Four Supplications.

1529—1553 A.D.

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A Supplication for the Beggers.
WRITTEN ABOUT THE YEAR 1529 BY
Simon Fish.
NOW RE-EDITED BY
FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL.

WITH
A Supplication to our moste Soueraigne Lorde
Ryng Heunry the Eght
(1544 A.D.),

A Supplication of the Poore Commons
(1546 A.D.),

The Decaye of England
by the great multitude of shepe
(1550-3 A.D.),
EDITED BY
J. MEADOWS COWPER.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY,
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Extra Series,

XIII.

JOHN CHILDS AND SON, PRINTERS.
XIII. FOUR SUPPLICATIONS:

p. vii at foot; p. xiv. Mr E. Arber has since found a titleless copy of Simon Fish’s “Summe of the Scripture out of the Dutch,” in a little well-known volume of rare tracts in the British Museum. (See his Preface to his edition of Roy’s Rede me & be not wroth, ed. 1871.) As this volume had been in the hands of most of our profeast Bibliographers, the identification of Fish’s treatise is no small credit to Mr Arber.

p. xvii. The mislaid Lambeth copy of the “Sheep-tract” was found soon after our print of it went to press.

p. 111, col. 2. / Gnatonical: for “gnat-like” (copied unthinkingly by Mr Cowper from an edition of Foxe’s Martyrs) read ‘Deceitful in words; flattering; like a smellfeast or parasite.’ Bullokar & Cockeram, in Todd’s Johnson, p. 114, col. 2, line 7, for thimble read thurible

WHEN trying to get together some evidence on the Condition of England in Henry VIII’s and Edward VI’s reigns for the Introduction to the Ballad of Now a Dayes (?ab. 1520, a.d.) for my first volume for the Ballad Society, I was struck by the difficulty of finding out what tracts and books on the subject there were, and how few of them could be easily got at, much less bought at any reasonable price. But when I did get hold of some of them, I found them of such interest and value that I resolved to reprint such of them as I could, and one of the earliest is now before the reader.

The second in date, the celebrated Supplication for the Beggers, is however the first in importance, from its influence on Henry VIII and the Reformation, and its calling forth an answer from Sir Thomas More, his Supplication of Soulys (in Purgatory), which gave rise to his controversy with Tyndal. I therefore give Foxe’s full account of the whole matter from the third edition of his Acts and Monuments, a.d. 1576, pp. 986—991.

1 Roy’s Rede me and be not wroth is the earliest, and was in print by 1527 or -8, says Mr Arber. Mr Hazlitt dates Roy, ‘Wormes 1526’: but query. It is not in Foxe’s list of Forbidden Books in 1526 (p. xii., below), though it is in that of 1531, printed in my Political, Religious, and Love Poems, 1866, p. 34: ‘7. The burying of the masse in English yn ryme.’ Of Roy’s other book in that list, ‘13. A Boke made by freer Roye aynst the seynn sacra-ments,’ I know of no copy. Bohn’s edition of Lowndes says of the ‘Rede me and be not wroth,’ “in the Roxburghse Sale Catalogue this piece stands entitled ‘The Buryinge of the Mass, a Satire.’” Can Foxe’s ‘M. Roo’ on the next page be William Roy?

SUPPLICATION.
THE STORY OF M. SYMON FISHE.

Before the tyme of M. Bilney, and the fall of the Cardinall, I should have placed the story of Symon Fish, with the booke called "the Supplication of Beggars," declaryng how and by what means it came to the kynges hand, and what effect therof followed after, in the reformation of many thynge, especially of the Clergy. But the missyng of a few yeares in this matter, breaketh no great square in our story, though it be now entred here [under the year 1531] which should have come in sixe yeares before. The maner and circum-
stance of the matter is this:

After that the light of the Gospel, workyng mightely in Germanie, began to spread his beames here also in England, great styrr and alteration folowed in the harts of many: so that colored hypocrisie, and false doctrine, and painted holynes, began to be espayed more and more by the readdyng of Gods word. The authoritie of the Bishop of Rome, and the glory of his Cardinals, was not so high, but such as had fresh wittes sparcked with Gods grace, began to espy Christ from Antichrist, that is, true sinceritie from counterfeit religion. In the number of whom, was the sayd M. Symon Fish, a Gentleman of Grayes Inne. It happened the first yeare that this Gentleman came to London to dwell, which was about the yeare of our Lord 1525, that there was a certaine play or interlude made by one M. Roo of the same Inne, Gentleman, in which play partly was matter agaynst the Cardinal Wolsey. And where none durst take vpon them to play that part, whiche touched the sayd Cardinall, this foresayd M. Fish tooke vpon him to do it; wherupon great displeasure ensued agaynst him, vpon the Cardinals part: In so much as he, beyng pursued by the sayd Cardinall, the same night that this Tragedie was playd, was compell'd of force to voyde his owne house, & so fled ouer the Sea vnto Tyndall: vpon occasion wherof, the next yeare folowyng this booke was made (beynge about the yeare 1527.) and so not long after, in the yeare (as I suppose) 1528. was sent ouer to the Lady Anne Bulleyne, who then lay at a place not farre from the Court. Which booke, her brother sayng in her hand, tooke it and read it, & gane it her agayne, willyng her earnestly to giue it to the kyng, which thynge she so dyd.

This was (as I gather) about the yeare of our Lord 1528. The kyng, after he had receauned the booke, de-
amanded of her, who made it. Wherunto she answered and sayd, a certaine subject of his, one Fish, who was fled out of the Realme for feare of the Cardinall. After the kyng had kept the booke in his bosome iij. or iiiij. dayes, as is credibly reported, such knowledge was giuen by the kynges servantes to the wife of y^e sayd Symon Fishe, y^e she might boldly send for her husband, without all
perill or daunger. Whereupon, she thereby beyng incorranged, came first, and made sute to the kyng for the safe returne of her husband. Who, vnderstandyng whose wyfe she was, shewed a maruellous gentle and chearefull countenaunc towardes her, askynge where her husband was. She answered, if it like your grace, not farre of. Then sayth he, fetch him, and he shall come and go safe without perill, and no man shal do him harme; saying moreover that hee had much wrong that hee was from her so long: who had bene absent now the space of two yeares and a halfe. In the whiche meane tyme, the Cardinall was deposed, as is aforeshewed, and M. More set in his place of the Chauncellourshyp.

Thus Fishes wyfe, beyng emboldened by the kynges wordes, went immediatly to her husband beyng lately come ouer, and lying priuely within a myle of the Court, and brought him to the kyng: which appeareth to be about the yeare of our Lord 1530. When the kyng saw him, and vnderstode he was the authour of the booke, he came and embraced him with louing countenaunce; who after long talke, for the space of iiij. or iiij. hours, as they were ridyng together on huntyng, at length dimitted him and bad him take home his wyfe, for she had taken great paynes for him. Who answered the kyng agayne and sayd, he durst not so do, for feare of Syr Thomas More, then Chauncellour, & Stoksley, then Byshop, of London. This seemeth to be about the yeare of our Lord 1530.

The kyng, takyng his signet of his finger, willed hym to have him recommended to the Lord Chauncellour, chargyng him not to bee so hardy to worke him any harme. M. Fishe, receiuyng the kynges signet, went and declared his message to the Lord Chauncellour, who took it as sufficient for his owne discharge, but he asked him if he had any thynge for the discharge of his wyfe; for she a little before had by chaunce displeased the Friers, for not sufferyng them to say their Gospels in Latine in her house, as they did in others, vnlesse they would say it in English. Whereupon the Lord Chauncellour, though he had discharged the man, yet leauyng not his grudge towards the wyfe, the next mornyng sent his man for her to appeare before hym: who, had it not bene for her yong daughter, which then lay sicke of the plague, had bene lyke to come to much trouble. Of the which plague her husband, the sayd M. Fish, deceasing within halfe a yeare, she afterward maried to one M. James Baynham, Syr Alexander Baynhams sonne, a worshipfull knight of Glostershyre. The which foresaid M. James Baynham, not long after was burned, as incontinently after, in the processe of this story, shall appeare.

And thus much concernyng Symon Fishe, the author of the booke of beggers, who also translated a booke called the Summe of the Scripture, out of the Dutch.
Now commeth an other note of one Edmund Moddys, the kynges footeman, touchyng the same matter.

This M. Moddys beyng with the kyng in talke of religion, and of the new bookes that were come from beyond the seas, sayde, if it might please hys grace to pardon him, & such as he would bryng to his grace, hee should see such a booke as was maruell to heare of. The kyng demaunded what they were. He sayd, two of your Marchauntes, George Elyot & George Robinson. The kyng poynted a tyme to speake with them. When they came afore his presence in a priuye closet, he demaunded what they had to saye, or to shew him. One of them sayd y' there was a boke come to their hands, which they had there to shew his grace. When he saw it, hee demaunded if any of them could read it. Yea, sayd George Elyot, if it please your grace to heare it. I thought so, sayd the kyng, for if neede were, thou canst say it without booke.

The whole booke beyng read out, the kyng made a long pause, and then sayd, if a man should pull downe an old stone wall and begyn at the lower part, the upper part thereof might chance to fall vpon his head: and then he tooke the booke, and put it into his deske, and commanded them vpon their allegiance, that they should not tell to any man, that he had sene the booke, &c. The Copie of the foresayd booke, intituled of the Beggars, here ensueth.

[The Boke of Beggars follows here in print.]

Agaynst this booke of the Beggers abone prefixed, beyng written in the tyme of the Cardinall, another contrary booke or supplication, was devised and written shortly upon the same by one sir Thomas More, knight, Chauncellour of the Duchy of Lancaster, vnder the name and title of the poore sely soules pewlyng out of Purgatory. In the which booke, after that the sayd M. More, writer thereof, had first devided the whole world into foure partes, that is, into heaven, hell, middle earth, and Purgatory: then he maketh the dead mens soules, by a Rhetorical Prospopora, to speake out of Purgatory pynfolde, sometymes lamentably complayning, sometymes pleasantly dalyng and scolding, at the authour of the Beggers booke, sometymes seollying and rayling at hym, callyng hym foole, witlesse, frantike, an asse, a goose, a madde dogge, an hereticke, and all that naught is. And no meruel, if these sely soules of Purgatory seeme so foumish & testy. For heate (ye know) is testie, & soone inflameth choler; but yet those Purgatory soules must take good heed how they call a man a foole and heretike so often. For if the sentence of the Gospel doth pronounce them guiltie of hell fire, which say, Jutue, foole: it may be doubted lest those poore sely melancholy soules of
Purgatory, calling this man foole so oft as they haue done, do bryng themselves therby out of Purgatory fire, to the fire of hel, by ye just sentence of the gospell: so that neyther the v. woundes of S. Fraunces, nor all the merites of S. Dominicke, nor yet of all the Friers, can release them, poore wretches. But yet for so much as I do not, nor cannot thinke, that those departed soules, eyther would so farre overshoote themselves if they were in Purgatory, or els that there is any such fourth place of Purgatory at all (vnisse it be in M. Mores Vtopia) as Maister Mores Poeticall vayne doth imagine. I cease therefore to burden the soules departed, and lay all the wyte in maister More, the authour and contriner of this Poeticall booke, for not kepyng Decorum Personae, as a perfect Poet should haue done. They that gene preceptes of Arte, do note thys in all Poeticall fictions, as a special obseruation, to foresee and expresse what is convenient for every person, accordyng to hys degree and condition, to speake and vutter. Wherefore if it be true that maister More sayeth in the sequele of hys booke, that grace and charitie increaseth in them that lyke in the paynes of Purgatory, then is it not agreeable, that such soules, lying so long in Purgatory, should so soone forgette their charitie, and fall a rayling in their supplication so fumishly, both agaynst this man, with such opprobrious and vnfittying termes, and also against Iohn Badby, Richard Howndon, Iohn Goose, Lord Cobham and other Martirs of the Lord burned for hys worde: also agaynst Luther, William Tindall, Richard Humme and other mo, falsly belying the doctrine by them taught and defended: which is not lyke that such charitable soules of Purgatory would ever doe; neyther were it convenient for them in that case, which in dede though their doctrine were false, should redound to the more increase of their payne. Agayne, where the B. of Rochester defineth the Angels to be ministers to Purgatory soules, some wyll thinke peraduenture maister More to have missed some part of his Decorum in makyng the euill spirite of the author and the devill to be messenger betwene middle earth and Purgatory, in bringing tidinges to the prisoned soules, both of the booke, and of the name of the maker.

Now, as touchyng the maner how this devill came in to Purgatory, laughyng, grynnyng, and gnashyng his teeth, in sothe it maketh me to laugh, to see ye mery Antiques of M. More. Belike then this was some mery devill, or els had eaten with his teeth some Nasturciun before: which comning into Purgatory to shew the name of this man, could not tell hys tale without laughyng. But this was (sayth he) an ennuious & an enuious laughyng, ioyned with grynnyng and gnashyng of teeth. And immediatly vpon the same, was contrinued this scoffing and rayling supplication of the pewlyng soules of Purgatory, as hee hym selte doth terme them. So then here was ennyng, enuyng, laugh-
ing, grinning, gnasheing of teeth, pewingly, scoffing, rayling, and
begging, and altogether to make a very blakke *Sanctus* in Purgatory.

In deede we read in Scripture, that there shall bee
wepyng and gnasheing of teeth in hell, where the soules &
bodyes of men shall be tormented. But who woulde ever haue
thought before, that the euill aungell of this man that made the
booke of Beggers, beyng a spirituall and no corporall substance, had
teeth to gnashe, *&* a mouthe to grynne? But where then stode M.
More, I meruell at this meane while, to see the deuell laugh with his
mouth so wyde, *y* the soules of Purgatory might see all hys teeth?
Belyke this was in Vtopia, where M. Mores Purgatorye is founded.
But because M. Moore is hence departed, I will leaue hym with his
mery Antiques. And as touching hys booke of Purgatory, whiche
he hath lefte behinde, because Iohn Frith hath learnedly
and effectuously overthrowne the same, I will therefore
refere the reader to hym, while I repayre agayne (the
Lord willyng) to the historye.

