we knowe.
In vayne, Lorde, we might plante and sowe,
If thou gaue vs not frute and grayne,
We could haue nought lyfe to sustayne."

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.

In all your wayes I was your speede,
And gaue you that wherefore ye sought,

Wych wythout me had come to nought.
"Yet all that I haue sayde before
Is true also; for when you gave
Ought to such as were sycke or sore,
Whome nede constray[ned] forto craye,
Then, I confesse my selfe to haue
Recyued all that at your hande,
Whereof they dyd in greate nede stande."

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

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

Then shall these men, wyth fayne 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 both sonne and mone."

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

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

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

If "The poor, the poor, 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 could be founde.

Your greedye gutte could euer stynt,

Tyll all the good and fruitfull grounde,

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 knoune

That were so bolde to calle it yll,

My londis and goodis in waste to spyll,

You shet them vp in prisone strong,

Tormentyng 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 goten 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 knowe.

They reaped nought that you had sowne,

But wylled you to let them haue

That I gaue you mankynde to saue.
"Not one so blynde emonge you all,
But he knoweth I made all of nought,
Appoyntyng all thyngis naturall,
  To serue mankynde, whom I haue wrought
Lyke to my selfe in loueyng thought ;
Wyllynge that eche should at his nede,
Haue breade and broth, harbour and wede.

"But syth it was expedient
That emonge all there should be some
Alwaye sycke, sore, and impotent,
I indued you wyth such wysedome
As dyd honest stuardis become,
Committiung1 whole into your hande
The riches, boeth of sea and lande.

"My purpose was that you should haue
Alwaye all nedefull thynges in store,
To succour such as nedis must craue
Of you thyngis nedefull euermore.
I made you rych to fede the pore ;
But you, lyke seruauntis prodigall,
Haue in excesse consumed all.

"But when I found you negligent
In fedynge of my family,
Then my prophets to you I sent,
Commaundyng that you should yerely
Brynge all your tythes diligently
Into my barne, that there myght be
Meate in myne house for pouertie.

"But you gaue to theyr wordis no hede ;
You helde all faste, and woulde nought brynge
Into my barne the pore to fede,
But spent all at your owne lykynge
In wantones and banketynge,
And in rayment past your degree,
As men that had no mynde of me.

1 Cammiyyung in original.

CROWLEY.
THE RICH HAVE ROBBED CHRIST’S FLOCK.

[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 gredly ye begde and bought,
That my true seruantis, as they ought,
Dyd at my true prophetis byddynge,
Into my barne faythfully brynge.

And, when once in my fold,

And when you had once goten in,
Into my folde, emonge my shepe,
Then you thought it to be no synne
Styll in your kennells forto slepe,
Settyng such ones my flocke to kepe,
As were more lyke to eate the lambe,
Then to defende his feble dame.

John .x.
You begged and bought that which was mine,
and, when once in my fold,

You robbed, ye spoylde, ye bought, ye solde
My flocke and me; in every place
Ye made my bloude vylar then golde;
And yet ye thought it no tre[s]passe.
O wycked sorte, voyde of all grace,
Anoyde from me downe into hell,
Wyth Lucifer: there shall ye dwell.

Ezech. 34.

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

You carried all away.

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.
The woule, the lambe, the malt, and wheate,

You dyd by force cary awaye,
And noman durst once saye you naye.
"Howe can you loke to haue mercie
At myne hande? whome ye would not feede
Wyth that was myne, even 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 dothe craue.
"Unto the hungry parte thy brede,
And when thou shalt the naked se,
Put clothes on him; this myght you reade
In my prophetis that preached me.
And in Iohns Pistle these wordis be:—
' Howe can that man haue Charitie,
That beynge riche sheweth no pitie?'
"Also, the man that stoppeth his care
At the crye of such as be pore,
Shallcrye, and no man shall him heare,
Nor at his nede shewe him succoure:
Ryght so he that doeth endeououre
To be made rych by oppressynge,
Shall leave him selfe (at the last) no thynge.
"For he shall geue the ryche alwaye
More then he can scrape frome the pore,
Sothat in tyme he shall decaye,
And haue no nedefull thynge in store.
This might you reade, and ten tymes more
In the Bible, that holy boke,
If you had had tyme forto loke.
"But such scriptures you coulde not broke
As bade you gene ought to the pore;
You wyshed then out of the boke,
But you were suer to haue in store
Plentie of scripturs, euermore
To prowe that you myght aye be bolde
Wyth your owne to do what you woulde.
You thought you might employ your goods in any way; 

That you might annoy your neighbour;

That it was not wrong to double your rents.

You thought you might your goodis employ To priuate gayne in every thynge.

Such men as were nygh you dwellynge, Were it by purchase or byldynge;

Neither to get into your hande,

Your neygbours house his goodis and lande.

"All was your owne that you myght bye, Or for a long tyme take by lease;

And then woulde you take rent yeraly,

Much more then was the tenantis ease: It was no faute your rentis to rease

From twentie markis to fourtie powndis, Were it in tenementis or growndis.

"What though the pore dyd lye and dye For lacke of harbourue, in that place

Where you had goten wyckedly By lease, or else by playne purchase,

All houseynge that shoulde, in that case, Haue ben a safegard \(^1\) and defence Agaynst the stormy violence?

"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?

There myght therwyth no faute be founde,

No, though ye bought vp all the grayne To sell it at your pryce agayne.

"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,

Boeth for the housynge and the lande

That you haue taken from the pore Ye shall in hell dwell euermore!

\(^1\) Original, safegard.
"Yea, that same lande that ye dyd take
From the plowemen that laboured sore,
Causeynge them wycked shyftis to make,
Shall nowe ly upon you full sore;
You shall be damned for euermore:
The bloude of them that dyd amisse,
Through your defaute is cause of this.

"The fathers, whose children dyd growe
In idlenes to a full age,
Woulde fayne be excused by you
That were the cause that they dyd rage;
You toke from them their heritage,
Leaueynge nought wheron to worcke:
Which lacke dyd make them learne to lurke.

"The sones also, that wycked were,
And wrought after theyr wycked wyll,
Would nowe ryght fayne be proued cleare,
Bycause your mysse hath made them ille;
But they muste nedis be gyttie styll,
Because they woulde worke wyckedly,
Rather then lyue in miserie.

"And yet shall you answere for all,
Theyr bloude I wyl of you require,
Because you were cause of theyr falle,
That are become vesselles of ire;
Boeth they and you shall haue your hyre
In hell emonge that wycked sorte,
That lyue in paynes wythout conforte.

"Infyne, all such as dyd amysse:
Through your defaut, what so they be,
Shall lyue in payne that endlesse is,
Because they would not credite me,
That am the trueth and verite.
I tolde them if they were opprest,
I woulde se all theyr wrongis redreste.

The land taken from the plowman shall be a burden upon you,
and sink you to hell.

Mat. xxiii.¹
You took from children their heritage,
and made them what they are;

Ezech. iii.
but you will answer for their ill deeds,
and for all who did amiss through you.

Hebru. xii.
Rebels go to hell. "The wycked sorte, that dyd rebell
   Agaynst you, when you dyd them wronge,
   Shall haue theyr parte wyth you in hell,
   Where you shall synge a dolefull songe:

[Page 33]

Worlde wyouthout ende you shall be stonge

Ecclcs. vii.
Wythe the pricke of the conscience:
A iustre rewarde for your offence.

You who are guilty of simony will go to hell.

And you that woulde nedis take in hande
To guyde my flocke, as shepheardis shoulde,
Onlye to possesse rent and land,
   And as much richesse as you coulde,
   To leade your lyfe euyn as you woulde,
Anoyde from me downe into hell,

Actu. viii.
Wyth Simon Magus there to dwell.

Your guilt surpasses belief.

"If I should rehearse all at large
   That in your wycked lyfe is founde,
   And laye it strayght to your charge,
No wyght there were in this world rounde
But woulde wonder I had not drownde

Genes. 7.
The hoole earth for your synne onlye,
That woulde be called my cleargie.

You made your waye into the fold like wolves.

"Firste (wyth Magus) ye made your waye,
   Lyke gredy woulves,\(^1\) into my folde.
Your wycked wyll coulde fynde no staye
   So longe as ought was to be solde,
   Either for seruice or for golde:
By you the patrons fell from me,
   And are become as ill as ye.

[Page 35]

\(\footnote{1}\) "You dyd prouoke them fyrste to sell,
   And then they learned forto bye;
Thynkyenge that they myght bye as well
As the leadars of the clargie.
   And then they founde meanes, by and by,
To catch, and kepe in theyr owne hande,
The tenth increase by sea and lande.
Theyr owne children they dyd present,
Theyr seruauntis, and theyr wycked kynne,
And put by such as I had sent
To tell my people of theyr synne:
And yowre were gladde to take them in,
Bycause you knewe that they dyd knowe
That yowre came in by the wyndowe.

"Such as woulde haue entryd by me,
That am the dore of my shepe folde,
You sayde were not worthy to be
Admitted into my householde:
You thought by them you should be tolde
Of your moste wycked Simonie,
Your falsehead and your periurie.

"You layde to theyr charge herecie,
Sisme, and sedicion also;
But you dyd them falsely belye,
Thynckynge therby to worke them wo,
And doubtlesse ofte it chaunced so:
For many of them you haue slayne
Wyth most extreme and bitter payne.

"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;
They beate them backe wyth heauye mode,
And made them fede in morysh grownde,
Where neuer shepe could be fedde sownde.

"The kyngis and rulars of the earthe,
For lacke of knowledge, went astraye;
And you stopped my seruantis breathe,
That woulde haue taught them the ryght waye;
You thought your lyueynge woulde decaye,
If kyngis and rulars of the lande
Should theyr owne dutie vnderstande.
THE IGNORANCE OF THE PEOPLE.

but you are to blame for this,

¶ "For so long as you kept them blynde,
Makyng them thyncke they had no charge,
You had all thynge at your owne mynde,
And made your owne powr wondrous large.  382
You had an owr in echmans barge;
You bade the princis take no care,
For you would all the dayngar beare.  385

[Page 30]

and, having my flock in your hands,

¶ "This haneyng my flocke in your hande,
You taught them not, but kept them blynde,
So that not one dyd understande

Psal. xiii.
The lawes that I had lefte behynde.
The maister could not teach his hynde
How he should worke in his callyng
Fearynge my wrath in euery thynge.  392

"The father coulde not teach his sonne
Howe, in his dayes, to walke vpryght;
But gane 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

¶ "The matrons and mothers also,
Coulde not teach theyr daughters my lawe,
But wyckedly they let them go
Whyther theyre wycked luste dyd drawe:
Can you deny but this you sawe?
And whye dyd you not set them ryght
To seke thynges pleasant in my syght?  406

¶ "All maner men were oute of frame;
None knewe his duitie thorowly;
And you are founde in all the blame,
That haue entred by Simonie;
Whych thyngue you shall dearely bye,
For wyth Satan you shall be sure,
Worlde without ende, styll to endure.  413

for the ignorance of the people.

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You saw it all, and are guilty of all the faults

[Page 40]
"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 shall be banished
The blysses 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 never nye,
But lyue in payne for euermore,
Because ye paste not for my lore.
"Awyaye, awyaye ye wycked sorte!
Awyaye, I saye, oute of my syght:
Henseforth you shall haue no conforte,
But bytter mournynge daye and nyght,
Extreme darknes wythouten lyghte.
Wepynge, waylynge, wyth sobbynge sore,
Gnashyng of teeth for euermore,
"Your conscience shall not be quiete,
But shall styll burne lyke flameyng 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 boylyng 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 eueryn greate distresse.
None shall confort theyr heauinesse;
In deadly paynes there shall they lye:
And then they would but shall not dye.
\footnote{1 (sh u)}
LET THE RIGHTS OF THE POOR BE RESTORED.

Such as were here so loth to dye,
That they thought no ph[yl]sicke to dere,
Shall there lyne in such miserie
    That only death myght their hertis chere. 452
They shall alwayes desyre to here
That they myght dye for euermore,
Theyr paynes shall be so passyng sore. 455

Then shall Christe wyth his chosen sorte
Triumphauntely returne agayne
To hys Father, geneyng conforte
[Page 45]
Apoc, xxii
[See Rev. xx. 4.]
To such as for hys sake were slayne. 459
No wyght shall there fele any payne,
But all shall lyue in such blysse there,
As neuer tongue coulde yet declare. 462

That we may live
with Christ in
heaven,
That we maye then lyue in that place,
    Wyth Christe oure kyng that hath vs bought,
Let vs crye vnto God for grace
    To repent that we haue mysse wrought ; 466
And where we haue wyckedly sought

Let the poor man
enjoy his
copyhold;
Let the pore man haue and enioye
    The house he had by copyeholde,
For hym, his wyfe, and Jacke hys boye,
    To kepe them from hunger and colde ; 473
    And though the lease thereof be solde,
Bbye it agayne though it be dere,
Phil. iii.
[Page 46]
For nowe we go on oure laste yere. 476

Caste downe the hedges and stronge mowndes,
    That you haue caused to be made
Aboute the waste and tyllage groundes,
    Makeynge them wepe that erste were glad ; 480
Leste you your selfes be stryken sadde,
When you shall se that Christe doeth drye
Apoc, xxi.
[Page 47]
All teares from the oppressedis eye. 483
PLEASURE AND PAYNE. LET THE LEASES GO. 123

Restore the fynes, and eke the rent,
That ye have taken more than your due;
Else certenly you shall be shent,
When Christe shall your evidence view;
For then you shall fynde these wordes trew,
You are but stuardes of the lande,
That he betoke into your handes.
And you that have taken by lease
Greate store of groundis or of houseyng,
Your lyueyng thereby to encrease,
And to maynetayne you loyetarynge,
Fall nowe to worcke for your lyueynge,
And let the lordes dealt wyth theyr groundis
In territories, fieldes, and townes.
You do but heape on you Gods ire,
Whych doubtles you shall fele shortly,
In that you do so muche desire
The lease of eche mans house to bye.
You study no mans wealth, pardye,
But all men se you do aduaunce
Your selfe by pore mens hynderaunce.
What though your liueing ly theron?
Shoulde you not geue them vp therefor?
It is abomination;
And doubtles God wyll plage it sore.
Repent, I saye, and synne no more,
For nowe the daye is euen at hande
When you shall at your tryall stande.
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,
Rather then leave the vayne treasure.
O, rather let your leases go,
Then they shoulde worke you endlesse woe.
Restore the tithes, that the poor, the blind, and the lame, and true preach-ers may live thereon.

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

You cannot do two men's work.

Rob the people no more.

Malac, iii

Restore1 the tithes unto the poor,
   For blynde and lame shouldie lyue theron,
   The wydowe that hath no succoure,
   And the chyld that is lefte alone ;
   For if these folke do make theyr mone
To God, he wyll sure heare theyr crye,
   And reuenge theyr wronge by and by.

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,
   Leste theyr greate lamentation
Do styr the Lorde vengeaunce to take,
   Euen for hys trueth and promes sake.

Ye men of God, if you be so ;
Betake you to one benifice,
   And let your lordelyke lyueuyges go,
   For holy wryte teacheth you so.
Learne at the laste to be content
Wyth thynges that be sufficient.
If you be mete to do service
   To any prince or noble man,
   Than medle wyth no benifice ;
For certenly no one man can
   Do the dutie of moe men than
Of one : which dutie you do owe
To them that geue you wage, you knowe.

Robbe not the people that do paye
   The tenth of theyr increase yerely,
To haue a learned guyde alwaye
   Present wyth them to edifie
   Them by teachyng the veritie,
Boeth in his worde and eke his dede,
   And to succoure such as haue neede.

1 Rehore in original.
And you that have taken usury
Of such as neede draue to borowe,
Make restitution shortly,
Leste it turne you to great sorrowe,
When no man can be your borowe,
Wich shall be at the daye of dome;
Which doubtlesse is not longe to come.

And you that by disseyte haue wonne,¹
Were it in weyght or in measure,
Be sorry 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.

And you that este haue bene oppreste,
And could not beare it paciently,
For you I thynke it shalbe beste
To repent you must hertily,
And call to God for his mercie,
To geue you grace forto sustayne
That crosse when it shall come agayne.

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 stylly sought
By vs that be his creatures,
So longe as lyfe in vs endureth.

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.
Amen.
The Boke to the Christian Readers.

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

directyng their wayes by Gooodis 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.

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

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

In dede, very many do him entartayne
Lyke as there were none more welcome then he.
Yet I thyncke they do his warntyge dysdayne,
Because he doeth tell them what is theyr dutie,
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

It pleased my father to sende him before,
That he myght make redy and prepare his waye,
By causeynge all men to walke in his lore,
That haue in tymes passed wandred astraye,
Leste payne be theyr portion at the laste daye.
And nowe hath he sent me that they maye so,
As it were in a glasse, what theyr rewarde shall be:
I am the rewarde that al men shall haue,
For the iuste shall haue plesure and the wicked payne.¹

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

¹ payne in original.
Beliolde me, therfore, wyth a gostly cie,
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 convuert,
So that, in the ende, you shallbe ryght sure
To lyue wyth my father in ioye and pleasure.

Finis.
The Way to Wealth, wherein is plainly taught a most present Remedy

for Sedition. Written and imprinted

by Robert Crowley the sixt of

February in the yere of

our Lorde.

A thousand lune

hundered & slytie


(··)

Ex Elie Rentes in

Holburne

I Cum privilegio ad impri-
mendum solum.

Who so thou be that doest desyre,
To line and good dyals se,
Take that in thy tonge and thy lypes,
None yl or discrie be,
Flie from yl and do that good is,
Whereof commeth no blame,
Seke thou for peace diligently,
And then ensue the same.

Psalms xxxiii.

CROWLEY.
By what means seduction may be put away, and what distraction will follow if it be not put away speedily.

Consultatio Robert

Crotei.
ring that al men maye playnely perceive the
greate hurte that (of late daies) Sedicion hath
done in thy realme, & that all wyse men maye
esilye gather what greater hurte is lyke to
ensue, if it be not spedely sene vnto, it shall be euery
true Englyshmans duty forth-wyth to employe his
whole study to the remouyng of so great an euel oute
of so noble a realme and commone wealth; lest, haply
(if through the negligence it growe and take deper rote)
it be shortly to stronge and more suerly grounded than
that it maye be rooted out wythoute the vttre de-
struction of the whole realme. For what can be more
ture then that whych the Trueth yt-selfe hath spoken?
“Every kyngdome” (sayeth Christe) “that * is deuided
in yt-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 thyse stincking
wede vp by the rote, I shal in thy good busines do as,
in their euell exercise, the disc-players (that gladlye
woulde, but haue nothyng to playe for) do:—Holde
the candle to them that haue wherewith, 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 animete and
encourage other.

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

1 There are 32 pages. The signatures marked are these, A .ii., B .i., B .ii., B .iii., B .iii. “An° 1550°” is written on title.
braunch must nedes die. The boughes cannot budde if the tree haue no sappe.

Geue care thercfore (O my countrey-men) gene care! And do not disdain to heare the advice of one of the lease of youre brethren, * for the matter requireth euerie mans counsell, and God reuiled vnto younge Daniell that whiche the whole counsell of Babilon perceived not. Geue care, I saye, and if I tell you trueth, be not ashamed to do that I bid, though ye knowe me to be at youre commandement. For Abraham was contented to do at the biddinge of Marcellas his wife, because he knewe that hir biddinge was Gods will. And the Nin imprisones did, at the biddinge of pore Ionas, sit in sacke-cloth & ashes, because they perceiued that he tolde them the trueth. Yea, cruel Herode did not refuse to heare Iohn Baptiste, because the thinge whiche he told him was true. Least ye thercfore shulde be more loftie then the Babilonians, more shamefaste then Abraham, more stubborne then the Ninimones, & more cruel then Herod, geue care, and patiently heare what I shal saye!