After that the Clergye of England, and especially the Cardinall,
vnderstode these booke of the Beggers supplication aforesayd, to be
strawne abroade in the streetes of London, and also before the kyng,
the sayd Cardinall caused not onely his seruantes diligently to
attend to gather them vp, that they should not come into the kynges
handes, but also, when he understode that the kyng had receaued one
or two of them, he came vnto the kynges Maiesty sayinge: If it shall
please your grace, here are divers seditious persons which have
scattered abroad books conteyning manifest errours and herisies;
desirying his grace to beware of them. Wherupon the kyng, puttyng
his hand in his bosome, tooke out one of the bookes, and deliuered it
vnto the Cardinall. Then the Cardinall, together with the Bysheps,
consulted how they might provide a spedy remedy for this mischief,
& therupon determined to gene out a Commision to forbis
the reading of all Englishe bookes, and namely this
booke of Beggers, and the new Testament of Tyndals
translation: which was done out of hand by Cuthbert Tonstall,
Byshep of London, who sent out his prohibition vnto his Arch-
deacons, with all sped, for the forbidding of that booke and divers
other more; the tenor of whiche prohibition here foloweth.

¶ A prohibition sent out by Cuthbert Tonstall,
Bishop of London, to the Archdeacons of his dio-
cese, for the calling in of the new Testaments
translated into English, with divers
other books: the Cataloge wher-
of hereafter ensueth.

*Cuthbert by the permission of God, Byshop of
London, vnto our wellbeloved in Christ, the Arch-
deacon of London, or to hys Officall, health, grace, and
benediction. By the duety of our pastorall office, we are bounde diligently with all our power, to foresee, prouide for, roote out, and put away, all those thynges which seeme to tend to the peril & daunger of our subiectes, and specially the destruction of their soules. Wherefore, we, hauyng vnderstandyng by the report of diuers credible persons, and also by the euydent apperaunce of the matter, that many children of iniquitie, maintayners of Luthers sect, blynded through extreme wickednes, wandryng from the way of truth and the Catholike fayth, craftely hauye translated the new Testament into our English tongue, entermedlyng therwith many heretickall Articles & erroneous opinions, pernicious and offensive, seduyng the simple people, attemptyng by their wicked and puerse interpretations, to prophananate the maistey of the Scripture, which hethere hath re- mained vndefiled, & craftely to abuse the most holy worde of God, and the true sence of the same; of the which translation there are many bookees imprinted, some with gloses and some without, contayning in the English tongue that pestiferous and most pernicious poyson dispersed throughout all our dioceesse of London in great number: which truly, without it be spedely foresene, wythout doubt, wyll contaminate and infect the flock committed vnto us, with most deadly poyson and heresie, to the grievous peril and danger of the soules committed to our charge, and the offence of gods diuine maistey. Wherfore we, Cuthbert the bishop aforesayd, greuously sorowying for the premisses, willyng to withstand the craft and sublettie of the auncient enemy and his ministers, which seeke the destruction of my flock, and with a diligent care, to take hede vnto the flock committed to my charge, desiring to provide spedy remedies for the premisses, do charge you ioyntly and seuerally, & by vertue of your obedience, straightly enioyne and commaunde you, that by our authority you warne or cause to be warned all & singular, aswel exempt as not exempt, dwelling within your Archdeauxonries, that within .xxx. dayes space, wherof .x. dayes shalbe for the first, .x. for the second, & .x. for the third and peremptory terme, vnder paine of excommunication, and incurring the suspicion of herisie, they do bryng in, and really deliner vnto our vicar generall, all & singular such bookees as contayne the translation of the new Testament in the Englishe tongue; and that you doe certifie vs, or our sayd Commissarye, within ij. monethes after the day of the date of these presents, duely, personally, or by your letters, together with these presentes, vnder your scales, what you haue done in the premisses, vnder payne of contempt, geuen vnder our seal the .xxiiij. of October, in the v. yere of our consecration .an. 1526."

¶ The lyke Commission in lyke maner and forme, was sent to the three other Archdeauxons of Middlesexe, Essex, and Colchester, for the execution of the same matter, vnder the Byshops scale.
THE NAMES OF THE BOOKES THAT WERE FORBIDDEN AT THIS TYME,
TOGETHER WITH THE NEW TESTAMENT.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bookes condemned and forbidden</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The supplication of beggers.</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The revelation of Antichrist, of Luther.</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The new Testament of Tindall.</td>
<td>(22)</td>
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<tr>
<td>The wicked Mammon.</td>
<td>(23)</td>
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<tr>
<td>The obedience of a Christen man.</td>
<td>(24)</td>
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<tr>
<td>An introduction to Paules Epistle to the Romanes.</td>
<td>(22)</td>
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<tr>
<td>A Dialogue betwixt the father and the sonne.</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oeconomicæ Christianæ.</td>
<td>(6)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vnio dissidentium.</td>
<td>(5)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Piae precationes.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Captiuitas Babilonica.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ioannes Hus in Osean.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zwinglius in Catabaptistas.</td>
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<td>De pueris instituendis.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brentius de administranda Republica.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Luther ad Galatas.</td>
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<tr>
<td>De libertate Christiana.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Luthers exposition vpon the Pater noster.</td>
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The editor of the reprint of the *Suplicacyon* in 1845 refers also to Strype's *Memoriales*, i. 165, and says that Wilkins (Concilia, 3. 706) gives us this edict or injunction [of Tonstall's, above] issued by the authority also of Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury. Again, in the year 1530, a public instrument agreed upon, says Wilkins (3. 728), in an Assembly of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Durham and others, by order of King Henry the Eighth, was put forth "containing divers heretical and erroneous opinions selected from various books, which had been considered and condemned."

One of those is from the *Suppllication*, and is the passage [on Purgatory] beginning, "There be many men of great literature, &c." [p. 10, below, l. 21], and ending, "in all holy Scripture." And, once more, in the same year (Wilkins, iii. 737), or, with less probability, in 1529 (Strype, i. 165), a Royal Proclamation was published "for resisting and withstanding of most damnable heresies sown

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1 These numbers refer to those in the 'List of Books proscribed in 1531' printed in my edition of *Political, Religious, and Love Poems*, for the Society, 1866, p. 34-5, in which nine books in Tonstall's 1526 list are repeated. (The *Pre* of No. 5 there should be *Pré*.)
within this realm by the disciples of Luther, and other heretics, per-
verters of Christ's religion;" at the end of which, with some other
books, "the Supplication of Beggars" is strictly prohibited. Mr
Arber tells me that Foxe's list of books on the opposite page is
a spurious one, because it contains the names of several books
not publish'd till after 1526,—among them our *Supplication of
Beggars*, which can be proved to have been publish't late in 1528
or early in 15291;—that the *Unio dissidentium* is by H. Budius;
and that *Pie Precationes, Captivitas Babylonica, and De Libertate
Christiana*, are Luther's.

Wood's account of Fish, in his *Athenea Oxonienses*, is taken from
Foxe, but he notes also what Sir T. More, in his 'Apology' (*Works,
&c.,* ed. Rastell, 1577, p. 881), says of Fish: that he "had good
zeale, ye wote well, when he made the Supplicacion of beggers. But
God gaue hym suche grace afterwarde, that he was sory for that good
zeale, and repented hymselfe, and came into the church agayne; and
forsake and forsware all the whole hill of those heresyes, out of
which the fountain of that same good zeale sprange."

"In More's *Supplication of Souls*, written to counteract the
effect of Mr Simon Fish's *Supplication of Beggars*, More continually
calls Fish 'this beggar's proctor,' and represents one of the souls in
purgatory as saying of him, 'He is named and boasted among us by
the evil angel of his, our and your ghostly enemy, the devil; which,
as soon as he had set him at work with that pernicious book, ceased
not to come hither, and boast it among us: but with his envious
and envious laughter, gnashing the teeth and grinning, he told us
that his people [i.e. the reformers] had, by the advice and counsel of
him, [i.e. the devil] and of some heretics almost as evil as he, made
such a book for beggars, that it should make us beg long ere we got
aught.'—More's *Works*, pp. 288-9. The *Supplication of Beggars*
. . . was originally transmitted to England from the Continent,
whither Fish had fled; so that More would suppose that Tyndale
and Joye were privy to its composition."—Parker Soc.'s Tyndale's
*Works*, iii. 268, note. In the Parker Society's Tyndale's Works,
ii. 335, Tyndale, in his tract on *The Practice of Prelates*, again makes
mention of Fish's *Supplication,* 2 which secretary (Thomas More) yet
must first deserve it with writing against Martin [Luther], and

1 See Mr Arber's Preface to his facsimile reproduction (1871) of Tyndale and Roy's first printed English New Testament, Cologne-Worms? 1525,
4to.
against *The Obedience* and *Mammon*, and become the proctor of purgatory, to write against *The Supplication of beggars*.

Bishop Tanner ascribes to Fish 'The boke of merchants rightly necessary to all folkes, newly made by the lord Pontapole,' and 'The spiritual nosegay.'

That he translated from the Dutch the *Sum of the Scriptures* Foxe has already told us in the last lines of page vii above.

Fish was living at his house at Whitefriars in 1527-8. See Necton's Confession. *Strype*, I. ii. 63, ed. 1822. (Arber.)

No new facts about Fish are given in any modern biographical dictionaries that Mr W. M. Wood has searched for me. Foxe, as we have seen (p. vii, above, l. 9 from foot), says that Fish died of the plague about 1530; and the way that Sir Thomas More speaks of him seems to assume that he died before 1533.

The reader will notice how the *Supplication of the Poore Commons*, 1546, refers, on p. 61-2 below, to the *Supplication of Beggers*, and its influence on Henry VIII.

F. J. F.

The second and third *Supplications*, printed from the original black-letter editions now in the British Museum, are anonymous. The dates of their publication are 1544 for the second, and 1546 for the third. It is useless to guess who was the author (I believe the two proceed from one pen), but I have not much hesitation in suggesting Henry Brinklow ('Roderyck Mors'), who was busy at this time. Brinklow's two tracts will as soon as practicable be included in this series, and then our readers will be able to judge for themselves. The same vehement language, and unqualified abuse of the clergy and all who were not of his way of thinking, will be observed throughout. The references to certain topics of the day cannot be

1 Lond. Jugge, 1547, 12mo.—*Lowndes.*
2 Mr E. Brock read the proofs with the originals.
3 'The Complaynt of Roderyck Mors . . . for the redresse of certen wicked lawes, euel customs, and cruel decreys, 1536'; and 'The Lamentacyon of a Christen Agaynst the Cytye of London, for some certayne great vyces vsed therin, 1545.'
reckoned on to weigh much with regard to the question of author-
ship in a case like this, else we might direct attention to several such
in this Preface. Three must suffice:

The Lamentacyon of a Christen.

And I thinke within fewe
years they will (wythout thy
greate mercy) call vpon Thomas
Wolsey late Cardinall, & vpon
the vnholie (I shulde saye) holy
Mayde of Kent. l. 4.

Accordlyng to there office they
barked vppon you to loke vppon
the poore, so that then some re-
lefe they had; but now, alassee,
ye be colde, yea euon those whiche
saye they be the favorers of the
Gospe1, l. 9, bk.

London beyng one of the
flowers of the worlde, as touch-
inge worldlye riches, hath so
manye, yea innumerabile of poore
people forced to go from dore to
dore, and to syt openly in the
stretes a beggynge, and many
.... lye in their howses ....
and dye for lacke of ayde of the
riche. l. 9.

Ye abhorre the remedy or-
dayned of God [marriage], and
mayntayne the remedy of Sathan.
l. 22, bk.

These are not worth much, but they may serve as a hint to those
who care to go further in this direction.

The subjects embraced by the second and third Supplications are
such as to justify their being placed in the same volume as Fish's more
famous tract.\footnote{1 When the Supplication of the Poore Commons first appeared, it bore on
its title page "Whereunto is added the Supplication of Beggers." This is
now omitted, as the Supplication of Beggars contained in the present volume is
printed from a copy of the original black-letter edition in the British Museum.}

\footnote{1} That gained its celebrity as much from its early appear-
ance in the great struggle, and the notice taken of it by the king, as
by its own intrinsic merits. More than this, Foxe embalmed it in his

A Supplication of the Commons.

Now must we beleue that
they can not erre ....... though
they were baudes and fornicators
with the holy whore of Kent. p.
75.

Although the sturdy beggers
gat all the devotion of the good
charitable people from them, yet
had the pore impotent creatures
sone relefe of theyr scrappes,
where as nowe they haue nothynge.
Then had they hospitals, and
almeshouses to be lodged in, but
nowe they lye and starue in the
stretes. Then was their number
great, but now much greater. p.
79.

Hordome is more esteemed
then wedlocke .... amongst a
great numbre of lycensious per-
sions. p. 82.
pages, so that while the *Supplication to the King* and the *Supplication of the Commons* have not been reprinted for more than 300 years, and are unknown except to a few, the *Supplication of the Beggers* has been reproduced as often as Foxe's own immortal work.

The ignorance and immorality of the clergy are commented upon in severe terms. They, as usual, are charged with being the authors of every crime either by the suppression of the Bible, or by their false teaching. Their want of faith and neglect of preaching are said to be the cause of insurrections, commotions, popish blindness, idolatry, hypocrisy. It is said that many of the Abbots of the suppressed monasteries were admitted to have the cure of souls to the increase of all ignorance and to the damnation of those committed to their care. Of course. Having turned out these men, how could the virtuous patriots of the day do less than persecute them to the death? They had voluntarily or involuntarily resigned their livings into the hands of the Royal Defender of the Faith, and were willing to conform to the new order of things; but this was not enough. It was held that no good thing could come out of the Church as it existed a few years before, and so these men must submit to every indignity and be taxed with every crime. It was even considered dangerous to admit a man to the ministry who had studied the decrees and laws of the Church of Rome (p. 46).

But Church matters are not the only ones which gain attention. We hear of the extravagance which prevailed in fashions—now the French, now the Spanish, then the Italian, and then the Milan (p. 52), till many were brought to poverty by the foolish fancies and vain pride of men and women. The crimes of the rich make the writer apply Hosea's words to his own country—"There is no truth, no mercy, no knowledge of God in earth; cursing, lying, murder, theft, adultery, hath broken in"—and yet, notwithstanding all this, "doo owre shepherdes holde theyr peace."

The miserable poverty of the people, who expected great things from the expulsion of the monks, is clearly expressed. Under the old order of things there was some relief (p. 79), but under the new, instead of the monk there was the "sturdy extortioner." The people
could get no farm, not even a cottage. Rents were raised, abbey lands bought up, and the old leases declared to be void. Altogether the picture is anything but a cheering one, and makes us curious to know in what part of England "free fare and free lodging, with bread, beef, and beer," were to be had, and no questions asked.¹

The last tract in this volume was copied from one then in the Lambeth Library, but as that was mislaid when we went to press, our text has been made to correspond² with the copy of another edition in the Cambridge University Library. The date³ of this "Sheep-tract" must be 1550-3 A.D.; but the name of its author is unknown. It, too, is in the form of a petition or supplication, which seems to have been a favourite mode of exposing the grievances under which the people groaned. A noteworthy circumstance in connection with this tract is that the clergy are not even mentioned! It deals with rural troubles only. In cities men saw and perhaps envied the rich; in large centres of population also, just as in our own day, the clergy were the especial objects of the attacks of "reformers;" but this writer, whose style is far less effective than that of the Supplications, confines himself solely to the misfortunes which resulted from excessive pasture farming. His references to Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire, lead us to believe that his lot was probably cast in one of these counties. The complaint is made in very homely language and manner, but they give to it an air of truthfulness.

The calculations as to the losses sustained by the country are very interesting. A single plow, it seems, was calculated to keep six persons and leave thirty quarters of grain for sale annually.

¹ For further information on the subjects of these Supplications the reader is referred to the Introduction to Ballads from MSS, vol. i, by Mr F. J. Furnivall, and to the Preface to England under Henry VIII., a Dialogue, &c., by Mr J. M. Cowper.
² Mr Denis Hall of the Camb. Univ. Library collated the proofs with the original.
³ Hugh Singleton's print of The vocacyon of Johan Bale is dated 1553, and he died between July 1592 and 1593. Herbert gives the date of Singleton's ed. of Fox's Instruccion of Christen Fayth as 1550. (Dibdin's Ames, iv. 290.) The copy of the Sheep-Tract mentioned in Ames as among the Harleian pamphlets is not now in the British Museum. It was the same edition as the missing Lambeth copy, having an e in onely and housholde in the title.—F.
Put into figures, the first calculation (p. 98) will stand thus:—

40 plows decayed in each county:
1 plow = 6 persons ∴ 40 plows = 240 persons.

In addition each plow yielded 30 qrs. corn. ∴ 40 plows = 1200 qrs. Allowing 4 qrs. to each person, this shows a further loss of 300 persons.
Total in each county 540 persons.

But if there be 80 plows less in each of these shires, “as we do think” (p. 99), this number will be doubled, and in each county 1080 persons are deprived of their means of support. In the writer's own touching language we may say, "Now these persons had need to have living: whither shall they go? into Northamptonshire? And there is also the living of an equal number of persons lost. Whither shall then they go? Forth from shire to shire, and to be scattered thus abroad, within the King's Majesty's Realm where it shall please Almighty God; and for lack of masters, by compulsion driven, some of them to beg, and some to steal" (p. 98).

These Reformation Tracts are submitted to the careful attention of all who wish to study this period of our history, in the firm belief that the only way in which Englishmen can form a correct estimate of the wonderful change the country then went through, the causes which led to it, and the means by which it was brought about, is by placing in their hands all the contemporary documents which are within our reach.

J. M. Cowper.

1 The calculation on p. 101 suggests a condition of things too frightful for belief:

1 Plow kept
besides producing corn sufficient for
50,000 plows × 133/2 =
thrown upon the country; which, supposing the population to have been 5,000,000, would be one-eighth of the whole population, and reveals a state of things worse than that which exists at the present day, when every twentieth person receives parish relief, exclusive of the “beggars” who swarm on our highways, tramping from Union to Union because they can't sleep in the same “house” two nights together.
A

Supplication for the Beggers.

WRITTEN ABOUT THE YEAR 1529,

AND (AS IS BELIEVED) BY

Simon Fish.

NOW RE-EDITED BY

FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL.
TO THE KING OVRE

souereygne lorde.

Most lamentably compleyneth theyre wofull mystery vnto youre highnes, youre poore daily bedemen, the wretched hidous monstres (on whome scarcey for horror any yie dare loke,) the foule, vnhappy sorte of lepres, and other sore people, nedy, impotent, blinde, lame, and sike, that live onely by almesse, howe that theyre nombre is daily so sore encreased, that all the almesse of all the weldisposed people of this youre realme is not halfe ynough for to susteine theim, but that for verye constreint they die for hunger. And this most pestilent mischief is comen vppon youre saide poore beedmen, by the reason and there is, yn the tymes of youre noble predecessours passed, craftily crept ynto this your realme an other sort (not of impotent, but) of strong, puissaunt, and counterfeit holy, and ydell, beggers and vacabundes, whiche, syns the tyme of theyre first entre by all the craft and willinesse of Satan, are nowe encreased vnder your sight, not onely into a great nombre, but also ynto a kingdome. These are (not the herdes, but the rauinous wolues going in herdes clothing, detouring the flocke,) the Bisshoppes, Abbottes, Priours, Deacons, Archedeacons, Suffraganes, Prestes, Monkes, Chanons, Freres, Pardoners and Somners. And who is abill to nombre this idell,

SUPPLICATION.
ravenous sort, whiche (setting all laboure a side) have begged so importunately that they have gotten ynto theyre hondes more then the third part of all youre Realme. The goodliest lordshippes, maners, londes, and territories, are theyrs. Besides this, they haue the tenth part of all the corne, medowe, pasture, grasse, wolle, coltes, calues, lambes, pigges, gese, and chikens. Ouer and bisides, the tenth part of euery seruauntes wages, the tenth part of the wolle, milke, hony, waxe, chese, and butter. Ye, and they loke so narowly yppon theyre proufittes, that the poore wyues must be countable to theym of euery tenth eg, or elles she gettith not her ryghtes at ester, shall be taken as an heretike. hereto haue they theire foure offering daies. whate money pull they yn by probates of testamentes, priuy tithes, and by mennes offeringes to theyre pilgremages, and at theyre first masses? Every man and childe that is buried, must pay sumwhat for masses and diriges to be song for him, or elles they will accuse the dedes frendes and executours of heresie, whate money get they by mortuaries, by hearing of confessions (and yet they wil kepe therof no commceyle) by halowing of churches, altares, superaltares, chapelles, and belles, by cursing of men, and absolving them again for money? what a multitude of money gather the pardoner in a yere? Howe moche money get the Somners by extorcion yn a yere, by assytynge the people to the commissaries court, and afterward releasong thapparance for money? Finally, the infinite nombre of begging freres: whate get they yn a yere? Here, if it please your grace to marke, ye shall se a thing farre out of ioynt. There are withyn youre realme of England liij. thousand parisshe churches. And this standing, that there be but tenne houshouldes yn euery parisshe, yet are there five hundred thousand and twenty thousand houshouldes. And of euery of these houshouldes hath euery of the

who work not, but save the third of the land in their hands;

with the tithe of corn and wool, &c,

and of every servant's wages,

as well as the good-woman's eggs, or else she has no Easter rights.

Then, they gain much by probates, private tithes and masses,

for which dead men's friends must pay; and from confessions (which they divulge), from cursing and absolving.

Then again, how great is the number of the begging Friars.

In England are 52,600 parish churches, 10 households in each parish;

from each household the
fine orders of freres a penny a quarter for every order, that is, for all the fine orders, fine pens a quarter for every house. That is, for all the fine orders .xx. d, a yere of every house. Summa, five hundred thousand and twenty thousand quarters of angels. That is .cclx. thousand half angels. Summa .cxxx. thou and angels. Summa totalis .xliij. thousand pounds and .cccxxxiiij. li. vi.s. viijd. sterling, wherof not four hundredth yeres passed they had not one peny. Oh grousous and peynfull exactiouns thus yerely to be paied! from the whiche the people of your nobill predecessors, the kinges of the auncient Britons, ever stode fre. And this wil they haue, or els they wil procure him that will not giue it theim to be taken as an heretike. whate tiraunt ever oppressed the people like this cruel and vengeanceable generacion? whate subiectes shall be abill to helpe theire prince, that be after this facion yerely polled? whate good christen people can be abill to socoure vs pore lepres, blinde, sore, and lame, that be thus yerely oppressed? Is it any merueille that youre people so compleine of pouertie? Is it any merueille that the taxes, fifteenes, and subsidies, that your grace most tenderly of great compassion hath taken emong your people, to defend them from the threatened ruine of theire comon welth, hane bin so slughtfully, ye, painfully leuied? Seing that almost the utmost peny that mought haue bin leuied, hath ben gathered before yerely by this rauinous, cruel, and insatiabill generation. The danes, nether the saxons, yn the time of the auncient Britons, shulde never haue ben abill to haue brought theire armies from so farre hither ynto your land, to haue conquered it, if they had had at that time suche a sort of idell glotons to finde at home. The nobill king Arthur had neuer ben abill to haue caried his armie to the fote of the mountaines, to resist the coming downe of lucius the Emperoure, if suche

five orders take 20 pence a year, or in round numbers, £15,335 0. 6d.

Your Highness's predecessors did not pay this, and no subjects can help their king if they are so fleeced; and none can give alms to us.

How will the taxes, which you have so tenderly taken, be levied? for these raveners have got all beforehand.

Neither Dane nor Saxon could have won Britain, if they had had such a brood at home.

Nor could Arthur have resisted Lucius, with such extortioners
THE FEW MONKS, ETC., HAVE HALF THE REALM.

among his people, nor the Greeks besieged Troy, yerely exactions had ben taken of his people. The grekes had neuer ben abill to haue so long continued at the siege of Troie, if they had had at home suche an idell sort of cormorauntes to finde. The auncient Romains had neuer ben abill to haue put all the hole worlde vnder theyre obeisaunce, if theyre people had byn thus yerely oppressed. The Turke nowe, yn youre tyne, shulde neuer be abill to get so moche grounde of cristendome, if he had yn his empire suche a sort of locustes to denoure his substaunce. Ley then these sommes to the forseid third part of the possessions of the realme, that ye may se whether it drawe nighe vnto the half of the hole substaunce of the realme or not: So shall ye finde that it draweth ferre aboue. Nowe let vs then compare the nombre of this vnkind idell sort, vnto the nombre of the laye people, and we shall se whether it be indifferently shifted or not that they shuld haue half. Compare theim to the nombre of men, so are they not the .C. person. Compare theim to men, wimen, and children; then are they not the .CCCC. parson yn nombre. One part therfore, yn foure hundreth partes deuided, were to moche for them except they did labour. whate an vnequal burthen is it, that they haue half with the multitude, and are not the .CCCC. parson of theire nombre! whate tongue is abill to tell that euer there was eny comon welth so sore oppressed sins the worlde first began?

and yet they are but one in a hundred of the lay-men, or with women and children added, one in four;

but yet they have half the property of the realm.

What do they with their exactions? Nothing, but claim all power; excite rebellions, as they did

And what do all these gredy sort of sturdy, idell, holy theues, with these yerely exactions that they take of the people? Truely nothing but exempt them silues from thobedience of your grace. Nothing but translate all rule, power, lordishippe, auctorite, obedience, and dignite, from your grace vnto theim. Nothing but that all your subiectes shulde fall ynto disobedience and rebellion against your grace, and be vnder theym. As they did vnto your nobill predecessour
A SUPPLICACYON FOR THE BEGGERS.

king John: whiche, forbicause that he wolde haue
punisshed certeyn traytours that had conspired with the
frenche king to haue deposed him from his crowne and
dignite, (emong the whiche a clerke called Stephen,
whome afterward against the kinges will the Pope
made Bisshoppe of Caunterbury, was one) enterdite his
Lond. For the whiche mater your most nobill realme
wrongfully (alas, for shame !) hath stond tributary (not
vnto any kind temporall prince, but vnto a cruell,
deuelisshe bloudsupper, dronken in the bloude of the
sayntes and marteres of christ) euers sins. Here were an
holy sort of prelates, that thus cruelly coude punisshe
suche a rightous kinge, all his realme, and succession,
for doing right !

Here were a charitable sort of holy men, that coude
thus enterdite an hole realme, and plucke awey tho-
bedience of the people from theyre naturall liege lorde
and kinge, for none other cause but for his rightuous-
nesse! Here were a blissed sort, not of meke herdes,
but of bloudsuppers, that coude set the frenche king
vppon such a rightous prince, to cause hym to lose
his crowne and dignite, to make effusion of the bloude
of his people, oneles this good and blissed king of
greate compassion, more fearing and lamenting the
shedding of the bloude of his people then the losse of
his crowne and dignite, agaynst all right and conscience
had submitted him silf vnto theym! O case most
horrible! that euer so nobill a king, Realme, and suc-
cession, shulde thus be made to stoupe to suche a sort
of bloudsuppers! where was his swerde, power, crowne,
and dignite become, wherby he mought haue done jus-
tice yn this maner? where was their obedience become,
that shuld haue byn subiect vnder his highe power yn
this mater? Ye, where was the obedience of all his
subiectes become, that for maintenaunce of the comon
welth shulde haue holpen him manfully to haue re-

against that noble
King John, when
one of them
interdicted the
land;

and from that
time the land
has been
tributary to a
devilish blood-
supper.

A holy sort of
prelates to treat
a righteous king
so!

Holy men were
they! hating one
who more feared
to shed blood
than lose his
crown;

but they had
translated all
power to
themselves.
sisted these bloudsuppers to the sheddinge of theyre bloude? was not all to-gither by theyre polycy translated from this good king vnto them? Ye, and what do they more? Truely nothing but applie them silues, by all the sleyghtes they may, to haue to do with euery mannnes wife, euery mannes doughter, and euery mannnes mayde, that cukkoldrie and baudrie shulde reigne ouer all emong your subiectes, that noman shulde knowe his owne childe, that theyre bastardeis shulde inherite the possessions of euery man, to put the right begotten children clere beside theire inheritancc, yn subuersion of all estates and godly ordre. These be they that by theire absteyning from mariage do let the generation of the people, wherby all the realme at length, if it shulde be continued, shall be made desert and inhabitable.¹

¹ Sir Thomas More points out the seeming contradiction between this sentence and the last: for if the monks were such good begetters of bastards, they would increase the population, rather than diminish it. But this is answered in the next page here.
A SUPPLICACYON FOR THE BEGGERS.

man, wife, and children, to ydelnesse, theft, and beggeri.

Ye, who is abill to nombre the greate and brode botomles oceane see, full of euilles, that this mis-
cheuen and sinful generacion may laulnerly bring vpon
vs vponisshed? where is youre swerde, power, crowne,
and dignite become, that shuld punishe (by punishis-
ment of deth, euen as other men are punisshed) the
felonies, rapes, murdres, and treasons committed by
this sinfull generacion? where is theire obedience become,
that shulde be vnder your hyghe power yn this mater?
ys not all to-gither translated and exempt from your
grace vnto theim? yes, truely. whate an infinite
nombre of people might haue ben encreased, to have
peopled the realme, if these sort of folke had ben
maried like other men? whate breche of matrimonie is
there brought yn by theim? suche truely as was neuer,
sins the workde began, emong the hole multitude of the
hethen.