The causes of Sedition muste be roted oute. If I shulde demaunde of the pore man of the contrye what things he thinketh to be the cause of Sedition, I know his answere. He woulde tel me that the great farmeres, the grasiers, the riche buchares, the men of lawe, the marchauntes, the gentlemen, the knightes, the lordes, and I can not tel who; men that haue no name because they are doares in all things that ani gaine langeth vpon. Men without conscience. Men vitally voide of Goddes feare. Yea, men that lye as though there were no God at all! Men that would have all in their owne handes; men that would leave nothyng for others; men that would be alone on the earth; men that bee neuer satisfied. Cormerauntes, gredye gullines; yea, men that would eate vp mennes, women, & chyldren, are the causes of Sedition! They take our houses over
our heades, they bye our groundes out of our handes, they reyse our rentes, they leannie great (yea unreason-
able) fines, they enclose our commens! No custome, no lawe or statute can kepe them from oppressyng vs in such sorte, that we knowe not whyche waye to turne vs to lyue. Very nede therefore constraineth vs to stand vp agaynst them! In the country we can not tarye, but we must be theyr slaes and laboure tyll our hertes brast, and then they must haue al. And to go to the cities we haue no hope, for there we heare that these unsaciable bestes have all in theyr handes. Some haue purchased, and some taken by leases, whole allyes, whole rentes, whole rowes, yea whole streotts and lanes, so that the rentes be reyseyd, 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 therefor, we must nedes fight it out, or else be brought to the lyke slauery that the French men are in! These idle bealies wil devour al that weshal get by our sore labour in our youth, and when we shal be old and impotent, then shal we be driuen to begge and crave of them that wyll not geue vs so muche as the crowmes that fall from their tables. Such is the pytie we se in them! Better it were therefor, for vs to dye lyke men, then after so great misery in youth to dye more miserably in age!

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

can

does not unbelievably

can

does not unbelievably
If your shepherd had been diligent

[* A iv, back]

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

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

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

Christ would never go beyond the bounds of a private man, as Luke xii.

was seen when He was asked about the inheritance, and in the matter of the woman taken in adultery.

If you had known all this, and had John xiii.

remembered other examples, Numeri. xvi.
you would have ii. Reg. xiii.

allowed yourselves to be torn in pieces rather than rebel against the king.

shepherde had bene a diligent watchman, & had espied the woule comyng vpon the, before thou hadst bene within his reach, he wold haue stepped *betwene the & thine enemi, & enstruert the in such sort, that, though he had come in nine shepe skinnes, yet he shoule not haue deceiued thy syghte. The deuell shoule not neuer haue perswaded the that thou myghtest revenge thyne owne wronge! The false prophetes shoule neuer haue caused the to beleue that thou shouldest prevaille againste them with the swerde, vnder whose gouern
aunce God hath apointed the to be. He woulde haue told the that to reuenge wronges is, in a subiect, to take and vsurp 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 to do the office of a king, taketh Goddes office in hand.

We reade that oure Saviour Christ, beinge in the estimation of the worlde but a private man, wold not walke out of the bounds of that vocacion. But when a certaine man came vnto him & desired that he would commaund hys brother to deuide the en
heritance wyth him, he axed who had appointed him to be judge in suche matters? And againe, when the woman taken in adultery was broughte vnto hym, he shoulde not gene sentence † of the lawe againste her, but axed hir if any man had condemned hir, and vpon hir deniell let hir go. If these examples, with the terrible stories of Corah, Dathan, Abira[m] and Abso
lom had ben diligently beaten into thine heade, thou wouldeste (no doubte) haue quieted thy selde, and haue suffered thy selde rather to haue bene spoyled of all

together, yea, and thy bodie toren in peces, rather then thou wouldest haue taken on the more then thou art
called vnto. For no cause can be so greet to make it lawful for the to do againste Goddes ordinaunce. But thy shepeherde hath bene negligent, as (alas the while!) all shepeherdes be at this daie, and hath not enstructed the aright. He espied noe vnto the wolf before he had worried the, or happlye he knewe him not frome a shepe. But it is moste like he was but an hirelinge, and care for no more but to be fedde with the milcke & fatlinges and cladded with the woule, as the greateste nombre of them that beare the name of shepeherde in Englande be at this daie. Yea, perchaunce he had many flockes to kepe, & therfore was absent from them al, leaune with euyere flocke a dogge that woulde rather worrie a shepe then drive away the woule.

Wel, brother, these be greate plages, & it behoveth the synnes to be greate that haue *deserved* these so great and intollerable plages at Goddes hande. Returne to thi conscience therfore, and see if thou haue not deserved all this, and more to. Consider, firste, if thou haue loued thy neighbours 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 prevent him in any bargen that thou hast sene him about; loke if thou haue not craftely undermined him to get some thing out of his hand, or to deceiue him in some bargain. Loke if thou haue not laboured him oute of his house or ground. Se if thou haue not accused him falsely or of malice, or else geuen false evidence againste him. Se if thou haue not geuen 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 commoditie from him if thou mightest, without blame of the worlde, haue brughte it aboute. For God loketh vpon the herte, and if thine herte haue bene infected with ani of these euilles, then haste thou bene abomin-
able in the sight of God, and haste deserved these plages at Goddes hand.

Now if you be found abominable in thy behavioure towards thy neighbour what shalt thou be founde, trowwest thou, in *thy demaners to God ward? God requireth thine whole hert, thynge whole mynd, and al the powers of thy body and soule. "Thou shalt love thy Lord God wyth all thy lyfe, wyth al thy mynd, and wyth al thy strength." That is to say, ther shal be nothyng in the whych thou shalt not apply wholly to the loue of thy Lord God. But how was it possible for the to loue God (whom thou seest not), syth thou lonest not thy brother whom thou seest? God requireth the to loue him euery, and how often hast thou gone whole dayes togeth, whole weakes, yea whole yeres, and neuer thought once to loue hym aryght? How many and how great benefites hast thou receyued at Goddes hand, and howe vnthankful hast thou bene for them, thynckynge 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 though it were not

By His works you know there is a God.
Yet you have not [† A vi, back] honoured Him, Romaines 1.
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.

and reverence in the temples, and bestowinge thine
Biside this thou haste put confidence of salvation 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 thankesfulllye receyued the free mercy of God offered vnto the in Christ, in whom onlye thou maiste haue remission of thy sinnes! And therefore God hath geuen the vp in to a reproube minde to do the thinge that is not beseminge. Even to stande vp against God and Goddes ordinance, to refuse his Holy Word, to delite in lies and false fables, to crede false prophets, and to take weapon in hand against Goddes chosen ministers: I saye his chosen ministers, for be they good or bad, they are Goddes chosen, if they be *good, to defende the innocente, if they be euell, to plague the wicked. If thou wilt therefore that God shall deliuer the or thy children from the tirannie of them that oppresse the, lament thine olde sinnes, and enuenour emendment of life. And then he that caused King Cirus to send the Iewes home to Jerusalem 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."

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

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

So God has given you up to a reproube mind.

*Rom. i.*

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

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

*Proverb.*

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.
OPEssION SENT BY GOD.

Prophecie of Ieremie, and especially the seven and twentie Chapter, the eighte and twentie and the nine and twenti, and therein thou shalt learne thy ductie in captiunitye, and howe vayne a thynge it is to *credite the prophetes that prophecie vctyorie to theym that haue, by their synnes, deserved to be led awaye captiue, yea, and to remayne captiue till suche time as the time be complete duringe whiche God hath determined to punishe them. And know thou for certentie, that if thou be stil stouberne, God wil not leaue the so. He will bringe the on thy knees; he wyl make the stoupe! If the gentlemen and rulars of thy countreie shoulde be to weake for the, he would bringe in strainge nations to subdue the (as the Babilonians did the Iewes) and leade the awaye captiue. So that, refusing to serue in thine own countriue, thou shalt be made a slaue in a strainge coutreie. Quiet thy selfe therfore, & strive not againste the streame. For thi sinnes haue deserved 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. Apoynete thy selfe therfore to beare it. Let it not be layed vpone the in vain; let it do the thing that God hath sent it for; let it cause the to acknowledge thy sinne, repeat 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 prophetes, that shal go before the in puritiue of life and godli doctrine. †They shal not come or send .iii. times in an yere and no more; neyther shal they set one to gather vp the tenth of thyne encreas to their behoufe, and leaue the destitute of a diligente guyde (as thy shepherdes do nowe a dayes)! But God hath promised by his prophete to take awaye these shepherdes from the, and to commyt the to the kepynge of Dauid his sayeth-

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282

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prophecie of Ieremie, and especially the seven and twentie Chapter, the eighte and twentie and the nine and twenti, and therein thou shalt learne thy ductie in captiunitye, and howe vayne a thynge it is to *credite the prophetes that prophecie vctyorie to theym that haue, by their synnes, deserved to be led awaye captiue, yea, and to remayne captiue till suche time as the time be complete duringe whiche God hath determined to punishe them. And know thou for certentie, that if thou be stil stouberne, God wil not leaue the so. He will bringe the on thy knees; he wyl make the stoupe! If the gentlemen and rulars of thy countreie shoulde be to weake for the, he would bringe in strainge nations to subdue the (as the Babilonians did the Iewes) and leade the awaye captiue. So that, refusing to serue in thine own countriue, thou shalt be made a slaue in a strainge coutreie. Quiet thy selfe therfore, & strive not againste the streame. For thi sinnes haue deserved 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. Apoynete thy selfe therfore to beare it. Let it not be layed vpone the in vain; let it do the thing that God hath sent it for; let it cause the to acknowledge thy sinne, repeat 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 prophetes, that shal go before the in puritiue of life and godli doctrine. †They shal not come or send .iii. times in an yere and no more; neyther shal they set one to gather vp the tenth of thyne encreas to their behoufe, and leaue the destitute of a diligente guyde (as thy shepherdes do nowe a dayes)! But God hath promised by his prophete to take awaye these shepherdes from the, and to commyt the to the kepynge of Dauid his sayeth-
diligent in feadlyng the, as Daviud was in gouernyng the
people of whom he had gouernance.