¶ Who is she that wil set her houdes to worke, to
get .ij. d. a day, and may haue at lest .xx. d. a day to
slepe an houre with a frere, a monke, or a prest? what
is he that wolde laboure for a grote a day, and may
haue at lest .xij. d. a day to be baude to a prest, a
monke, or a frere? whate a sort are there of theime
that mari prestes souereigne ladies, but to cloke the
prestes yncontinency, and that they may haue a living
of the prest theime silues for theire laboure? Howe
many thousands doth suche lubricite bring to beggery,
theft, and idelnesse, whiche shuld haue kept theire good
name, and haue set theim silues to worke, had not ben
this excesse treasure of the spiritualtie? whate honest
man dare take any man or woman yn his service that
hath ben at suche a scale with a spiritual man? Oh
the greuous shipwrak of the comon welth, whiche yn
auncient time, before the coming yn of these rauinous

Why should you not punish them as you do other
men?

Evils numberless they bring on us.

Why should they not be married like other men?

What woman will work for 3d. a
day, when she may get 20d. by
sleeping with a monk?

How many men marry priests' ladies, just to get
a living by it?

Before these wolves came,
there were but few thieves, few poor, and those had given to them enough without asking.

Why wonder, then, there are so many beggars, thieves, &c.?

You cannot make laws against them. They are stronger in Parliament than you.

Who dare lay charges against them?

If any one does, he is accused of heresy:

wolves, was so prosperous, that then there were but fewe theues! ye, thef was at that tyme so rare, that Cesar was not compellid to make penalite of deth vpon felony, as your grace may well perceyue yn his institutes. There was also at that tyme but fewe pore people, and yet they did not begge, but there was giuen theim ynough vnaxed; for there was at that time none of these rauinous wolves to axe it from them, as it apperith yn the actes of thappostles. Is it any merueill though there be nowe so many beggers, theues, and ydell people? Nay truely.

¶ Whate remedy: make lawes ageynst them? I am yn doubt whether ye be able: Are they not stronger in your owne parliament house then your silfe? whate a nombre of Bisshopes, abbotes, and priours, are lorde of your parliament? are not all the lerned men in your realme in fee with theim, to speake yn your parliament house for theim ageynst your crowne, dignite, and comon welth of your realme; a fewe of youre owne lerned counsell onely excepted? whate lawe can be made ageynst theim that may be adauaylable? who is he (though he be greued never so sore) for the murde of his auncestre, raunishment of his wyfe, of his daughter, robbery, trespas, maiheme, dette, or any other offence, dare ley it to theyre charge by any wy of accion? and if he do, then is he by and by, by theyre wilynesse, accused of heresie. ye, they will so handle him or he passe, that except he will bere a fagot for theyre pleasure, he shal be excommunicate, and then be all his accions dashed. So captyue are your lawes vnto theym, that no man that they lyst to excommunicat, may be admitted to sue any accion in any of your courtes. If eny man yn your sessions dare be so hardy to endyte a prest of eny suche cryme, he hath, or the yere go out, suche a yoke of heresye leyd in his necke, that it maketh him wisse that he had not done it. Your
A SUPPLICACYON FOR THE BEGGERS.

grace may se whate a worke there is in London, howe the bishoppse mageth for endyng of certayn curates of extoreion and incontinency, the last yere in the warmoll quest. Had not Richard hunne commenced ac-

seynge theyre crowne and dignite runne ynto ruyne, and to be thus craftely translated ynto the hondes of this myschenous generacyon,—make dyuers statutes for the reformacyon therof, emong whiche the statute of mortmayne was one? to the intent that after that tyme they shulde haue no more gyuen ynto theim.

But whate avayled it? haue they not gotten ynto theyre hondes, more londes sins, then eny duke ynglond hath, the statute notwithstanding? Ye, haue they not for all that translated ynto theyre hondes, from your grace, half your kyngdome thoroughly? The hole name, as reason is, for the auncientie of your kyng-
dome, which was biforn theuyrs, and out of the whiche theyrs is grown, onely abiding with your grace? and of one kyngdome made tweyne: the spirituall kyng-
dome (as they call it), for they wyll be named first, And your temporall kyngdome. And whiche of these .ij. kyngdomes (suppose ye) is like to ouergrowe the other? ye, to put the other clere out of memory? Truely the kyngdome of the bloudsuppers; for to themy

1 There is a custome in the Cytie, ones a yeare to haue a quest called the warmoll queste, to redress vices; but alasse, to what purpose cometh it, as it is vsed? If a pore man kepe a whore besides hys wife, & a pore mans wyfe play the harlot, they are punished, as well worthie. But let an alderman, a Gentleman, or a riche man, kepe whore or whores, what punishment is there? Alasse, this matter is to bad.—The Lamenta-
cyon of a Christen against the Cytie of London (by Henry Brinklow, A.D. 1542), ed. 1548, sign. b. vii. back.

Quest or Quest Men, Persons who are chosen yearly in every Ward, and meet about Christmas, to enquire into Abuses and Misdemeanours committed therein, especially such as relate to Weights and Measures.—Kersey's Phillips, ed. 1706.
Purgatory (a Fiction) is the Monk's Screw.

for they gain, but never give.

They will break any law, and will swallow all your substance.

They profess to pray for us and deliver us from purgatory.

(which in many learned men's opinion exists not, but is their own invention;)

and if there be a purgatory, the Pope might deliver 1000 as well as one.

is given daily out of your kingdom. And that that is ones gyuen theim, comith never from them again. Suche lawes haue they, that none of them may nether gyue nor sell nothing.

Whate lawe can be made so stronge against them that they, other with money, or elles with other policy, will not breake and set at nought? whate kingdome can endure, that euer gyuith thus from him, and receueth nothing again? O, howe all the substance of your Realme forthwith, your swerde, power, crowne, dignite, and obedience of your people, rynneth hedlong ynto the insaciabill whyrlepole of these gredi goulafres, to be swallowed and devoured!

¶ Nether haue they eny other coloure to gather these yerely exactions ynto theyre hondes, but that they sey they pray for vs to God, to deluyuer our soules out of the paynes of purgatori; without whose prayer, they sey, or at lest without the popes pardon, we coude neuer be deliuered thens; whiche, if it be true, then is it good reason that we gyue theim all these thinges, all were it C times as moche. But there be many men of greate litterature and judgement that, for the love they haue vnto the trouth and vnto the comen welth, haue not feared to put theim sifl ynto the greatest infamous that may be, in abiection of all the world, ye, yu perill of deth, to declare theyre oppinion in this mather, whiche is, that there is no purgatory, but that it is a thing inuented by the couitousnesse of the spiritualtie, onely to translate all kingdomes from other princes vnto theim, and that there is not one word spoken of hit in al holy scripture. They sey also, that if there were a purgatory, And also if that the pope with his pardons for money may deliuer one soule thens; he may deliuer him aswel without money; if he may

1 Fr. Goulfre, Gouffre: m. A gulfe; whirlepole, deep hole, or unmeasurable depth (of waters) that swallowed vp whatsoeuer approaches, or comes into, it.—Cotgrave.
A SUPPLICATION FOR THE BEGGERS.

deliuer one, he may deliuer a thousand: yf he may deliuer a thousand, he may deliuer theim all, and so destroy purgatory. And then is he a cruell tyraunt without all charite, if he kepe theim there in pryson and in paine, till men will giue him money. 

\[\text{Again, they pray only for those who give them money.}\]

\[\text{They who cannot pay, are called heretikes, and are burnt.}\]

\[\text{Christ, on the contrary, upheld powers, and paid tribute,}\]

\[\text{which is their reason for withholding the New Testament in the mother tongue.}\]

\[\text{for they seek their own honour, not Christ's.}\]

Lyke wyse saie they of all the hole sort of the spiritueltie, that if they will not pray for no man but for theim that gyue theim money, they are tyrauntes, and lakke charite, and suffer those soules to be punishsted and payned vncherititably, for lacke of theyre prayers. These sort of folkes they call heretikes, these they burne, these they rage ageinst, put to open shame, and make theim bere fagottes. But whether they be heretikes or no, well I wote that this purgatory, and the Popes pardons, is all the cause of translacion of your kingdome so fast into their hondes; wherfore it is manifest it can not be of christ, for he gaue more to the temporall kingdome, he hym silfe paid tribute to Cesar; he toke nothing from hym, but taught that the highe powers shuld be alweys obeid: ye, he him silf (although he were most fre lorde of all, and innocent,) was obedient vnto the highe powers vnto deth. This is the great scabbe why they will not let the newe testament go a-brode yn your moder tong, lest men shulde espie that they, by theyre cloked ypochrisi, do translate thus fast your kingdome into theyre hondes, that they are not obedient vnto your highe power, that they are cruell, vnclene, vnmerciful, and ypochrites, that thei seke not the honour of Christ, but their owne, that remissioun of sinnes are not giuen by the popes pardon, but by Christ, for the sure feith and trust that we haue in him. Here may your grace well perceyue that, except ye suffer theyre ypocrisie to be disclosed, all is like to runne ynto theire hondes; and as long as it is couered, so long shall it seme to euery man to be a greate ympiete not to gyue theim. For this I am sure
your grace thinketh, (as the truth is,) I am as good a man as my father, whye may I not aswell gyue them as moche as my father did? And of this mynd I am sure are all the loordes, knightes, squire, gentilmen, and yemen in england; ye, and vntill it be disclosed, all your people will thinke that your statute of mortmayne was never made with no good conscience, seing that it taketh away the liberte of your people, in that they may not as laufullly by their soules out of purgatory by gyuing to the spiritualte, as their predecessours did in tymes passed.

¶ Wherfore, if ye will eschewe the ruyne of your crowne and dignite, let theirie ypocrisye be vuttered; and that shalbe more spedfull in this mater then all the lawes that may be made, be they never so stronge. For to make a lawe for to punisshe eny offender, except it were more for to giue other men an ensample to beware to committe suche like offence, whate shuld yt avayle? Did not doctour Alyn, most presumptuously, nowe yn your tyme, ageynst all his alleagiance, all that ever he coude, to pull from you the knowleage of suche plees as long vnto your hyghe courtes, vnto an other court, in derogacion of your crowne and dignite? Did not also doctor Horsey and his complices most hey-nously, as all the world knoweth, murdere in pryson that honest marchaunt Richard hunne? For that he sued your wriat of prenumire against a prest that wrongfully held him in ple in a spirituall court, for a mater wherof the knowleage belonged vnto your hyghe courtes. And whate punissheement was there done, that eny man may take example of to beware of lyke offence? truely none, but that the one payd fine hundreth poundes (as it is said) to the bildinge of your sterre chamber; and when that payment was ones passed, the capteyns of his kingdome (because he faught so manfully ageynst
A SUPPLICACYON FOR THE BEGGERS.

your crowne and dignite,) haue heped to him benefice vpon benefice, so that he is rewarded tenne tymes as moche. The other (as it is seid) payde siete hundredth poundes for him and his complices, whiche, forbiucose that he had lyke wise faught so manfully ageynst your crowne and dignite, was ymmediatly (as he had opteyned your most gracyous pardon,) promoted by the capiteynes of his kingdome with benefice vpon benefice, to the value of .iiiij. tymes as moche. who can take example of this punisshement to be ware of suche like offence? who is he of theyre kingdome that will not rather take courage to committe lyke offence, seyng the promocions that fill to this men for theyre so offending? So weke and blunt is your swerde to strike at one of the offenders of this croked and peruers generacyon.

¶ And this is by the reason that the chief instrument of your lawe, ye, the chief of your counsell, and he whiche hath your swerde in his hond, to whome also all the other instrumentes are obedient, is always a spirituell man, whiche hath euer suche an inordinate loue vnto his owne kingdome, that he will mainteyn that, though all the temporall kingdoms and comonwelth of the worlde shulde therfore utterly be vndone. Here leue we out the gretest mater of all, lest that we, declaring suche an horrible carayn of euyll ageinst the ministres of iniquite, shulde seme to declare the one onely faute, or rather the ignoraunce, ofoure best beloued ministre of rightousnesse, whiche is, to be hid till he may be lerned by these small enormitees that we haue spoken of, to knowe it pleynly him silf. But whate remedy to releue vs your poore, sike, lame, and sore, bedemen? To make many hospitals for the relief of the poore people? Nay truely. The moo the worse; for euer the fatte of the hole foundacion hangeth on the prestes berdes. Dyuers of your noble predecessours, others will be encouraged to commit like offences, so weke is your power to strike the offenders.

The reason is that your Chancellor is a priest, who loves only his own kingdom.

Many hospitals will not help us, for the priests will get the best part, as they have done with your ancestors' gifts.
MAKE THE STURDY LOOBIES WORK.

They are paid for masses, yet never say one.

Your Grace should build us a sure hospital, and send these loobies to work for their living.

Genesis iii. 19.

Whip them at the cart's tail that they take not our alms; so shall we decrease, and your power not pass from you;

your people will obey you, the idle work, people marry, be rich, have the gospel preached, none beg,

kinges of this realme, have gyuen londes to monasteries to giue a certein somme of money yerly to the poore people, wherof, for the auncciente of the tyne, they giue neuer one peny: They haue lyke wise giuen to them to haue a certeyn masses said daily for theim, wherof they say neuer one. If the Abbot of westminster shalde sing euery day as many masses for his founders as he is bounde to do by his foundacion, .M. monkes were to fewe. wherfore, if your grace will bilde a sure hospitall that neuer shall faile to releue vs, all your poore bedemen, so take from theim all these thynges. Set these sturdy lobies a brode in the world, to get theim wiues of theire owne, to get theire living with their labourue in the swete of their faces, according to the commandement of god, Gene. iij. to gyue other idell people, by their example, occasion to go to labourue. Tye these holy idell theues to the cartes, to be whipped naked about every market towne til they will fall to laboure, that they, by theyre importunate begging, take not awey the almesse that the good christen people wolde giue vnto vs sore, impotent, miserable people, your bedemen. Then shall, aswell the nombre of ourseorsaid monstruous sort, as of the baudes, horses, theues, and idell people, decreace. Then shall these great yerely exaccions cease. Then shall not youre swerde, power, crowne, dignite, and obedience of your people, be translated from you. Then shall you haue full obedience of your people. Then shall the idell people be set to worke. Then shall matrimony be moche better kept. Then shal the generation of your people be encreased. Then shall your comons encrease in richesse. Then shall the gospell be preached. Then shall none begge oure almesse from vs. Then shal we haue ynough, and more then shall suffice vs; whiche shall be the best hospitall that euer was founded for vs. Then shall we
daily pray to god for your most noble estate long to endure.¹

Domini calum fac regem.

¹ Sir Frauncys Bygod, about 1534, in his Treatise concernyng improperations of benefices thus supports the last remedy of the Beggars Supplicacyon:

But & as man might (saung their paceyence) be so bolde with them / what mater were it (vnder correction I spoke) if all these improytable sectes / and stronge sturlye route of idle paunches were a lytell poorer / to thende that the trew religyon of christ might thereby somethynge be sette vp and ahunaed / and syffycient company of the ministers of goddes true worde prouyded for in all partes. I praye you / what an idle sorte be founde and brought vp in Abbeyes / that neuer wyll laboure whyles they ben there / nor yet when they come thence to other mens servyce / in so moche that there gath a comen prouerbe: That he which hath ones ben in an abbey, wyll enuer more after be slonthefull / for the whiche cause they ben called of many men / Abbey loutes or lubbers. And some saye that many of our holye fathers spende nat a lytell vpon my cosyn Iane / Elisabeth and Marget (ye knowe what I meane) inso-moche that / that even they which be most popyshe of all / & knowe none other god almost then the gret drafsacke of Rome / can nat deny this to be trew.

Page 6. Priests' immorality. The women were occasionally to blame. In a story told by the author of the Ménagier de Paris, a young wife married to an old husband from whom she gets no solace, thus answers the question of whom she will love: "Mère, j'aime ray le chapellain de ceste ville, car prestres et religieux craignent honte, et sont plus secrets. Je ne vouldroie jamais amer un chevalier, car il se vanteroit plus tost, et auberoit de moy, et me demanderoit mes gages" à engager."

Compare Robert of Brunne's complaint in his Handlyng Synne of these women who will have priests. But the lechery of the monks, &c., is continually complained of throughout Early English Literature; see the series of extracts on this subject in my Ballads from Manuscripts, p. 59—86 (Ballad Soc. 1868), and The Image of Æsopercye, ib. p. 194-5, &c.

Page 6. Check to the increase of Population by the not-marrying of the Clergy. This is complained of in the Record-Office MS Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Lupton, written by Starkey, one of Henry VIII's chaplains, which Prof. Brewer has recommended us to print, and which we have had copied. Lupton is made to say: "I haue thought long & many a day a grete let to the increse of chrystyan pepul, the law of chaisteordeynyd by the church, whych byndyth so gret a multitute of men to lyue theraffur, as, al secular prestys, monkys, freyrers, channonsys, & nunys, of the wych, as you know, ther ys no smal nombr; by the reso noherof the generatyon of man ys maruelys let & mnysechyd. Wherfor, except the ordynance of the church were, (to the wych I wold neuer gladly rebel,) I wold playnyly Inge that lhyt schold be very conuenyent somethynge to reles the band of thyss law; specially consyderyng the dyffycultie of that grete vertue, in a maner above

* Peut-être faudroit-il bagues, effets, joyaux.—J. Pichon.
nature..." Pole answers "... in this mater I thinke hyt were necessary to tempor thy law, and, at the lest, to gyue and admyt al secular prestys to marry at theyr lyberly, consdyrying now the grete multytude and nowmbur of them, but as touching monyks, chanonyes, freyys, and munys, I hold for a thyng veray comuyenyt and mete, in al wel-ordeynyd comynyn welys, to haue certayn monasteryes and abbeys, to the wych al such as, aftur laulful proune of chastyte before had, may retyre, and from the besynes and vanyte of the world may wythdray themselfe, holly gyuyng theyr myndys to prayer, study, and lyte contemplatyon. thyss occasyon I wold not hane to be taker away from chrystyan pollyey, wych ys a grete comfort to many febul and very soulys, wych hane bryn oppresseyd wyth wordly vanyte, but as touching the secular prestys, I vtterly agr uyth you, and so that obstacul to take away, wych lettyth by many wayes the inerece of our pepul, as many other thyngys dow more also; among the wych a nother chefe, aftur my myndy, ys thyss:—that grete multytude of seuyng men, wych in servyce spend theyr lyfe, neuer fyndyng mean to marry comuyenytly, but lyte alway as comynyn corruptarys of chastyte."

Page 7. The good luck of a wench who is taken as a priest's concubine is noticed in the Poem on the Evil Times of Edward II. (Camden Soc. Political Songs, 1839; Percy Soc. 1849), "And wel is hire that first may swich a parsom kacche in londe," ib. p. 62.

Pages 9 and 12. Richard Hunne's case. "In the year 1514, a citizen of London, named Richard Hunne, a merchant tailor, fell into a dispute with the parson of a country parish in Middlesex, about a gift of a bearing-sheet, which the clergymen demanded as a mortuary, in consequence of an infant child of Hunne's having died in his parish, where it had been sent to be nursed. Hunne made some objection to the legality of the demand; but it is probable that he was secretly inclined to the new doctrines, and that this was the true cause of his refusal. Being sued in the spiritual court by the parson, he took out a writ of premonitry against his pursuer for bringing the king's subjects before a foreign jurisdiction, the spiritual court sitting under the authority of the pope's legate. This daring procedure of the London citizen threw the clergy into a fury, and, as the most effectual way of crushing him, recourse was had to the terrible charge of heresy, upon which Hunne was apprehended and consigned to close imprisonment in the Lollard's Tower at St Paul's. After a short time, being brought before Fitzjames, bishop of London, he was there interrogated respecting certain articles alleged against him, which imputed to him, in substance, that he had denied the obligation of paying tithes,—that he had read and spoken generally against bishops and priests, and in favour of heretics,—and lastly, that he had "in his keeping divers English books prohibited and damned by the law, as the Apocalypse in English, epistles and gospels in English, Wycliffe's damnable works, and other books containing infinite errors, in the which he hath been long time accustomed to read, teach, and study daily." It appears that Hunne was frightened into a qualified admission of the truth of these charges; he confessed that although he had not said exactly what was asserted, yet he had "unadvisedly spoken words somewhat sounding to the same; for the which," he added, "I am sorry, and ask God mercy, and submit me unto my Lord's charitable and favourable correction." He ought upon this, according to the usual course, to have been enjoined penance and set at liberty; but, as he still persisted in his suit against the parson, he was the same day sent back to his prison, where, two days after, namely, on the 4th of December, he was found

* Peve, p. 737.
suspended from a hook in the ceiling, and dead. The persons in charge of
the prison gave out that he had hanged himself; but a coroner's inquest came
to a different conclusion. According to the account in Burnet, the jury 'did
acquit the dead body, and laid the murder on the officers that had the charge
of that prison;' and, by other proofs, they found the bishop's summoner* and
the bellringer guilty of it. It may be suspected that the excited feelings and
strong prejudices of the coroner's jury had perhaps as much share as the
weight of circumstantial evidence in winning them to the belief of this not
very probable story; but, be that as it may, the violence and indecency
shown on the other side were fully equal to any they can be thought to have
displayed. While the inquest was still going on, the Bishop of London and
his clergy began a new process of heresy against Hunne's dead body. The
new charges alleged against Hunne were comprised in thirteen articles,
the matter of which was collected from the prologue or preface by Wycliffe to
the English Bible that had been found in his possession. He, or rather his
dead body, was condemned of heresy by sentence of the Bishop of London,
assisted by the Bishops of Durham and Lincoln, and by many doctors of
divinity and the canon law; and the senseless carcass was actually, on the
20th of December, committed to the flames in Smithfield. This piece of
barbarity, however, shocked instead of overawing the public sentiment. The
affair now came before the parliament, and a bill, which had originated in the
Commons, was passed, restoring to Hunne's children the goods of their
father, which had been forfeited by his conviction. This, however, did not
put an end to the contest. When the Bishop of London's chancellor and
sumner had been charged on the finding of the coroner's jury as both
principals in the murder, the convocation, in the hope probably of drawing off
attention to another part of the case, called before them Dr Standish, who had
asserted the claims of the civil power in a debate before the king, and put
him upon his defence for what he had said on that occasion; and an appeal
was made to the conscience of Henry, that he would not interpose to shield
the delinquent from justice, as he regarded his coronation oath, and would
himself escape the censures of holy church. Henry's headstrong and despotic
character had scarcely yet begun to develop itself; his pride as a true son of
the church had received no check from coming into collision with any of his
other selfish and overmastering passions; when the convocation, therefore,
assailed him in this manner on the one hand, and the parliament on the other
likewise addressed him 'to maintain the temporal jurisdiction, according to
his coronation oath, and to protect Standish from the malice of his enemies,'
he was thrown into great perplexity. So, to free his conscience, he commanded
all the judges, and the members both of his temporal and his spiritual councils,
together with certain persons from both houses of parliament, to meet at
Blackfriars, and to hear the matter argued. This was done accordingly; and
the discussion was terminated by the unanimous declaration of the judges, that
all those of the convocation who had awarded the citation against Standish had
made themselves liable to a presumere. Soon after, the whole body of the
lords spiritual and temporal, with all the judges and the king's council, and
many members also of the House of Commons, having been called before the
king at Baynard's Castle, Cardinal Wolsey, in the name of the clergy, humbly
begged that the matter should be referred to the final decision of the pope at
Rome. To this request, however, Henry made answer, with much spirit, 'By
the permission and ordinance of God, we are king of England; and the kings

* Or summoner, the officer employed to cite parties before the ecclesiastical courts, 
more commonly called the apparitor.

SUPPLICATION.
of England in times past had never any superior, but God only. Therefore, know you well that we will maintain the right of our crown, and of our temporal jurisdiction, as well in this as in all other points, in as ample a manner as any of our progenitors have done before our time.' The renewed solicitations of the Archbishop of Canterbury, that the matter might at least be respite till a communication could be had with the court of Rome, had no effect in moving the king from his resolution; and Dr Horsey, the Bishop of London's chancellor, against whom warrants were out, on the finding of the inquest, for his trial as one of the murderers of Hunne, seemed to be left to his fate. At this point, however, the clergy, or perhaps both parties, saw fit to make advances towards an accommodation: it was agreed that Horsey should surrender to take his trial; that he should not stand upon his benefit of clergy, but plead not guilty: and that, satisfied with this concession, the attorney-general should admit the plea, and the prisoner be discharged. This form was gone through, and Horsey immediately left London, where, it is said, he never again showed his face. Dr Standish, however, was also, by the king's command, dismissed from his place in the court of convocation, so that the issue of the business by no means went altogether against the clergy. But, besides the augmented popular odium to which they were exposed, from the strong suspicion that was entertained that Hunne had been murdered, a heavy blow had been undoubtedly dealt at their favourite pretension of exemption from the jurisdiction of the civil courts in criminal cases."—Macfarlane's Cab. Hist. of England, vol. vi., p. 113—116.

Page 12. Doctor Alyn. By the sayd power Legantine, he [Wolsey] kept also generall visitations through the Realme, sending Doct. John Alein, his Chaplein, riding in his gowne of Veluet, & with a great traine, to visite all religious houses.—Foxe, 1576, 3rd edit., p. 960.

Page 2. The tenth part of every seruantaes wages. "Then the proving of testaments, the prizing of goods, the bishop of Canterbury's prerogative; is that not much through the realm in a year? There is no servant but that he shall pay somewhat of his wages."—Tyndale's Obedience of a Christian Man, Parker Soc.'s edit. of Tyndale's "Works," vol. i. p. 237.
A Supplycation

to our moste Soueraigne Lorde Kyng Henry the Eght, Kyng of England, of Fraunce, and of Irelande, & moste earnest Defender of Christes Gospell: Supreme Heade under God here in Erthe, next & immedyatly of his Churches of Englande and Irelande. ::

(Matthi. ix.

The harweste is greate, but the laborers are fewe. Wherfore praye the lorde of the harweste to sende forthe laborers into his harweste. :: :: ::
A Supplication to our moste Soueraigne Lorde Kynge Henry the Eyght, Kynge of England, of Fraunce, and of Irelande, &c.

1 M Ost dreade Soueraigne Lorde & most Christen Prynce, / when I remembe the lamentable & wonderfull great blyndnes wherein the most parte of all Englande, not onely of the layete, called the temporaltie /, but also of the clergie, / haue pytuousely erred and wandered many hundereth yeres /, acceptinge /, repatyngge /, & most vngodly, / erronyously /, and blyndely /, estemyngge the bysshop of Rome to be supreme head ouer & aboue all Christen congregations ; and in dyuere other poyntes suche as be touchyng the necessarye articles of our faithe ; I coulde not but meruell how, and by what meanes, suche pestilent errours and horrible darke blyndenes coulde, or myght, entre /, invade, & ouerflowe this your realme /, & to contynue so longe in the same /, not espied /, percheyued /, nor repelled. Consideringe, that by all that tyme and space, this your realme (as the most parte of men dyd then iudge and esteame) was well endowed /, replenyshed /, and furnyshed with many profounde lerned clerkes /, wherof some were bysshops, archedeacons /, deanes /, prebendaries /, Parsons /, doctors /, bachelars in deuinite /, & other profounde

1 A six-line ornamental initial letter in the original.
I tried to find out the cause of this blindness, and happening to read the fifth chapter of Isaiah, I found that lack of knowledge was the cause of all the harm.

**Mariam**, xij.

I had forgotten that Christ said, "Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures," which rebuke ought to have been sufficient.

But how could there be error from not knowing the Scriptures?

There are numbers of learned clerks and ancient fathers in the country who teach the people. But Paul says there are two kinds of knowledge, one a doctrine of health, the other unprofitable.

Ierned clerkes in bothe the Vniuersytees, which were grave, sage, & auncyent fathers. Contemplatinge and renouinge these things in my mynde—not a lytle moued, troubled, and vexed with the same—I applied me with all my powre & dyligence, exquysytely to serche & to knowe the originall grounde & cause thereof. And, in conclusyon, amongst other things it chaunced me to reade in the .v. chapter of Ezay a proposition that muche lamenteth the captyuite and bondage which commeth & groweth to all people for lacke of knowleage in Gods Worde; sayeng, "Therfore commeth my flocke also into captyuite; because they haue not understadinginge; their glory is famyshed with hunger, & their pryde marred with thyrste. Therfore gapeth hell and openeth her mouthe merceluously wyde." By this text, graciusse Lorde, it appeareth that all myserable blyndenes, captyuite, & bondage vnder synne, commeth for lacke of knowleage in Gods Worde. I had forgotten, at that tym[e], that Christ reproued the Pharasees; sayeng, "You erre not knowinge the Scriptures;" which reproue and rebuke shulde haue ben a suffycient admonycion and doctrine to me, and to all other; wherby we myght haue knownen that all erreoure commeth for lacke of understadinginge & knowleage in the Scriptures. But by what reason, then, coulde there be suche erreoure and blyndenes for lacke of knowleage in Gods Worde in this your realme, most graciousse Lorde, seing there were suche profounde clerkes, & auncyent fathers, bysshops, and studentes in the same, which dyd teache & preache vnto the people continually? The Apostle Paul, in the .vi. chapter to Timothe, descrybeth two kyndes of doctrynes; the one he calleth a godly doctryne & a doctryne of helth; the other he calleth a proude doctryne, full of vnprofitable questions, struyynge more for wordes than for godly knowleage;
WANT OF KNOWLEDGE.