Goue care theryfore ye shephardes of thys church of
Englande! Ye Byshoppes, ye Deanes, Archdiacons and
Canons; ye Persons and ye Vicares, what socer ye be,
that receyue any parte of the tenth of mens yerely en-
crease, or any other patrimony of preachers, goue 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 sonne of manne," sayth the
Lord, "prophecye 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 thou
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 feede vpon, but these
silli shepe ye fede not. The soroweful & pensiue ye
haue not comforted, the sicke ye haue not healed, the
broken ye haue not bound vp, the stray shepe ye haue
not brought againe nor sought for the lost. But with
extreme crueltie ye haue plaied the lordes over them,
&c." I nede not to rehearse more of this prophets
sayynge vnto you, for ye know where to haue it, and
haue leysure enough to seke it, for ought that I se you
busied withal; onlesse it be with purchasinge landes
for youre heires, & finde 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 wold not your wifes shoulde be taken from you,
but I wold you shoulde kepe them to the furtherauncie
of Goddes trueth, wherof ye profess to be teacheares.
325 Let youre wives therefore put of theire fine frockes and Frenche hoodes, & furnishe them selues with al pointes of honest housewifery, and so let them be an helpe to youre studie and not a lette. S. Paul teacheth *you not to make them ladies or gentlewomen. Neither doeth he teache you to be so gredie vpon liueings, that, for the liueinge sake, ye will take vpon you the dutie of twentyt men, and yet do not the dutie 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 another, 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 duttie 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 unsaciable desires gene place to Goddes trueth. Content your selfe with one competent liueinge, and faile not to be diligente in doinge the dutie therof. But if ye will do neither of boeth, truste to it ye shall heare more of it! Your checkinge of one or two men in a corner can not stop enerye mannes mouth in a matter of trueth, beynge so great an infamie to the Gospel of God which ye professe. And if ye wil nedes hold stil your pluralities for your lordlike liueing sake, doubt ye not ye will be charged with that which ye woulde seme to be cleare of. For a great number of youre unworthy curates haue bene the stirrars vp of the simple people in the late tumultes that haue bene; 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 shepeherdes.
Well, brother, thou, I saie, that art thus oppressed on the one side and destituted on the other, take mine advise with the. Submit thy self wholly to the wyll of God. Do thy labour truly, call vpon God continually. I meane not that thou shuldest be ever muttering on thy beads, or that thou shouldest have any beads, but my meaninge is, that thou shouldest ever have 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 withal, and render vnto him most hertie thanckes, for that he dealeth so mercifully with the; acknowledginge that bi his justice he might pour oute vpon the mo plages then euer were heard of. And, when thou commeste to thy parishes church, if thy cur[a]te be an euell线条, then remem-ber 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 Holey 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 receade vnto the that dai. And so shalt thou be sure, that thoughge thy curate were a deuell, and would not that any man shoulde be the better for that which he readeth, yet thou shalt be edified, and learne as much as shalbe necessarie for thy salvacion. And for thy

Well, brother, though you are oppressed and destitute, my advice is, submit to God’s will and do your duty and call upon God continually. I don’t mean that you should be muttering on your beads always, but that you should ever be lifting your hearts to God, as S. Paul says. Let your wish be that God’s will be done, and then, whatsoever happens to you, be content. 375

* B ii *

When you come to church re-member 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
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 onlye al that were present heard every man his own language. Doubt thou not therfore but if thou be desirous to learne thy dutie out of that thy curate readeth to the, God wil make it plaine vnto the, though it be not plainlye reade. For he that could 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 sownd plaine vnto the, though it were not spoken anye thinge plaine.

Thus seeste thou that the cause of Sedition is not where thou laiest it, for I haue declared to the that thine owne sinne is the cause that thou arte sedicous. 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, euon to stande vp againste God and Goddes ordinaunce, as I haue sayde before!

Nowe if I should demand of the gredie corner-auntes what thei thinke shuld be the cause of Sedition, they would saie:—"The paisant knaues be to welthy, procneader priceth them! They knowe not them selues, they knowe no obedience, they regard no lawes, thei would þ 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 hands! They will play the
kinges! They will compel the kinge to grant their
requests! But as they like their fare at the brakefast
they had this laste somer, so let them do againe. They
have ben metely well coled, and shall be yet better
coled if they quiet not them selves. We will tech
them to know their betters. And because they wold
have al commone, we will leue them nothing. And if
they once stirre againe, or do but once cluster togither,
we will hang them at their own dores! Shal we suffer
the vilaines to disprone our doynges? No, we wil be
lorde of our own & vse it as we shal thynke good!

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

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

True it is, the pore men (whom ye cal paisaunte
knaues) haue deserved more then you can devise 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
plages that thei haue deserved. 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
some be ashamed of youre parte. For what can you

and have the law
in their own
hands.

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

We will leave
them nothing.

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

What shall I call
you, you ungentle
gentlemen, you
churts chickens?

I will answer for
these poor idiots.

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

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

but if their
offence were put
in an equal
balance with
yours, you would
soon be ashamed.
469 laye vnto their charge, but they haue had examples of
the same in you? If you charge them wyth disobedience,
you were firste disobedient. For without a law
to beare you, yea contrarie to the law which forbiddeth
al maner of oppression & extortion, & that more is
contrarie to conscience, the ground of al good lawes, ye
enclosed frome the pore their due commones, leauied
greater fines then heretofore *haue bene leauied, put
them frome the liberties (and in a maner inheritaunce)
that they held by custome, & reised their rents.
Yea, when ther was a law ratified to the contrary, you
ceased not to finde means either to compel your
tenantes to consent to your desire in enclosinge, or
else ye found such maistership that no man durste
gaine saye your doinges for feare of displeasure. And
what obedience shewed you, when the kingses proclama-
tions were sent forth, 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 kingses moste
honourable counsell, perceiuinge the grudginge that
was emong the people, sent forth the second proclama-
tion concerning your negligence, or rather contempte,
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 loute
to your contrey. For if there had ben obedience in
you, you wold forthwith haue put al his laws in execu-
tion to the uttermost of youre power. And if you had
loured your contrey, woulde you not haue prevented the
great destruction that chaunced bi the reasone † of your
unsaciable desire? I am sure you be not rulars in
your contrey, but ye can se before what is likely to
folowe vpon such oppression, & especiallye in a realme
that hath hertofore had a noble and a valiaunte com-
minalti. But graunt ye were so beastish, yet haue you 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 threatenings of God laied plainlye before your eies, wherin you must nodes se the vengeaunce of God hanging ouer your heads for your lacke of mercy. Ther is not one storie of the Bible that scruth to declare how readi God is to take vengeaunce for the oppression of his people, but the same hath ben declared vnto you to the vtermoste; beside the notable histories and chronicles 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 theryfore ye haue boeth disobeyed youre kinge and his lawes, and also broughte youre contrei into the miseri it is in, bi pulling vpon your self that vengeaunce of God whiche of his iustice he can not holde backe from such people as do wyllinglye and wittyinglye oppresse him in his members in such sorte as ye haue done. Howe you haue obeyed the lawes in rakeinge together of fernes, purchasinge and prollynge for benefices, robbing the people of good ministers therby, al the world seeth, and all godly hertes lament. Loke [at] the estatutes made in the time of our late souerayne of famous memorye Henrie the .viii. & saye if ye maye by those estatutes (taken in theyr true meaninge), either beinge no priestes nor studentes in the Vniuersities, haue benefices, or other spirituall promotions (as you call them, for ye are ashamed to calle them ministracions, because ye neyther wyll nor can minister) or beinge priestes haue pluralities of such ministrations. Well I wyl burden you no more wyth youre faultes, leaste perhappes you

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

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

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.

I will not burden you with any more faults,
can not wel beare them. But thysshall saye vnto you:—You shall neuer the sooner be gentlemen for your stout oppression, nor the later haue thynges in private for that ye let youre tenantes lyue by you vpon theyre labour. And thincke not to prosper the better in youre unsatiable desire, for that you tryumphke so lordelyke ouer the poore caytyfes, that, beyng se-
duced by the wayne hope of vyctorye promysed theym in pinyshe prophecies *haue greatly offended God by rebellion: for the greater their offence is, the greater shall your place be when it commeth. For you haue bene the only cause of theyr offence. If he therefore that is the occasion of one mans falling 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 falling into so detestable synne and tres-
passe agayyne God, as to disturbe† the whole estate of their contrei with the great perill and daunger of their anointed kyng in hys tender age, whose bloud (if he had perished) should haue bene required at your handes, as the bloud of al them that haue perished shal?

Oh mercifull God, were it not that Goddes mercy

is more then your synnes can be, ther were no way but to despyere of forgeuenes! But God is not onely mightye in mercy & able to forgeue al the sinnes of the whole world, but he is also redye to forgeue al that returne from theyr wycked wayes, and, with a constant faith & sure beleue to obtayne, do call on hym for mercye. I aduertise you, therafter, & in the name of Christ (whose name you beare) I require you, that without delaye ye returne to your hertes & acknowledge your grousous and manifold † offences, committted in your behauour towards the poore members of Christ (your brethren boeth by religion and nation) whome you haue

so cruellye oppressed, [and] wyshe euem from the bot-
tome of your hertes, *that* you had neuer done it. Be 577
fully determined to make restitution of that ye haue
isse taken, though ye should leave your selues no-
thynge. For better is a cleare conscience in *the* hour
of deth in a beggars bosome, then mountaynes of gould
with a conscience *that* is gilty. Wishe that you had
contended your selues with that state wherein your
fathers left you, and stryue not to set your children
aboue the same, lest God take vengaunce on you
boeth sodenly when ye be most hastie to clime. And
if for youre worthines God haued called you to offyce so
that ye may wyth good conscience take vpon you *the*
state that ye be called vnto, then se you deale iustly in all
poyntes, & folowe not fylthy lucre to make your children
lordes, but studye to furnish them with al knowledge and
godly maners, that they may worthily succeede you.

Grudge not to se *the* people growe in wealth
vnder you, neither do you innuet waiues to kepe them
bare, lest haply it chaunce vnto you as it did to
Kinge Nabuchodonozor 1 and hys seruauntes when
they diuised wayes to kepe the Hebrues in slauery stil. 591

*They* rebelled not, but quietly did theyr labour, refer-
rynge theyr cause to God. They prepared not for
warres, neither had any confidence in theyr own
strength, but when the Egyptians thought to haue had
a faire day at them, God drowned them al in the
Redde Sea, and draue theyr deade bodyes on land in
such sorte that they, whom they thoughte to kepe styl
in slauercye, myght easly take the spoyle of them.
Thinke not therfore, but if the people queite them
selues in theyr oppression and cal vnto God for deliuer-
aunce, he wyll by one meane or other geue them the
spoile of their oppressours. He is as mightie nowe as
he was in those dayes, and is now as able to slea boeth
you and yourtes in one night as he was to slea al the

1 ? Pharaoh.
612 firste borne of the Egiptians. And then who shal have the spoile? Be warned betime, least ye repente to late! Leaue of your gredie desire to pul away the liuyenge from the cleargy, and seke diligentlye 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 Nenieue were not ashamed to sitte in sacke-cloth and in ashes lamentynge their synnes, and there vpon *founde mercye. Wherefore, if ye wyll fynde mercye, ye muste not be ashamed to do the lyke, for certeinye the greatnes of your sinnes importeth as present distrucciou to you as if ye were the same Niniuites that Ionas was sent vnto. Be not ashamed ther fore to proclame a soleme fast thorowe out the whole realme, that all at once with one voyce we may crye vnto God for mercy. Leaue of your communions in a corner & come to the open temples, that men may se that ye regard the Lords institucion. Breake your bread to the pore, that al men may se that ye regard fastyng. For that is the true fast, to refraine the meate & drinke that accustomedly we were wont to take, & geue the same (or the value thereof) to the nedy. So shal you both fele & know theyr disease, and ease it also.

Trust not to your great number of valiant warriours, neither to your mightye preusions, but re-

member what befel to Holofernys the stout capitaine of King Nobuchodonosyer, when he woulde not harken to the right aduice of Achior hys vndercapitaine. For certeiny I say vnto you, God was never 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 therefoyre wyl not hearken vnto Achior his
counsel, but determine to torment him, when ye shall triumph over the rest, doubt ye not but Judith shall cut off all your heads, on after another, and God shall strike you're retinew with such a fear, that none shall be so bold as once to tourne hys face. Yea if there were no men left on line to put them in fear, they should be feared wyth shadowes! And though there were no gonnnes to shote at them, yet the stones of the strete shuld not cease to flye emonge them, by the mightye power of God, who wyl rather make of every grasie in the field a man, then such as trust in hym should be overrun or kept in oppression. Be warned theryfore, & seke not to kepe the commones of England in slauery, for that is the next way to destroie your selues! For if thei committ theyr cause to God & quiet them selues in their vocacion, beyng contented with oppression, if Goddes wyl be so; then shal ye be sure that God wyl fyghte for them, and so are ye ouer matched. But if they wyl nedes take in hand to reuenge theyr owne wronge, God wyl fyght agaynst you boeth, so that you boeth, consumynge one the other, shall shortly be made a praye to them that ye doubt least of al the world.

As you tender your owne wealth, therefore, and the publique wealth of thys noble realme of Englande, which God hath enriched wyth so manye and so greate commodities, & as you desyre to use and enjoye the same, and not to be led awaye captiue into a straynge nacion, or else be cruellye murthered among your wyues, kinsfolke, and children, and finallye to be danned for euer; so looke vpon these causes of Sedicion, and do your best endeavour to put them awaie. You that be oppressed, I say, refer you're cause to God. And you that haue oppressed, lament your so doinge and do the office of your callinge, in defendinge the innocente and fedinge the nedlye. Let not counteyse constraine you to robbie the people of that porcion which they paie to call upon Him, but if you will not hearken, the same punishment Judeth xiii, and .e. shall befal you as befell Holo-fernes, and you shall be afraid of shadows if there are no men to make you fear.

Be warned; seek not to keep the commons 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.

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

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

Don't rob the people of godly ministers, who
instruct them in their duty,

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

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

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

May you by repentance escape the danger.

Amen.

Thus doinge, ye shall not onelye escape the vengeance that hangeth presentlye ouer you but also be rewarded at Goddes hande, boeth with excedinge plenti of al good things in this life, & also with life everlasting when nature shal ende the same. Where as if ye wyl not take counsell, but remayne styl in your wycked purpose, Pharae nor the So- domites were neuer so hardened as you shalbe, neyther is the remembrance of theyr distruction so terible to vs, as the distruction of you shalbe to others that shall come after. 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 information and Petition agaynst the oppressours of the pore Commons of this Realme, compiled and Emprinted for this onely purpose that amongst them that haue to doe in the Parliament, some godlye mynded men, may hercat take occasion to speake more in the matter then the Author was able to write. *

Psalm xliii.

When you suffer none oppression to bee amongst you, and leave of youre idle talke: then shal you call upon 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 Parliament wyth the commones of the same: theyr moste humble and dayely Oratoure, Roberte Crowley, wysheth the assistance of Gods Holy Spirite.

Among the manyfold & moste weyghty matters (moste worthy counsaylours) to be debated and communed of in this present Parliament, and by the aduise, assent, and consent thereof speedily to be redressed, I thinke ther is no one thynge 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 use of the sacraments and ceremonies; the usurpyng of tenthes\(^1\) to priuate commoditie; the superfluouse, vnlerned, vndiscreet, and viciouse ministers of the church, and their superstitious and idolatrous administracions. Of these thynges, I saye, ought ther to be a spedy reformacion. For they are now most lyk hastily to brynge vpon thys noble realme the ineuitable vengeanunce of God, if they bee not shortly reformed;\(^{18}\)

\(^{1}\) Orig. tuthes.
forasmuch as it hath pleased the almyghty and lyuyng God to open vnto vs those abhominacions, whych haue heretofore ben kept secret and hyd from vs.

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

For notwythstandyng the Kynges maiesties late visitacion, the ignorant people, whoe haue longe ben fostred and brought vp in the supersticion and wronge beleue of these thynges, and are yet, no dout, secretly 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 continuyng among them such preachars as shall be able, and wyll, by the manifeste Scriptures, proue vnto them that both they & their fathers wer deceined & 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 most hygh in his fauour, by doing him such honor as thei thought moste acceptable in hys syght, then committted they most detestable blasfemie, and were abhominable before hym.

Thys knowledge, I say, wyll not be beaten into the heads of the ignorante, so lange as theyr shepeherds be but hyrylynges and folowe lyuynges, for such minister not to the congregacion but to theyr owne bealyes. They are not shepeherdes but butchers. They come not to feeke, but to be fed. And doubtes (moste Christen cousaylours) I thiinke it not possible to ameade this great enormitie, otherwise then by reduce-ynge the order of choscynge of the ministers vnto the order that was in the primitiue church, wherof is men-ioned in the Act. of the Apostles. For so long as ydle bealies may come to the bishope and be smered for money, God shall saye to them by his Prophet, "You
did remne but I sent you not.” They shall be called feedars of feedynge them selues, and not of fedynge the flock. They shall studye to please men & not to please God. In fine, they shall differ nothynge from the craftes men whyche applye an ocupacion to get theyr lyuynge vppon, and not to the intent to proffite the common weale.

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 welthly hym selfe. And euen for lyk causes do our ministers, and are lyke stylle to do (so longe as they maye bee receyued when they come vncaled), applye them selves to priestyng, because they lyke wel th the ydelnes of the lyfe. I doubt not but the Kynges maiesties visitters knowe more of thys matter then I can be able to wrytte. And by them, I doubt not, you shall bee moued to commone of thys mattier at the full.

The sacramentes they styll abuse, vseing them as matters of merchaundyce, and chiefly the most worthy memorie of our redemption; for that they selle boethe to the quycke and to the deade, to the rych 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 every man. Thei loke vppon the monei onely and nothynge vppon the mynde. Whether it be taken to comfort of conscience or judgement, they pas not; 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 iii offeryng dayes? Then aske I this questian:—

Why thei appoint not another time to receive it in then that tyme whyche is to lyttle to bee occupied in
ABUSES WRITTEN AND PREACHT AGAINST.

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

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

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 hauo iuste occa-
cion and can do no lesse but seke a furder redres herof
(whych all Chrysten hertes do desyr) in thys present
parliament.

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

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

I do not suffer to eate but such as woulde labour
INFORMACION. "AS I LIKE WITH MY OWN." 157

in their vocacion and callyng, accordyng to the rule that Paule gane to the Thessalonians.

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

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

If the possessioners woulde consyder them selues to be but stuardes, and not Lordes ouer theyr possessions, thys oppression woulde sone be redressed. But so longe as thys perswasion styketh in theyr myndes,— "It is myne owne; whoe shall warne me to do wyth myne owne as me selfe lysteth?"—it shall not bee possible to haue any redresse at all. For if I may do wyth myne owne as me lysteth, then maye I suffer my brother, hys wyfe, and hys chyldrene to lye in the strete, excepte he wyll geue me more rent for 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.

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

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

The Philosophers who knewe nothyng of the bonde of frendshippe which Christe our Maister and Redemer lefte amonge vs, affirmed that amonge frendes al thynges are common, meaneyng that frendshippe woulde not suffer one frende to holde frome an other the thyng that he hath neede of. And what shal we saye? Are we not frendes? Surly if we be not frendes, wee beare the name of Christe and bee called Christians in if we haven't more perfect friendship than they we are not true Christians.

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

The Philosophers who knewe nothyng of the bonde of frendshippe which Christe our Maister and Redemer lefte amonge vs, affirmed that amonge frendes al thynges are common, meaneyng that frendshippe woulde not suffer one frende to holde frome an other the thyng that he hath neede of. And what shal we saye? Are we not frendes? Surly if we be not frendes, wee beare the name of Christe and bee called Christians in if we haven't more perfect friendship than they we are not true Christians.

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

John 13.

Ephes. 5.

[leaf 4]

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

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

John 10.

This friendship refers to the laity and clergy, because both belong to the flock of Christ.

Some, perchaunce, wyll thinke that this frendshyp is to be vnderstande onely of the pastors and shepherdes towards theyr flocke; because Christ sayth that a good shepherde geueth his lyfe for his shepe. Forsoeth if the pastours or shepherdes onely were the flocke of Christe, then myght thys frendeshyp ryght well be vnderstanded of them onely. But for asmuch as the laie and priuate persons ar as well of the flocke of Christe as the other, thys frendeshyp partcineth vnto them no lesse then to the other. And thys causeth
me (moste worthy counsaylours) not to feare the displeasure of men in this behalfe; knoweynge for certentie, that the greateste nombre of thys assemble are not free from this oppression that I speak of, and that it is far vnlyke that a private persone, by no meanes worthy to be called to suche an assemble, shoulde be faououably hereade and accepted of them whom God hath called to be counsaylours of a realme; and chiefly in a cause taxynge & blameyng the judges befor whom it is pleaded. I might well coniecte wyth my selfe, that I shoulde in this poynte be compted a busy body,1 and one that renneth before he is sent. But I am redi to suffer, not onli al such report, but euen the verye death also (if it shall please the almightie and enerynynge God to laye it vpon me) for youre sakes, most worthy counsaylours, and the residue, my naturall brothe[r]s of this noble realme.