"wherof sprygeth envy /, stryff /, raylings /, cuyll surmysyngs /, & vayne dysputacions of men with corrupte myndes, destynte of the trueth /; which thinke that hure is godlynes." This kynde of lernynge and subtle dysputacyous vnto this daye we call scole matters /; from the which Paul commaundeth all Christyans to separate them selues. Soche clerkes, sayeth Paul /, be "euer lernynge /, but neuer atteyne to the knowleage of the trueth." With suche wayne, vngodly, and vnprouitable lerninge /, this your realme, most re- doubted Soueraigne, was ouer moche replenyshed through the preachinge and teachinge of suche scole men & subtyll disputers /; otherwise called deceuyers. Which was one of the causes of our myserable blyndnes /, and of dyuerse errours and abuses spronge vp and crept into this your Graces realme. For certeynely, if the clerkes, of this your Graces realme /, had bene endowed with true knowleage of Gods Worde /, and had also syncrely preached the same /, although the same errours and blyndnes had entered into this realme /; yet they shulde neuer haue so longe con- tynewed in the same /, but we shulde haue bene delyuere through the Worde clerely from them. As Christe saieth: "If you continewe in my wordes /, then are you my very disciples /, & shall knowe the trueth /, & the trueth shall delyuer yow /, and make you free." Therfore, most dread Soueraigne Lorde /, seinge that all erreoure /, sprytyuall blyndnes /, myser- able captyuite /, and seruyle bondage vnto synne, com- meth for lacke of knowleage and syncre vnderstandinge in the Holy Scriptures /; and, of the contrarie parte,/ through the knowleage & syncre vnderstandinge of the Holy Scriptures, we knowe God our Father and his Sonne, Ihesus Christ, our Lorde /, which is eternall lyfe /; we be also become free from all condempnation of synne. And through the syncree and true know-

—From the latter we must separate ourselves.

iij. Ti. iij.

There is too much vain, vngodly learning, and this comes of the preaching and teaching of the Schoolmen,

for which the clery are to blame, because they do not sincerely preach God's word.

Jo. viij.

As all errors spring from a lack of know- ledge of the Scriptures,

and through knowledge of them we know God.

Io. v.

Jo. xviij.
and become His children,

nothing is so necessary as God's Word.

Treason, murder, theft, adultery, and such, trouble nations;

Prover. xiiiij.

and these the faithful try to avoid and abolish,

Gal. v.

endeavouring to crucify the flesh, and by faith to do all good works.

Rom. v.

God's Word is the comfort of the Christian, who has no refuge, no help but this.

Mat. iiiij.

Roma. xiiiij.

Heb. xi.
men maye well perceyue / that, by the lawes, and by
the iuste execution of them /, although synne may be
for a tyme cohbyted and restrayned /, yet it can not
be suppressed and abholyshed /, but onely through
fayth. For there was neuer more godly lawes made
for the punyshmente of synne /, nor neuer more iuste
and godly executyon of lawes admynstred /; and yet
there was neuer more synne raygnynge. For cyuyle
lawes made by man / can not be of greater effycacye or
strength /, nor worke greater perfectyon, vertue, and
good wyll in man /, than the lawe of God : but the
lawe of God not onely worketh no obedyence or ver-
tue /; but rather, through occasyon taken of the in-
firmyte of the fleshe /, steareth vp synne, / as sayet
Paul : “I knowe not what luste dyd meane /, except
the lawe had sayed, thow shalte not luste. But synne
toke an occasyon by the meanes of the command-
mente /, and wrought in me all maner of concupiscence:/
for verely, withoute the lawe, / synne was dead.” “I
ones,” sayth Paul /, “lyued without lawe; but when
the commandement came /, synne reuyued, / and I was
dead /: and the very same commandement, which was
ordeyned vnto lyffe /, was founde to be vnto me an
occasyon of death.” But nowe, gracious Lorde /, for
asmoche as it appeareth / that the lawe of God was not
guen to take awaye synne /, but rather to declare and
to punysh synne; moche lesse any lawe made by man /
can auoyde and put away synne. But fayth is the
true instrument appoynted by God /, wherby synne is
overcome & exiled. As the Scripture sayeth /, that
“God through faieth / dothe puryfye & make cleane
all hartes.” Also Christ sayethe /: “Nowe are yow
cleane /, by the meanes of the wordes / whiche I hawe
spoken vnto you.” This fayth shalle cause /, noryshe,
and breade / true obeydyence /, and all other vertues,
in your Graces subiectes hartes /; wherby they shall be

Sin cannot be suppressed except through faith.

There never were more godly lawes made,
and laws never were better enforced than now;
and yet there was never more sin.

God’s law does not bring obedience,
but rather stirs men up to sin,
as St Paul says it did with him.

Ro. vii.

The Law of God was given,
not to take away,
but to punish, sin.

Act. xvi.

Faith will produce and nourish true obedience to
the laws of God and man.
enforced to labour, not onely to observer & kepe Godes lawes /, but also all your Graces ordynances, commandementes, and lawes /, without grudge or murmuracyon. This saythe, as the Apostle sayeth, “commethe by hearinge” of Gods Worde preached /; wherof byshops, parsons /, vicars /, & suche other, called to haue spirituall cure /, be, or shulde be, dylygent mynisters /; to whose vocatyon instely parteyneth to declare and publyshe Gods Worde, syncreely & truely, / to all the people commytted to their spirituall charge. Most myghty Prynce, wherfor, if the pastours appoynted to preache & teache Gods Worde /, within this your Graces realme, / doo not dylygently instructe & teache the people commytted to their spirituall charge with the sayd Worde, / accordinge as they be commaunded in the Scriptures, Act. xx., i. Pet. v., and Malache. ii.¹; all kynde of synne shall increase and abounde, / & the people utterly be devyded. As sayethe the Holy Ghoste: “When the worde of God is not preached, the people perysheth.” Also the Wyse Man sayethe: “All men be vayne in whom there is not the knowleage of God.” Wherfore, without any doubt, the wante and lacke of preaching of Godes Worde syncreely and truely hathe bene the very originall grounde and cause of all the insurrection, / commotion /, [and] dyscension /, which hathe rysen, or begone, within this your Graces realme, or any parte thereof. For through the want of preachingyng of Godes Worde synce[re]ly, haue entered in all popyshe blyndenes /, vayne & dead ceremonyes /; meenes tradycyon be crept into the conseyences of the symple innocentes, in the steade of the lawe of God. Yea, yдолatrye, and all hypocrysye, with detestable superstycyon, for lacke of the lyght of Godes Wonde /, is become Gods seryue. And yet, notwithstandinge this wante & lacke of knowleage in Godes Worde & the

¹ Orig. xx.

Rom. x.
And of this faith the clergy should be ministers;
because it is their duty to teach it to the people sincerely and truly.

If they do not, sin will abound, and the people become divided, and perish.

Act. xxv.
i. Pe. v.
Mal. vii.

Praye. xxvii.
Sa. xviij.

The want of preaching has caused insurrections and commotions in the realm;
brought in popish blindness, vain ceremonies, men’s traditions, idolatry, and hypocrisy: and all for lack of a knowledge of the Bible.
PARTIALITY OF PATRONS.

27
euyll which commethe manyfestly therof /, (the more it is to be lamented /) there be many popishe monkes, which late were abbottes, (to whom not onely unwor-thely /, but also uniustely /, were gaven greate pen-syons) and many of their covent monkes, hauinge nother lernynge nor other godly qualytyes, (apte, meate, or convenient to be in spirituall pastours) be nowe ad-mytted to haue cure of soules. And some suche which ded neuer knowe what is a soule /, nor yet be able to haue cure ouer one soule, / be nowe admytted to haue charge ouer an hundreth and many moo /, to the increase of al yngnorancye, and all popishe blyndnes /; the hyghe waye & meanes to let in all kynde of synne, / to the vtter dampanacion of all the soules commytted to their spirituall charge. Alas ! doo nother the patrones of suche benefyces /, nor yet the incumbentes, ponder, or regarde, Gods threatenynge by his prophete Ezechiel, sayeng : / "As truely as I lyue, sayeth the Lorde, for asmuache as my shepe are robbed, and denowred of the wilde bestes of the felde, hauynge noo shepherde, / and seing that my shepherdes take noo regarde of my shepe /, but feade them selues onely, / and not my shepe : Therfore, here the worde of the Lorde, O ye shepherdes : / thus sayeth the Lorde God, Beholde, I my selfe will [be] vpon the shepherdes /, and requyre my shepe from their handes /, and make them cease from feadinge of my shepe ; yea, the shepherdes shall feade them selues nomore : / for I will delyuer my shepe owte of their mowthes /, so that they shall not denoure them after this." If this threatenynge be not suffi-cient warnynge & monycion to suche blynde shep-herdes /, yet, at the lest, let them feare Goddes curse pronounced in the same chapiter agaynste suche neglygent and ignoraunt shepherdes ; / sayenge : "Woe be to the shepherdes of Israel that feade them selues ! /

1 Orig. xiiij.
You have eaten the fat, but the flock you have not nourished."

One shepherd cannot attend two or three flocks, especially when they are far distant.

The duty of a good shepherd is to seek the lost, to call back the strayed, to heal the broken, and to adventure his life for the defence of the sheep.

\textit{i. \textit{Pe. v.}}

His example, his pains and labours, his humility, his love and care, should be seen by all men.

shulde not the shepherdes feade the flocke /\ yow haue eaten vp the fatt, / yow haue clothed yow with the wolle /, the best feedd haue yowce slayne /: but the flocke haue yow not noryshed /." Heauen and erthe shall muche rather perishe /, than these wordes, wherwith God threatened suche pastours, shalbe found vntrue /; that is /, "I will requyre my flocke of the handes of the shepherde." Suerly, most myghty Prynce, it is to busye an office /, to muche and laborouse, for one spirituall shepherde, (althoughe he were very expert and connynge) to guye, ordre /, and kepe /, two or thre flockes of shepe /, specially beyng so farre distant one from an other /, that the sayd shepherde can not be dayly present with them /, to se the governaunce of them /,whose nature is dayly to falle into dynerse offences and spirituall dysease: For the office of a good shepherid is, not onely to feade his shepe in good pasture /, but also to seke the lost shepe /, to call agayne the strayed shepe in-to the ryght waye /, to salute and to make hole the broken which is broken by aduersyte /, the weake and sycke shepe in the faythe /, with the comfortable promyse of God /, declared in the Gospell /, to make stronge & constant; and, in conclusyon, to aduenture his liffe (if nede requyre) for the defence of his shepe /. Ever circumspecte, lyeng in waye / to resyst the roringe lyon /, whiche neuer slepeth /, "goinge abowte and seakynge whomhe maye devoure." Suche, I saye, shulde be their dilligence and dayly cure over their flocke shewed /, that, not onely their shepe /, but also all other /, seing and perceyvinge\textsuperscript{1} their greate paynes and labours sustayned and taken for the helpe and comforte of their shepe /, the gentle entertaininge with all pacyence /, hemylyte, & meakenes /; the fatherly love /, cure /, and affecyon, which the said byshops and other pastours shulde

\textsuperscript{1} Orig. seing and preeeyvinge.
cannot do their duty.

daylye shewe /, exercise, & practise towards Christes flocke, commytted to their spirituall charge; shall judge them, not onely good shepherdes, which enter in by the dore, / but also shall receyue & take them to be most gentle /, prouydent, kynde, / & lovinge spirituall fathers. But, most proudent Gouernoure, how shall this fatherly cure /, love /, zeale /, & affection /, be shewed by the pastoure to his spirituall shepe, which daylye cowcheth and wayteth in your Graces householde and courte /, and in other noble & worshipfull mennes howses /, attendinge to please men whych is called onely to serue God

The non-resident shepherd cannot show these virtues;

he does not visit his flock above once a year, and when he does what counsel he gives them, God knows.

It is wonderful to find one shepherd who does his duty.

Should a king so transgress for the pleasure of men?

Kings and rulers keep chaplains who have other livings,

which is a great dishonour to the commands of God.

This is tomoche dishonoure to the higher powers /, agaynste Goddes commandement & word, to retayne an other mans seruaunt. But certenly although
THE PRIVILEGES OF CHAPLAINS.

Anno .xxi.
Henrici xiiij.

Chaplains to the Royal Family and others may hold two livings, and every duke, marquess, earl, viscount, archbishop, bishop, and others, may keep two chaplains.

Chaplains may be non-resident, and so may pilgrims.

If there had been godly shepherds we never should have agreed to this statute.