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

1 Orig. boby
2 Orig. is
violence done to the poor, you will be cast into outer darkness.

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**[Leaf 5]**

_Esai. 59._

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

Now hear what complaints are 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 invents for others.

wyll repent the violence don to the poore and nedy membres of the same, and become as handes, ministryng vnto every membre hys necessaries, they shall, at the daye of their accompl, be bound hand and fote and cast into vtter da[r]knes, wher shal be wepyng, welyng, 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. Unlesse ye purge your selues of this bloud, & stop the mouthes of the pore God whith the voyce of theyr complaynte come not vnto reformations of those abhominacio[n]s which I shewed you in the power of the prince of 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 owne private commoditie.

These thyuges hath the Spirite of God spoken. Heauen and earth shal perish, but the wordes of the Spirite shall not perysh, but be fulfylled. Nowe herken you possessioners, and you rich men lyfte vp your ears; ye stuards of the Lord, marke what complayntes are layede agaynste you in the hygh court of the lyueynge God.

"Lorde" (sayeth the Prophete) "hast thou forsaken vs? Doest thou hyde thy selfe in the tym of our trouble? Whylyse the wycked waxe proud the pore man is afflicted and troubled. Would to God the wicked myght feale the same things that they innent for other. . For the sinnere prayseth hym selfe in the desyres of hys soule, and he extolleth and sette[t]h forth the couetouse man. He prouoketh the Lorde and is so proud that he wyll not seke hym. He neuer thynketh vpon God. His wayes be defyled at all tymes. He loketh not vpon thy iudgmentes, Lorde, he wyll reuenge hym vpon all hys enimies.
"He thynketh thus wyth hym selfe, I wyll not remove frome one generation 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 lyeth in wayte wyth the riche men of the villages or graynges, in secrete corners, to the intent to slea the innocent. His eyes are fyxed vpon the pore; he layeth awayete euens as a lyon in his denne. He layeth awayte to take the pore man by force, and when he hath gotten him within hys reache, then wyll he take hym violentely. 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.

What sentence (thinke you) wyll the Lorde gene vpon this euidence? No doubt (most worthey counsellers) euens the same that we reade in Esaye the Prophet: — "I loked for iudgment and rightouse dealeynge amongste my people, and beholde there is iniquitie, I loked also for justice, and beholde ther is an outcrye. Wo be vnto you therfore, that do ioyne house vnto house, & couple one fielde to an other, so longe as there is any grounde to be had. Thinne 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 terible threatnynges of God, whose wrath you can not escape. The voyce of the pore (whom you CROWLEY.}
haue with money thruste out of house and whome) is well accepted in the cares of the Lorde, and hath steared vp hys wrath agaynste you. He threateneth you most horrible plages. Ten acres of vynes shal yeld but one quarte of wyne, and xxx bushelles of sede but x bushelles agayne. The sede of Goddes Worde sowen in youre hertes shalbe barrayne and not bringe fourth fruite.

314 For couetous, the rote of all yuelles, occupieth that grounde so that the heauenlie sede can bi no meanes geue encrease. This is a plage, of al plages most horryble. And doubt ye not, you lease mongers, that take groundes by lease to the entente to lette them out agayne for double and tryple the rent, your parte is in this plage.¹ The Lorde shal take his Spirite from you.

321 He shal forbryd the cloudes of hys mercy to rayne vpon you wyth the swete dwe of hys grace. And you surneighers² of laudes, that of x. li. laude 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 tenantes your shaes to labour, and toyle, and bringe to you all that maye be plowen and digged out of youre groundes, then shal death sodaynly strike you, then shal God wythdwre his comfortable grace from you, then shal your conscience prycke you, then shal you thynke with desparat Cain, that your sinne is greater then that it may be forgueuen. For your owne conscience shall judege you worthye no mercye, because you haue shewed no mercy. Yea the same enimie that hath kendled and dooth yet maynetayne in you thyss mischenouse, outragious, and unsaciable couetousnes, shall then bee as busy to put you in mynde of the wordes of Christ, saieng, "the same measure that you haue made vrto other, shalbe nowe made vrto you."

¹ Orig. palge ² Orig. surneighers
INFORMACION.  ALL MUST GIVE ACCOUNT.  163

You haue shewed no mercy, howe can you than loke for mercie? Oh noble counsellours, be mercyfull to your selues. Destroye not your owne soules to enriche your heires. Enlarge not your earthly possession wyth the losse of the eternall enheritauance. Learne to knowe the estate that God hath called you vnto, & to lyue accordinge to your profession. Know that you are al ministres in the common weale, and that the porcion which you are borne vnto, or that your prince genethe you, is your estate. Knowe that your office is to distribute & not to scrape together on heapes. God hath not sette you to surveye hys landes, but to playe the staundres in his householde of this world, and to se that your pore fellow servantes lacke not theye[r] necessaries.

Consider that you are but ministers and servauntes vnder the Lorde oure God, and that you shal render a streyght accompt of your administracion. Stand not to much in your own conceyte, gloriynge in the worthynesse of your bloude; for we are all one mans chyl-
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 whyle he shoulde possesse the treasure of this wor[l]de, but that the same cause may be founde in hym also whome you make your slawe? By nature (therefore) you can claime no thyng but that whiche you shall gette with the swet of your faces. That you are lorde and gouernoures therafore, commeth not by nature but by the ordinauce & appoyntment of God. Knowe then that he hath not cauled you to the welthe and glorie of this worlde, but hath charged you wyth the greate and rede multitude.

And if any of them perishe thorowe your defaute, knowe then for certentye, that the bloude of them

Do not destroy your souls to enrich your heirs.

Remember you are ministers in the commonwealth.
Your duty is to distribute, and not scrape together.

You are only servants, and will have to give an account of your administrations.

By nature you can only claim [leaf 7] what you earn.

That you are lords comes by ordinance, not by nature.

If any poor perish through Ezek. 33.
your neglect, 
their blood will 
be required at 
your hands.

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

Psal. 113. 

You are ap-
pointed to give 
meat to God’s 
household.

Daniel 4. 
(leaf 7, back) 
Remember 
Nebuchadnezzar, 
who became a 
beast,

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

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

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

If the sturdy fall to stealeynge, robbyng, & reueynge, 
then are you the causers therof, for you dygge in, 
enclose, and wytholde from them the earth out of the 
whych they should dygge and plowe theyr lyueynge. 
For as the Psalmiste wryteth:—“All the heauen is the 
Lorde; but as for the earth hee hath geuen to the 
chyldeyne of men.”

The whole earth therfor (by byrth ryght) be-
longeth to the chyldren of men. They are all in-
heritours therof indifferently by nature.

But because the sturdy shoulde not oppresse the 
weake and impotent, God hath apoynted you stuards to 
geue meate vnto his housholde in due seaseone. And if 
ye be founde faythfull in this littel, then knowe that 
he wyll preferre you to much greater thinges. But if 
ye be founde oppresing your felowe seruauntes, then 
knowe for certentie, that the Lorde your Maister shall 
at hys comeynge rewarde you wyth many strypes.

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

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

Many hundred yeres sence the noble Romains helde 
all Europa and parte of Affrike and Asia in quiete pos-
session; and where are they that succesade them in 
theyr impier?
The brutishe Gothes innaded and vanquished the impier of Rome; and wher are theyr successours? What shoulde I stande in the rehersele 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 Prophete.

Ther shall you learne that it is God that geneth the impiere to whome it pleaseth hym, and that all powre is from aboue, accordyng to the answer that our sauioure Chríst made vnto Pilate, when he bragged hym wyth the powre that he had to crucifie hym and to deliuer hym. "Thou shouldest," sayed our Sauioir, "hawe no powre ouer me at all, were it not geuen the from aboue."

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

I doubt not therfore but that your consciences do condesende and agre vnto that which I have spoken concernynge your office and ministerie; knoweyng that God hath appointed you to minister necessaries to the impotent, and to defende the innocent.

Do not therfore neglect thys principalle poynyte 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.

The lande lordes for theyr partes, suruey and make the uttermost peny of al their groundes, 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.

Yea, though he hauie ben an honeste, true, faythfull
and when a tenant’s lease runs out they make him pay a great sum, or else he must vacate in haste.

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The mischiefs that flow from such oppression to men, women, and children, are fearful.

What a sea of mischiefs hath flowed out of this more then Turkyshe tyrannie! What honeste householders haue ben made folowers of other not so honest mens tables! What honeste matrones haue ben brought to the needy rocke and cardes! What men-childrene of good hope in the liberall sciences, and other honeste qualities (whereof this realme hath great lacke), haue ben compelled to fal, some to handy-crafts, and some to daye labour, to sustayne theyr parents decrepet age and miserable pouertie! What frowarde and stoubourn children haue hereby shaken of the yoke of godly chastisement, rennyng hedlonge into all kyndes of wickednes, and finaly garnyshed galowe trees! What modeste, chaste, and womanly virgins haue, for lacke of dourie, ben compelle, either to passe over the days of theyr youth in vngrate service, or else to murye to perpetuall miserable pouertie! What immodeste and wanton gyrls haue hereby ben made sisters of the Banck (the stumbling stock of all frayle youth) and finaly, moste miserable creatures, lyeinge and dieynge in the stretes ful of all plages and penurie! What vniuersall destruction chaunceth to this noble realme by this outrageous and vsnaciable desyr of the surueiers of landes! I reporte me to you (moste Christian counsayellours) which ar here assembled from all partes of this noble realme, to consulte for the welth of all the membres of the same.

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

1 Orig. obtaynydge
INFORMACION. 

HOW TENANTS ARE POLLED.

upon groundes and tenements, and so reyse fynes, incomes, and rentes; and by suche pyllage pyke out a porcion to mayntayne a proude porte, and all by pylynge and pollynge of the poore commons, that must of necessitie seke habitations at their haudes. That this is true, I report me to my Lorde the Maire, and other the hed officers of the Citie of London, 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. Howe thei polle the pore tenantes would sone be tryed, if theyr leases were conferred with theyr rent-rolles. It is not to be thought contrary but that the greate leasmungers haue greate gains by their leases, for the litleons, that hold but a piece of houseing of xx. or xxx s. by yere, can fynde the meanes to holde and dwell vpon the chiefe parte therof rent fre, by letynge out the residue for the whole yererly rent. 

I thinke not contrary, but these things do appeare in the syght of many to bee but verye 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. 

Yea euon you (moste Christian counsaylours) whych are here assembled to debate the weightie matters of thys realme, are not all so free from this kynde of oppression, but that you could be well contented to wyneke at it. And therfor, forasmuch as the inordinate loue of men towarde them selues is such, that eyther they can not se theyr owne fautes, or else if they do se them or be tolde of them, they take them not to be so great as they are in deede; I thinke it no
so I shall not wonder if you laugh at my foolish hardness and rashness in entering upon this subject, because men do not agree to such things as will diminish their profits.

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

The upper members of the body should clothe the lower members from any harm which might happen to them in their carrying the body about,—

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

Bear in mind that the body without the legs is only like a block, and cannot move; so you, if merrymale, though such of you (most worthy counsellours) as have any profite by this oppression, do without them selues deride and laugh to scorn my folke hardines and rash enterpryse herein, knowe yngye that it is not the use 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 whiche shall be disprofiteable vnto the chiefe members of the same.

Truth it is (moste worthy counsellours), 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 realme.

For what discoumoditie is it to the heade, shoulders, the armes, and other the upper members of the body, beynge all redy sufficiently clothed, to put on the legges & feete a pære of hose and shoes to defende them also from the injuries of the wether, and other hurtes that might chaunce vnto them in theyr travaaylynge to carry the body from place to place, for hyss commoditie and pleasure? Verily in myne opinion, that body is far vnworthy to haue either legges or feete that wyll lette them goo bare, haueynge wherwyth to couer them.

Euen so you, beynge the chiefe members of this noble realme, and hauing in your handes the wonderful and incomparable riches of the same, what shoulde it greue you to departe wyth some porcion therof, that the inferioure members therof may at all tymes bee able to do theyre ministerie and office accordingly.

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

Vse them therfore as the necessarie membres of the mistical body of this most noble realme, and be not in this poynt nor vnnatural then the heathen Philosophers were.

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

This ought not a lytle to mover 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 vnnatural in this mattier, even as farre as the excellencie of the name and religion which we profess passeth theyrs.

Remembre (most Christian counsaylours) that you are not onely naturally membres of one bodi with the pore creatures 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 lest of vs his membres as done to hym selfe. For he sayeth:—

"What so euer ye do to one of the lest of these litleons that beleue in me, ye doe it vnto me." If you therfore, neither wil your selfes oppresse our Saviour Christe in his membres, nor suffer other to do it, fayle not to fynde a redres of this greate oppression, which I haue declared to the same ende. And then I doubt not but God shall so worke wyth you, that enerie man shall wylllyngely embrace a reformacion of all matters of religion. For the Spirit of God shall dwell in you and in vs all, and Christe himself (as he hath promised) shall bee in the myddes amonge you. Wher as, contrariwise, if you suffer our loueinge Saviour thus to be oppressed, he wyll forsake you, he wyll leaue you to the spirite of errorr. Your reformacions shall take no

you had not the poor to till the ground, must do it yourselves.

Therefore you must use the poor as members of this realm, else you will be more unnatural than the heathen,

whom, as Christians, you ought to surpass.

By religion you are all members of Christ's body,

and Christ esteems what is done to His members as done to Himself.

If you will not oppress Christ through His members, redress these wrongs, and then every man will assist you in reforming religion.

If you oppress the poor, Christ will forsake you and leave you to a spirit of error.
592 place. All your diuises shall be abominable in his syght, because ye haue not purged your handes from the bloude of this oppression.

Let the decares 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 not be amonge them.

They were not congregated in hys name, but rather agaynste hym and hys doctrine, for he hym selfe is dear loue, & (as his Apostle Iohn writeth) wher this dear loue is not, ther is not he. Thys thynge is well proued by theyr proceadynges in the same Parliament.

For they established Articles euyn directly agaynst Gods worde, forbedynge to mary, and commaundynge to put asunder those that God hath ioyned togeth.

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

Other thynge therbe wherby the pore membres of Christe in thys noble realme are oppressed; wherof I haue made no mention, partly because I am loth to offende wyth the multitude of my rude wordes, & partly for that I know you can not seke for a redres of these thynge wherof I haue spoken. But the other will offer them selues vnto you, I meane the greate ex-tortion and usurie that reigneth frely in thys realme, and seme to be authorised by Parliament wythin these
The Cleargie of the Citie of London have, for their parte, optayned by Parliament authoritie to ouertenethes even after the exam[ple] of the landlordes and leasemongers, and maye, by the vertue of the acte, requir for double rentes double tenthes. If the rent of any kynde of housyng or ground 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 iiis. ix.d, the double. Bysydes this, the exactions that they take of the pore commons is to much beyonde al reason and conscience. No couple can be maried but these men must have a dutie, as they cal it. No woman may be purified but they and theyr ydle ministers must have some duties of hir. None can be buried but they wyl have a slyese. Not thre monethes before the begynnyng of this present Parliament, 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 reuereedly 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 accordynge to the custome to laye it in the grounde. But this rauen, smellynge in the City of London, receuede 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, agreyng to paye to the keper therof hys accustomed dutie, and in lyke maner to the graue maker, and the

1 Orig. smellydge.
THE EXTORTIONS OF USURERS.

foure pore men to cary the bodye, so that the whole
charges had ben but vii.d.

But when the corps was buried, wythout other
crosse or holy water sticke, Dirige, or Masse, wyth
prayers of as small deuociun 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
penye, and .vi.d. to .ii. clarkes that we had no nede of.

This was done in Sepulchres paryshe in the Citie
of London. And if it shall please any of thys noble
assemble to trye the trueth of this, I wyll verifie it
where so euer I shall be called, euen in the presence of
all the ydle ministers of the same church.

Thus much haue I spoken of the extortion that
reigneth frely in the Clergie. Nowe, with your
patience, I wil, with like breuittie, speak of the great
and intolerable usurie, whych at this daie reigneth so
frely this realme over al, and chiefly in the Citie of
London, that it is taken for most leafull 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, whom could not be contented with usurie
unlesse it wer unreasonable muche. To restrayne thys

1 Orig. pedye
INFORMACION. LAW REGULATING USURY.

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greedy desire of theirs, therefore, it was communed and agreed upon, and by the authority of Parliament decreed, that none should take above .x. li. by yeare, for the lone of an .C. li.

Alas, that ever any Christian assemble should be so voyde of Gods Holy Spirit that they should allow for leaful any thing that Gods Worde forbideth. Be not abashed (most worthy counsaylours) to call this act into question agayne. Scan the wordes of the Psalmist concernyng this matter. "Lord," sayeth he, "who shall enter into thy tabernacle, and who shall rest in thy holy mountaine?" He answereth: "That entretlieth without spot & worketh righte. That speaketh truth in his herte, & hath not deceived with his tonge; that hath done his neybour no harme, nor accepted any reproch against his neybour. He regardeth not the wicked, but them that feare the Lorde he glorifieth and prayseth. He that swereth to his neybour & deceiueth hym not. He that hath not geuen his money vnto usury, and hath not taken giftes and rewardes against the innocent."

If you (most Christian counsaylours) do glory in the knowledge of Gods Spirite, who hath spoken these wordes by the Prophet, how can you suffer this acte to stande, whych shall be a witnesse agaynst 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 vttre darcknes? Their workes be contrary, & why shoulde not theyr rewardre be also contrary? If the one be receyued in, the other muste be shut out. Yea, and you that haue made this lawe,

1 See Supplication of the poore Commons, ed. J. M. Cowper, p. 84, 'Men myghte take x li. by yeare,' &c.
vnesse you do revoke it and establissh an act to the contrary, the Brydegroume, the onely Sonne of God, shal at the laste daye deny you, and saye that he neuer knewe you; “Depart from me,” shal he saye, “al ye workers of iniquitie.” Scanne the wordes of the Prophete therfore, and scanne the wordes of oure Sauioure Christe also, in the vi. of Luke, wher he sayeth thus:—“Do you lende lokyng for no gaynes thereof, and your rewarde shalbe plentuouse, and you shall be soone of the Hygheste, because he is gentle & liberal toward the vnthankfull and wicked.”

I am not ignoraunt what glosses haue ben made vpon this place, and howe men haue wrested & made it no precept but a counsaille of our Sauiour; & therfore it no precept, but not to infer necessitie to Christians, but to leaue them at libertie either to do it or leaue it vndone.

Oh mercifull Lorde, what maner of religion is it that these men profess? They boast them selues to bee the disciples of Christe and setters forthe of his glorie.

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

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

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

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

1 Orig. leave.
For he that desyreth not in his bese herte to practise in
his lyueynge all the counsayles of Christe our Maister
and Teachar, shall be numbered amongethe obstinate
Iewes for none of the flocke of Christ, because he
heareth not his voice nor foloweth him. Thus I mak
an ende.

Wyshynge vnto you (most worthy counsaylours) the
same Spirit that in the primitiue church gane vnto the
multitude of beleuers one herte, one mynde, & to
esteeme nothyng of this worlde as theyr owne, minis-
trynge vnto euerie one accordyng to his necessityes;
that you, led by the same Spirite, may at the lestweye
ordeine such a lawe that the oppresyon of the pore
reigne not frely amongethe them that beare the name of
Christians. But if they wyll be styll oppresseyng the
pore membres of Christ, after once or twyse admoni-
cion, let them no more be named Christians after Christ
whom thei serue not, but Mammonistes after Mammon
whose badge they beare. And this reformacion had, no
doubt the maiestie of God shall so appere in all your
decrees, that none so wicked a creatur shalbe founde so
bolde as once to open his mouth against the orde that
you shall take in al matters of religion. Yea, the verie
enimies of Dauid shall do omage vnto Solomon for
his wisedom. Al the Kynges christined shal learne at
you to reforme theyr churches. You shalbe euene the
light of al the world.