Are benefices nothing but your Highnes, or other rulers, wolde nether call nor retayne suche ambycious blynde gaydes and couetous pastours, yet they their selfe will, by their fryndes, make importunate suyte, and laboure to be in service with youre Magestye, and with other rulers. The cause is thys (one inconuenyence granted, many folowe): there is a lawe made in this your noble realme, that all spiritual parsons of youre counsell maye haue thre benefyces with cure. And all the chaplaynes of the Kynge, Quene, prynce, prynces, or of any of the Kyngs children, brethren, sisters, vndeles and auntes, maye haue lycence to haue two benefyces with cure. Eueri duke, marques, erle, vycounte, archebysshope, bysshope, with dyuers other estates, aswell men as women, maye haue two chaplaynes which maye haue two benefyces with cure. And also dyuerse other degres of scole maye haue euery one two benefyces with cure; so that ouer one of his cures, although he take the profyttes, yet from that he muste neades be no[n] resydent; and, peraduenture, to bothe he wilbe no feader nor teacher. And also, in the same estatute, all attendaunce in the courte and all other attendaunces vpon suche noble and worshipfull men which be lycenced to haue chaplaynes, maye be not resydent; yea, pylgrymes, in the tyme of goynge and commynge from their pylgrymage, be by that estatute dispensed to be non resydent. O Lorde, where was the light of thy worde, which shulde haue bene written in the hartes of the makers of that estatute? If there had ben godly shepherdes, which had dyligently executyd their office and callynge, we had never wandered so blyndely to agree or consent to the makyng of any suche estatute. Doo we, which thinke vs Christen men, esteame spirituall benefyces to be nothinge els but lyvings to be geuen at owre pleasure to prystes for scryuce done? Is not the benefyce geuen
PATRONS NEGLECT THEIR DUTY. 31

in respecte of a spiritual office to be executyd & done? Doth not God commaunde strately shepherdes to feade their flocke dyligently? Can man, or any lawe made by man, dyspence with Gods commaundement? O Lorde, in thy handes be the hartes of all kynges and other rulers /; enlyghten theyr hartes, Lorde, with the light of thy worde, that they maye knowe and see this pestylent yll blyndenes /, which so longe hathe caused thy shepe to wander in darekenes. And, when they perceyue it, they maye haue grace and tyme to reforme the same, to thy glory and the helpe of this realme. And I shall euer desyer of God, and wishe in my harte, to all suche as be called to be attendaunte nere youre Magestie, and all other gouernowres /, that for any carnall lone /, fauoure /, or affectyon whiche they beare to any man for kyndred /, frendshipe /, lukuer /, or otherwise /, they doo not make any suche vngodly suytes, peteycions, or requestes to your Highnes, or to any other gouernowre, for any parson to be admytted to any office, other spiritual or temporall /, whome they doo not certeynly knowe, by most certeyne and sure proues and witnesses /, to be apte /, meate /, and conuenyent, aswell in lernynge as in condycions /, to exercize, use, and to occupye suche office and rome /, wherunto he, by suche their sute m[ade], / shulde be called /, appoynted, and admy[te]d (not onely for the shame, rebuke, and troble whiche, vpon dewe examynacion had, and founde contrary to their vntrewe sute) myght come and growe to them /; but also for the euyll incommodyte and pestilent myschef which shall ensewe to all suche which shalbe commytted to his or their gouernaunce & charge. Alas, that euer amongst the Chrysten flocke, shulde be knowen or sene that suche office, which in Christes churche shulde be the most godly /, most necessary /, most spiritual, and most pro- fytable, bothe to the bodye and sowle /, noe is become livings to be given at pleasure? God commands shepherds to feed their flocks, and man's law cannot dispense with God's.

I desire that patrons present only such to any temporal or spiritual office as are well known to them to be fit for the duties required, because of the mischiefs which may arise from such wrong appointments. Alas, that the most godly office should become one of honour and lordly dignity,
a worldly honoure, a lordely dygnyte, a riche, carnall, prowde luyinge, estate, and countenance; and the possessor therof, hauinge onely the name of a spirituall minyster, but no vertue nor godly quality, which of right ought to be in every suche minister. If this be well pondered and remembred, most mercyfull Gouernowre, it is most to be lamented. But seynge this bluyndnes hath so longe contyned, & somoch ewill hath ensewed & folowed therof, in the defaulte of godly pastours; it is not onely nedefull aboue all things to be circumspext in chosynge ernestly tryed, experte, and well lerned ministers to preache Gods worde sincerely, but also to compell the same to be demurante, abydinge, and resydent vpon their cures. And all suche whiche be crepte into benefices for laker & aduauntage, vpon vntrewe suggestion and false fayned sutes made, which can not or doo not feade their flocke, to depyue them of suche benefyces, because they other can not or doo not execute the office to that belonginge. Suerly no wyse man lyghteth a candell and putteth hym vnder a bushell. And if he set vp a candell (which, other for lacke of talowe or for other cause, can not gene light) shortly he taketh hym downe and putethe an other which can gene good light in his place. So all godly wyse men will order all spirituall lightes, which in dede can not gene godly lighte for lacke of spirituall grace which shulde be in them. For byshops and other pastors, which be chosyne & instytuted contrary to the ordynaunce appoynted & prescribed by Gods Worde, which other doo not or can not execute the offfye perteyninge to his or their callynge, be not godly & trewe byshops, but rather images & idolles, hauinge and bearinge onely the name and outwarde apparence of a byshoppe or pastor. But as concernynge the lernynge, vertue, &

1 Orig. postours,
other godly qualitie which parteyn & be of great necessity and istyce requysyte to be in every godly pastor, / they haue nothinge lesse. For if Christ (which sayed to Peter "from henceforthe I make the a fisher to catche men") doo not endowe the officer wyth lernynge, grace, / power, & good will to preache his worde, before patrons present hym to any suche spirituall office; / the electe and admytted, notwithstanding the admyssion and patrons presentment, / shall contynuall abyde and remayne an hypocryte: and suche one, which dothe not enter in by the door, / but presumeth to enter withowte a weddynge garment, / whom Christ condempneth to owtwarde darckenes, / and also callethe hym a thief/, whose rewarde, withowte doubt/, shalte, at the daye of the laste judgement, / with thefes/; if he repent not, and reasygne vp hys office, which he can not execute, fulfyll, and performe.

Wherfore I mystruste not but that all suche which have power to present and to admytte ther clerkes to spirituall offices, readyng this lytle boke for the discharge of ther conscience, and for the glory of God/, the commodyte and vtylitye of the common wealtthe (which will ensewe the godly presentacyon and admyssion of well lerned/, approved, & godly clerkes to spirituall offices) will, from thenceforthe, applye and conforme them to the forme and maner of electoyon of spirituall mynisters appoynted, prescrybed, and lymytted by Godes Worde/, which is this:—That every man chosyn to vse any sprityuall office/, shulde be fyrste well proued, aswell for thyer lernynge as also for thyer other vertouose condycions. Fyrst for thyer lernynge, wherwith they muste not onely be able to enstructe and teache the people commytted to thyer spyrytuall charge/, but also able to reprove other which resyst the same doctrine/, with many other godly qualitie. As it apperethe in the fyrste Epistle
of Paul to Timothe and also to Tyte. Nowe, moste
myghty Defender of the Christyan religyon /, seinge
that Godds Worde hathe prescrybed and declared that
every man, which shalbe called and appoynted to be a
spirituall mynister, muste fyrste be proued and knowne
howe godly and spirytually he hathe enstructe and
teached the people /; what lernynge he hathe in the
Scriptures /, and not in the lawes /, to reprowe erroirs
and to condempne heresyes; what paynes he hathe
taken in preachynge Godds Worde /; and also whether
he hathe geuen good example of lyuinge accordinge to
his doctrine. In this maner euery Christian ought to
proue his clerke before he other present or admytt hym.
But nowe also, moste benyngne Lorde /, consydrre
of Remember why
your ancestors
gave bishopries,
and other patrons
gave livings.
Kynes have given
bishopries to
chancellors' chaplains,
to almoners,
clerks of the
closet, and others;
while God's Worde
disapproves of
all such gifts.
Noblemen have
followed their
eexample,

Every spiritual
minister must
first be proved to
be learned in the
Scriptures,
and to have given
good example of
living.

[i.] Tim. iij.
Tyt. i.

of Paul to Timothe and also to Tyte. Nowe, moste
myghty Defender of the Christyan religyon /, seinge
that Godds Worde hathe prescrybed and declared that
every man, which shalbe called and appoynted to be a
spirituall mynister, muste fyrste be proued and knowne
howe godly and spirytually he hathe enstructe and
teached the people /; what lernynge he hathe in the
Scriptures /, and not in the lawes /, to reprowe erroirs
and to condempne heresyes; what paynes he hathe
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closet, and others;
while God's Worde
disapproves of
all such gifts.
Noblemen have
followed their
eexample,
sonages, & vicarages /; gewing them to their chap-
laynes /, or to other, for kyndred in bloude, or for alyaunce /; or els to suche as haue ben surveyours of thier landes, / receyuoires of their rentes /, stuardes of their householde /, faconers /, gardyners, or to suche other whom they fauoure for suche worldely service & qultyties. To suche they geue their benefyces as re-
wardes or wagies to hyrelynges, for suche seruice done /, or to be done /; hauinge lytle or noo regarde to the great charge and spirituall cure which, by Goddes Worde, belongeth to all suche spirituall offices. For kynges and rulers, in tymes paste, had noo lesse know-
lege of any thynge / then of Godes Worde, which the subyll byshops & crafty prystes were euer studiouse and desyrouse to kepe secrete from the hygher powers. For so longe as Godes Worde was kepte secrete and hyden from gouernours /, so longe the clergye dyd leade, not onely the kynges /, but also, all gouernowres & the commons, whyther they wolde. Thys was the crafty polycye of the clergye /, to kepe the knowlege of Gods Worde from all men /, that they myght vn-
lawfully and vnworthely be promoted to spirituall cures / and vse the profettes of them vngodly /; and that they myght also contynually exercyse their lustes and iniquyties. As Paul saythe: "They be agaynste all men; forbyddinge vs to speake to the people wherby they myght be saued /, that they myght fulfyll their iniquyte and synne contynually." Haue not some of the byshops, with their retynewe, at this daye prac-
tysed their olde polycy to extinguyshe the light through all Engelande /, that they myght ones agayne leade vs quyety in darckenes? Is not there a lawe made, through their crafte & subtylte, which gaueth power to certayne commyssoners, wherof the byshoppes cham-
celer or commyssarye shalbe named to be two of the commyssoners /, which shall haue full power to take

and have pre-

sented livings
to surveyors,
receivers of rents,
falconers,
gardners, and
such like, as
wages to hirileings,
or as rewards.

Kings and rulers
were ignorant of
God's Worde in
times past;
the bishops were
ever anxious to
keep it secret.

This was the
policy of the
clergy to keep
this knowledge
from all men
in order that
they might be
promoted to
spiritual cures.

[1.] The. i j.
A law is made
through their
craft appointing
commissioners.
into their custodie all suche bokes wherein is conteyned any clause or artycle repugnaunte to any of the SyxArticles, / and the same bokes to burne and dystroye, as to the discretion of thre of them shalbe thoughte expedient? Marke well what they purpose by this estatute. Are there any bokes which write agaynste the Popes prymacie /, but they also write agaynste some of the Syx Articles? Their colour is to take awaye all bookes which wryte agaynste the Syx Articles /; but their very intente, purpose, and meanyng is to take awaye all bookes, whiche conteyne any godly lernynge, that write agaynste the Byshop of Romes prymacy. Howe cruelly doo the byshpons punyshe all them which pretende to have lernynge, and specially in Gods Worde? Suche they call heretyques, and persecute with puttyngye them to open shame /, with enprysomente /, and, in conclusyon, with deathe most fearefull and paynefull. All this they doo to dyscorage all men from the studye of Gods Worde / fearinge least that, by suche studiouse braynes which learme Gods Worde and publyshe the same, their iniquity shulde be made manyfest. What studye and paynes they take to kepe the light from the people! But no man, which knoweth the Scriptures, will manner of this their policye and crueltye. For Saynt Iohan declare the their practye playnely, sayenge: "He that doth euill hateth the light" /; and why? because his workes, whiche be euill, shulde not be reproued by the light. And, for asmuche as oure byshpons countenaunce of luynginge /, their greate possessyons /, and lordely domynyons in them, agree th with Gods Worde /, as deathe with lyffle /, God with the deuill /, light with darkenes /; thence they hate the light which declare the the same /, and studye to suppresse the same by all craft and polycye. And, seinge they can so craftely iuggle, and have suche frendshipe
and fanoure 1 to convey; [\&] brynge to passe; that all bookes shall come into their handes vnder the coloure of the Syx Artayles; it is to be feared that, shortly, they will, by lyke crafte, substylte and frendship, procure the Byble in Englyshe to be taken from the layete; & then we shalbe ledd in darckenes by our byshops and other blynde gydes, and not pastoures, at theyr pleasure and will; which is the effecte of all theyr study, laboure, and purpose. Nowe, most valente Defender of Christ, it appearethe playnely howe many mysseyres we be wrappe in; through the vngodly elecction of suche as be admytted to haue spirytuall cure and offyce to teache Godds Worde; whiche not onely haue lytle lernynge, but also they be enemies to all men whiche can and doo preache Gods Worde sy[n]cerely and trewly, because they lyue contrayre to the same, as I haue before declared. And this is the origynall grownde and cause of the abundance and increase of darckenes and of synne; as also of the longe contynuance of popishe blyndnes whiche haethe raigned in this realme so londe. Wherfore, ye the byshops, and other elected and appoynted to be shepherdes accordinge to theyr vocatyon and callinge, be not fyrste knowen and well proued to haue suche knowleage & godly doctryne, so that they can, and also doo, instantly & dyligently preache Gods Worde, whiche is the light expellinge all darckenes of synne, then muste nedes synne encrease & abounde, without any restraynte or brydle. "For if the light whiche is amongst yow be darckenes, howe muche shall the darckenes be!" Youre Grace and your cyuile power doo punnysh synne, when it is done and commytted, accordinge to the iustye of lawes, as to your vocatyon & office of right belongethe to doo. But the office and dewtye of the pastor is to preache Goddes Worde,

get such books into their hands, they may also take the Bible from the laity, and then we shall be led in darkness by our own spiritual guides, who have little learning, and are enemies to such as preach God's Word.

This is the cause of the increase of sin.

If bishops and others do not preach the Word of God, sin must increase, and abound in Matt. vi. the land.

The civil power punishes sin committed, as it ought to do; but the pastor converts the sinner who is

1 Orig. fououre.
whereby he shall comukt the hart of the synner /, which is willinge & disposed to doo synne /, so that he shall not breake fourthe to doo synne in the acte /, which the eyuyle powre, for the example of other, by equyte and iustye is bounde to punyshe. Therfore the dyligent execuyton of the office of the pastoure shalbe the pryncipall meane and occasyon that lesse synne shalbe commytted ; / and so the higher powers shall haue lesse occasyon to execute the extreame iustye of lawes /, and, consequently, many mens lyues, whiche nowe for lacke of the knowleage of Godes Worde shuld be loste for commyttinge murder /, felonye /, and suche other offences, / shall then be preserved that they shall not commyte suche offences /, which the hygher powers, by the lawes of equyte & iustye, be compelled to condempne and to punyshe with death. Wherfore, the godly tranquyllyte, reste, and peace of all this your realme, soueraygne Lorde /, and the good order of the same, hangeth and resteth moche vpon the godly and dyligent execuyton of the office of pastors and of the spirituall shepherds, dewly called and admytted accordinge to Godes Worde. Therfore it behoveth the presenter of the clerke to a benefyce and cure of sowles, to be cyreumspect and well ware what clerke he doth present /; and that he haue good knowleage, experience, and proue of his clerke before he present hym. For, if a pastour doo not feade the flocke of Christe commytted to his charge /, the death of their sowles shalbe required of his handes. As the prophete Ezechiiell sayeth in the .xxxijj. chapi.: And if the patron willingly /, other for kyndred /, fanoure /, frendshippe /, service, or money /, present a clerke which he knoweth not to be so lerned in Gods Worde /, that he be able to instructe and teache the people commytted to his charge, bothe with the lawe of God and withe the Gospell /, every suche patron consenteth to

disposed to commit sin;

so that, through him, there is less sin,

the higher powers have less occasion to execute the justice of the law, and men's lives are preserved.