But, if you let these thynges pas and regarde them
not, be ye sure the Lorde shal confound your wisdome.
Inuent, decree, 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
occacions of discorde. The thynges whereby you shal
thinke to wyn prayse through all the worlde, shall
turne to your ytter¹ shame; and the wayes that you shall

1 Orig. vnter.
God give you His Spirit.

Amen.

MAY GOD'S SPIRIT REST UPON YOU.

inuent to establish a kyngdome shalbe the
vtter subuertion of the same. The merc-
cifull Father of our Lorde Jesus
Christe induc you wyth hys
Spirit, that you be not par-
takers of these plages.

Amen.
GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

ABYE, 51/1524, abide, expiate.
Disparage not the faith thou dost not know,
Lest, to thy peril, thou aby it dear.
Mid.-Sr. N. Dr. iii. 2, l. 176
(Globe ed.).
Agime ziphres, 73/571?
Allayes, 9/137, 10/161, alleys.
Bowling-alleys in which the game of bowls was played; alleys, lanes or courts in the city of London.
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 jurisdiction 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.
Betruisted, 30/823, trusted.
Bisemeyng, 95/14, beseeming.
Bityme, 72/66, betimes, in time.
Bler, 70/12, blear.
Brast, 132/8, burst.
Breuitie, 172/687, brevity.
Bridle-rapie, 95/6, bridle-rein.
Brynke, 16/364, brink, brim.
By, 101/75, be.
By yere, 173/700, for a year.
Byll, 29/800, bill, a petition.

Candle, to hold the, 130/21, phr.
Cardes, 166/458?
Cessions, 94/143, sessions.
Checkinge, 139/348.
Christined, 175/792, christened.
Cocke and Pyc, 19/469, a petty oath. See Merry Wives of W. i. 1, l. 316 (Globe ed.).
Coheritours, 159/233, coheirs.
Commone, 155/73, commune.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
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<th>Definition</th>
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<tr>
<td>Commotionars</td>
<td>22/555</td>
<td>men who cause commotions or tumults.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Condyng</td>
<td>81/63</td>
<td>condign, “that is, according to merit, worthy, suitable.” Phillips.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coniecte</td>
<td>159/208</td>
<td>conjecture.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cormerauntes</td>
<td>131/69</td>
<td>cormorants.</td>
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<td>Costuouse</td>
<td>91/30</td>
<td>costly.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Couetise</td>
<td>26/690</td>
<td>covetousness.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Crake</td>
<td>81/62</td>
<td>crack, toast of.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crownies</td>
<td>132/95</td>
<td>crnmlDs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Days, offering days</td>
<td>155/88</td>
<td>certain days on which offerings were made to the Church.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dearlinges</td>
<td>160/249</td>
<td>darlings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destituted</td>
<td>132/104</td>
<td>made destitute, deprived.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dii-ige</td>
<td>172/666</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disconforte</td>
<td>111/81</td>
<td>discomfort.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disprofitable</td>
<td>168/527</td>
<td>unprofitable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorepostis</td>
<td>111/93</td>
<td>door-posts: “deaf as a door-post,” a common phrase.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyprease</td>
<td>32/898</td>
<td>disparise.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Earely</td>
<td>94/134</td>
<td>early.</td>
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<td>Eer</td>
<td>88/91</td>
<td>ever.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Effucion</td>
<td>162/324</td>
<td>effusion.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Emong</td>
<td>12/239</td>
<td>among.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entermel</td>
<td>32/904</td>
<td>intermeddle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everychone</td>
<td>89/113</td>
<td>each one, every one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fere</td>
<td>88/76</td>
<td>in fere, in common.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forrestall</td>
<td>34/972</td>
<td>to buy goods on their way to market.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestallers</td>
<td>34/965</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fordore</td>
<td>99/131</td>
<td>lost.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fryses</td>
<td>33/933</td>
<td>friezes, woollen cloths or stuffs originally from Friesland.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gate</td>
<td>44/1275</td>
<td>gait.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gossepes</td>
<td>103/142</td>
<td>gossips.</td>
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<td>Graue maker</td>
<td>171/662</td>
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<td>Graynges</td>
<td>161/277</td>
<td>granges.</td>
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<td>Gulles</td>
<td>131/69</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Hadland</td>
<td>13/266</td>
<td>headland.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harbour</td>
<td>113/140</td>
<td>shelter.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Haulke</td>
<td>73/29</td>
<td>hawk.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Head penny</td>
<td>172/669</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbour</td>
<td>8/99</td>
<td>harbour, shelter, lodging.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Herte rote</td>
<td>19/464</td>
<td>heart root.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houseing</td>
<td>167/500</td>
<td>See Housyne.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Housel</td>
<td>155/85</td>
<td>the Sacrament.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Housynge</td>
<td>116/271</td>
<td>shelter, houses—probably for house, an old plural of house still in use in Northamptonshire.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Imperye</td>
<td>99/137</td>
<td>empire, rule, power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ioynt</td>
<td>154/22</td>
<td>joint. Phr., “out of joint.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iuell</td>
<td>19/454</td>
<td>evil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leafull</td>
<td>157/153</td>
<td>lawful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lestweye</td>
<td>175/779</td>
<td>“leastways.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lette</td>
<td>139/328</td>
<td>let, a hindrance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leys</td>
<td>50/1500</td>
<td>leys, pastures for cattle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lite</td>
<td>88/70</td>
<td>little.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Littleons</td>
<td>167/500, 169/579</td>
<td>little ones.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liucar</td>
<td>140/378</td>
<td>liver.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liuelode</td>
<td>65/51</td>
<td>livelihood.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Löselles, 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, niagiigre, in spite of.
Mawe, 44/1294, maw, stomach.
Meaners, 101/75, manners, demeanours.
MeU, 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 kyrtelts, and mych waste in apparell, rynges, and owchis, wyth partelettes and pastis garneshe'd wyth perle." More's Suplycaryou of Sonlys, sig. L. ii., quoted in Halliwell's Arch. Dict.
Peltrey, 46/1366. The word polt is still in use in Kent, signifying rubbish, the sense in which peltrye is used here.
Plowen, 162/328, plowed.
Pold, 13/277, polled, robbed, cheated, polling, 20/506.
Poppyshnes, 72/71, popishness.
Porte, 167/486, bearing, carriage, or manner.
Possessioners, 153/8, holders of large estates.
Praye, 148/669, prey.
President, 170/597, precedent.
Priestyng, 155/68, the calling or duties of a priest.
Primer, 71/55, a little book, which children are first taught to read. Phillips.
Prollynge, 144/529, prowling, searching about.
Prolyng, and pochying to get somwhat
At euerie doore lumpes of bread, or meat.
R. Copland's Hye way to the Spyttel Hous.
Prouender, 141/379. "Provender pricketh them," a phrase used in Newes out of Powles, Sat. 6:
1st 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."
Pryne, 91/23, prime, 6 a.m., one of the seven canonical hours.
Pyld, 13/278, pilled, spoiled.
Quyte, 69/222, requite. See 1 Tamb. the Great, ii. 5.
Reade, 32/894, 84/58, counsel, advice.
Rede, 163/373, scattered. Halliwell has Rede (3), to spread abroad.
Regester, 78/12, registrar.
Reneyeinge, 164/381, ravening, taking by force, from the verb to receive.
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. IV. 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 II. VIII.
Schourges, 15/344, scourges.
Shamefast, 131/53, shamefaced, modest.
Shente, 38/1096, 86/24, ruined, destroyed.
Shote, 155/79, shot, amount.
Slycse, 171/643, slice.
Smered, 154/53.
Spittlehouse, 11/211, hospital.
Stick, holy water stick, 172/666.
Stockefyshe, 13/270, stockfish, saltfish dried. For much curious information concerning Stockfish, see Mr Furnivall's Babees Book.
Stynt, 112/108, stint, stop.

Swea, 94/133, sway, bear the sway, have rule.
Tatyllars, 103/117, tattlers. See 1 Tim. v. 13.
Thral, 87/32, make men thral, enslave men.
Thyne, 80/32, thin, weak.
Tipillyng, 71/33, tippling.
Tussocke, 44/1303, a heap.
Tyyppet, a Tyburn tippet, 30/820, a halter.

To weare . . . .

A Tiburne Tippet, or old Stories cap.
This is the high'st degree which they can take.
Taylor's Works, fol. 287.

Vaile, 17/392, avail, profit, advantage.
Vitayls, 8/90, victuals.
Vnchristined, 169/568, unchristened, unbaptized.
Vndercaptaine, 147/641.
Vngrate, 166/469, unbecoming.
Vnweldy, 168/553, unwieldy.

Wed, 113/140, clothing.
Wel, 61/68, weal.
Welmoste, 10/166, almost, well nigh, nearly.
Whippets, 45/1331, short petticoats. See Halliwell's Arch. Diet.
Wit, 55/8, blame.
Wodmonger, 88/75, a dealer in wood.

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. 116-17. On English changes of fashion, see the Society’s Four Supplications, 1871, p. 51.

p. 156, l. 18. “Argentyne, we suppose, is Argentoratum or Strassburg.” E. A. Freeman.

p. 165, note 1. “Andrew Borde does not at all speak as a Saxon heretic, but as a dutiful subject of King Henry the Eighth, who dedicates his book to that King’s daughter. In the eyes of such a one the Saxons were praise-worthy 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 Hebreecyon, 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 crescit in horto?” Villanov, c. 60. Crokes, Sir Alex. 1830.—C. Innes Pockock.

p. 303, note 1, line 1, for Oecium read Adiun.

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. (Historic of Italie, ed. 1549, fol. 40.) Every detail supplied by Thomas, from the ‘30 steppes of square stone, the solemnest that I have seen,’ 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 Bunfyceyal, Bunfyceys, Bunfyte, read Benefyceyal, etc.

XIII. FOUR SUPPILICATIONS:

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 most erudite 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 ‘Doceiful in words; flattering; like a smellfeast or parasite.’ Bullokar & Cockeram, in Todd’s Johnson.

p. 114, col. 2, line 7, for thimble read thurible