Wherefore it appears the good order of the realm depends upon the ministers of religion.

It behoves patrons to be very careful in the bestowal of their patronage.

If they present unfit pastors, such as do not feel the flock committed to them, 
Ezech. xxxij.

they consent to the death of souls,
the death & damnacion of the sowles commyttted to the charge of suche vulnered prest. And therefore suche a patron shall also be punyshed with lyke payne /; whiche is eternall /, as the Apostell sayeth: "Not onely they that doo euill /, but also they whiche consent therunto, shalbe punyshed with lyke payne." What wyse man liuyng wolde hyer a shepherde to gouerne hys beastly & worldly shepe, which nother wolde nor could feade /, handle /, salue, nor ones see his shepe commytted to his charge? Suche a wyse shepherde wolde shortly make his masters profet come to lytle aduauntag. Surely, a wyse man wolde chose no suche shepherde. And if he were deceyued through the persuasyon of some of his frendes /, yet, when he hathe proued that he hathe no connynge nor dyligence /, he will shortly dyscharge hym of his cure and seruice. Shall we be esteemed Christen men whiche haue more tender lone and affectyon to owre corruptyble profett /, than we haue to the honowre of God & the eternall wealthe of the immortall sowles of owre Christen bretheren /, whom Gode commaundeth [vs] to loue as owre selfe? Christ ded not commytt to Peter the cure and charge of his shepe, before he asked thryse of Peter whether he loued hym. As who shulde saye, I wolde not commytt my best beloved ioywell and treasure vnto the /, vnlesse thowe loue me hartely. I wolde wyshe that all gouernowres and rulers in this case wolde take example and folowe Christ, whiche, knowynge the good wyll of Peters harte /, yet as one ingnorante therof, ded demaunde this question of Peter before he ded commytt the cure of his flocke to hym /; therby to geue example & common doctryne to all his faythfull folowers, that they shulde haue suche tender and fervent loue towards the Christen sowles /, that they wolde not commytt the gouernance and cure of them to any man /, but vnto suche of whom they haue

and will be punished with eternal pain. 

Rom. i.

What man would hire a shepherd who would not feed his sheep?

If a wise man were deceived by his friends' persuasion, yet he would soon discharge him from his service.

Jo. xxi.

Christ asked Peter whether he loved Him, before He committed His sheep to his charge;

and patrons should follow this example.

He knew Peter's good will, but He asked the question to give example to all His faithful followers.
prone & sure knowleage /, that, aswell by their preachinge & syncere teachinge of Gods Worde /, as also by their vertuouse lyuinge consonante to the same Worde, they had vnfaynedly a faythfull harty loye towards Chrystes flocke. A blynde eye, which can not dyrecte and leade the bodye, is a blemyshe and a burden to the naturall bodye /, and noo commoditye. In lykke wyse a man, chosen to be a spyrytuall pastour, which hathe not the knowleage and grace to preache the lawe and the Gospell /, is but a blynde eye, not able to dyrecte and leade the spyrytuall bodye. Wherfore, if any patron chose any suche ignorant man to be a pastoure /, a spirituall eye and light to leade the spirituall sowles /; he not onely deceyueth them, but also, as moche as lyeth in hym, kyllethe the bodye / and dothe greate injurye to Christes bloode. Now it maye please yowre Highnes to note and marke what myschef and inconuenyence folowe the electyon and admysion of an ignorant pastour.¹

¹ Orig. postour.

A pastor without knowledge is but a blind eye,

and the patron who chooses him deceives the souls of men.

An ignorant bishop cannot do his duty because he does not know the Scriptures.

Some are drunkards, players at un-thriftie games; without justice, or temperance.

By such idle and wicked ones Christ's inheritance is trodden under foot.
and doctrynes by them be tawght /; so that in the steade of Holy Scripture is crepte in the doctrine of Iyes /, all superstycions /, dead & vayne ceremonyes /, and lycence to doo all kynde of synne. Some of the blynde ignorante preistes teache the people that God is honowred /, and soules releued of their paynes, through the rynginge of belles /, painting of postes /, and set-tyng vp tapers and candelles before the sayd postes /, whom the blynde preistes doo bothe sence & spryncle with holy water. An other sorte of blynde shauelings teache the people to gett heuen with fastynge /; this prescripte daye & that daye /, with trentalles and masses of scala celii /; with forbearinge of bodely workes & kepinge ydle holy dayes /. They preache muche holynes and Gods seruice to stande in their holy oyle /, holy creame /, holy water /, holy asshes /, hallowed bedes /, mumblynge of a numbre of psalmes in Laten /, keapinge of church ales, in the whiche with leappynge, / daunsynge /, and kyssyng, they maynteyne the profett of their churche (to the honoure of God, as they both saye and thyncke). And thus the blynde leadeth the blynde /, that both fall hedlonge into the lake of eternall brenninge fyer. What naturall harte is there whiche will not lamente the misery /, yea the dampan- cion, most certeiny thretene by Gods Worde vnto all ingnorante, and neglygent bysshopps, and other spyrtytuall shepherdes, which doo not dylygently execute theyr offyce and vocation? What honest louinge harte doth not bewayle the habundaunce of synne /, the longe myserable blyndnes, wherin this realme hath ben ledd and wrapped in through the yngnorancye and neglygence of suche blynde guydes? But is there any Chrysten harte which can forbere contynuall syghinge and mornynge /, remembringe the multytude, yea, the infynyte numbre, of sowles (whiche without the greate mercye of God, passinge all his workes) through ing-

Some of them teach that souls are relieved by the ringing of bells, painting of pillars, setting up candles;

by fasting on this or that day,

and keeping Holy Days. They say much holiness stands in holy oil, holy chrism, holy water, and such like, and in keeping church ales.

Thus the blind lead the blind, and both fall into the ditch.

Such things make all Christians mourn when they remember the huge number of souls which are utterly damned.
MISCHIEFS ARISING FROM

The country is overburdened with priests of one sort or another.

These idle parsons are no good,

but a harm to the State; they are robbers of the king's subjects, who are deprived of the alms of many in the hope that prayers avail for the dead.

Many are encouraged to live wickedly by an ungodly trust in masses and dirges.

norancye & negligence of suche blynde shepherdes, be utterly cast awaye & dampe ned? What good cyuye harte wolde not, I saye, lament and bewayle the greate burden wherwith this your realme (gracyouse Lorde) is overcharged through the greate multytude of chauntery prestes, soule prestes, chanons, resydensaryes in chathedrall churches, prebendaryes, muncke pen- cyons, morowe mas prestes, vnlerne curattes, prestes of gyldes and of fraternytees, or brotherhedes, rydinge chaplynnes and suche other ydle parsons; whyche yf they be well noted, and also what frute spryngeth of them, indyfiere valewed, consydered, and pondered, it will appere manifestly to all reasonable and godly wyttes, that they do brynge noo maner commodity, profett, or vtylyte, other spyrit-uall or temporall, to this your publycke wealthe. No, no! They be not onely no commodity nor profett to the common wealthe, but rather moche hynderance. And truly no lytle wasters, spoylers, and robbers; and that of the most poore, indygen, and neadye of youre lounge subiectes, which be most craftely, subtelly, and wrightously depruyed of the charytabl succesoure and almes of many symple, vnlerned innocentes, through a vayne hope and false confyndence that theyr sowles shulde be releued and released of theyr paynes and tormentes dewe for theyr synnes, when they be departed this worlde, by the longe prayers of prestes. And (the more it is to be lamented) noo lytle nombre of your subiectes, through suche vngodly truste and confyndence in masses and dyryges to be songe and celebrated for them when they be dead, be greatly encouraged to lyue both wickedly towards God, and also vnfrutefullly towards the worlde; lytle remembryng and estemyng their vocacion & callinge, wherein God hath appoynted them to walke, and moche lesse the extreme necessity of
AN IGNORANT PRIESTHOOD.

An ignorant priesthood. This vayne hope in the longe prayers of prestes (no doubt, gracious Lord) is a great occasion of moche pouerte amongst the poore and needy of this your realme. For the spedy remedy of this pouerte amongst your louinge subjectes, and the utter suppressyon of suche vayne hope in the prayers of prestes to be made for your subjectes when they be deade, which is the greate cause of this myserable pouerte, it may please your Magestye, of your accustomed goodnes, to call to your gracious remembrance that all the people, of this your regyon, be subject vnto your grace power, rule, and dominion, as vnto their supreme hedd and gouernowre, deway by God appointed to gouerne them onely durynge their naturall lyues; but when it pleaseth God to take their sowles out of this myserable worlde, than your Grace is dyscharged of all gouernance, cure, & charge over them, as of suche which, after their death, doo not appertayne to your Grace, nor be of your kyngedome; but onely of the kyngedome of God, vnder his gouernance, prouision, and rule. Into the whiche kyngedome, nother your Grace nor noo other ethely prync, maye lawfully usurpe or take any rule, prouision, care or gouernance, for the sowles entered therunto. Seinge that your Grace haue no auctoryte nor power over the sowles departed, yow be not onely dyscharged to gouerne, to care, or to prouyde for them, beinge deade; but moche rather to prouyde that they maye not be deceyued so vnder the coloure of longe prayre, but that they may be taught sincerely Godds Worde, whyle they be lyuinge vnder your subiection, so that they maye beleue constantly and lyne godly; and then, by Christes promesse, hell gates shall not prevayle ageinste them: moche lesse they shall haue any neade of suche strange succoure and helpe of men, nothinge appointed nor tawght by Godds Worde,

The hope in the prayers of priests is a cause of poverty amongst the poor.

While the people live they are under the dominion of the king;

when they die, the king is discharged of his care over them.

No earthly prince may usurp authority over the dead.

The king must see that the people are not deceived; they must be taught,

and then the gates of hell shall not prevail against them.
When you treat for the reformation of abuses, reform all which have no strength in God's Word.

All lands and possessions taken from religious houses should be given to support common schools, and to relieve the poor while they live under the king's subjection.

This would be better than to allow these possessions to be used under a pretence of relieving departed souls.

to be profitable or necessary for their souls after their death. Wherfore, I mistrust not but that your Magestye, when you shall next intreate for the reformation of the enormities & abuses sprung up in the Christen religion, you will godly reforme suche abuse and dissembled covetuousenes, and certeynely beinge no godly remedy nor helpe for souls departed, which hathe noo strength nor effycacy of Gods Worde, which is the very trew foundacion of all the Christen religion and helpe for souls departed. And, in the meane season, I doo no lesse thinke, and also pray hartely to God, that your Magestye will provide and make ordinance, that all suche landes and possessyons, whereupon so many ydle hypochrytes and deceyuers be greate burdeyn & charge to your realme, which hytherto have lyued vngodly and vnprofytablely, maye, from henceforthe, be partly converted to the supportation and mayntenaunce of common scoles, whereby errors crepte vp through ingnorance maye be through knolwlege repressed, and godly lernynge and knowleage more plentuously planted and admynistred; and partely that your poore louing subiectes maye be more mercyfully releued & succoured, whyle they lyue vnder your subiection, charge, and gouernance. This godly dystrybution (most prudent Soueraigne) of the landes and possessions, ordeyned and appoyunted for the counforte, soccoure, and helpe of your poore louinge and lyuinge subiectes, is moche more consonante and agreeable to Godds Worde, and more certeyne dyscharge of your Graces conscience, then to suffer the same possesseyons to be vngodly caste awaye and consumed vnder suche false colowre and pretence to releue souls departed; of whom your Magestye haue nother cure nor charge, nor can not assure to them, by Godds Worde, through suche longe prayers of prestes, relese of paynes after their death, or any other ayde, coun-
Doctrine of Purgatory.

forte, or succoure. For, with owt any doubt (graciously the Lorde) ye suche hyred prayers had ben godly and necessary for the sowles departed /, other Christ or his Apostelles wolde haue taught it /, or, at the leaste, haue praysed or practysed it /; & not so manifestly reprooned & threatened it /, sayeng:—"Beware of them whiche dooure wyddowes howses, vnder colour of lange prayers /; theyr iudgment shalbe moche longer." In all the Newe Testament there is no mention made of any suche officer, nor office instytuted, nor appoynted, to praye for the deade. And yet all men, I thynke, will confess that the trueth of Godes Worde was most syncretly set forthe and preached in the tyme of Chryste & of his Apostles /; in whose tyme there was no suche craftye lernynge publyshed nor tawght by them /, nor lange tyme after. But then men stablysshed and grounded their religion and hope of healthe vpon Godds Worde /, whiche teacheth vs that who so beleueth is saued, and hathe no neede of lange, prystishe prayers /; and who so beleueth not /, shallbe condempned. Betwene these extreme contraries there is no meane /; as Saint Augustijn saieth. Wheresoever I exhorte all them (whiche contrary to all Holy Scriptures) truste to the thyrde place, and there to haue release of paynes through the lange prayers of prestes; / that they wolde geue ouer suche fayned fantasye of men (subtilyly ymagined only through insaciable couetousenes of ambiziose prestes, to gett mony therwith to mainteyne their vngodly lustes /, and to lyue ydelye and delycately) and to truste rather to the sure and infallyble trewthe of Godds Worde /, which, without doubte, is to repent and beleue /, and utterly to forsake all synne /; and than constantly to trust to Goddes promises of mercy. Here manifestly appereth, soueraygne Lorde /, in what miserable blyndnes the most parte of this your realme haue lange tyme be[n]
DANGER IN STUDY OF POPERY.

All men must lament the miserable blindness of such shepherds.

I trust the punishment with which the world was threatened Amos, viij, is past—a punishment of hunger and thirst for God's Word.

Luce, i.

It is dangerous to admit for ministers such as have studied popish laws;

they will poison the flock and increase popish power.

[* leaf 22]

It is hoped all men will now see the evil of admitting unlearned and carnal priests to spiritual offices.

led, yea, and almost drowned, through the longe custome vsed theryn. Who is it that can not lament (I saye) this deplorate & miserable sorte of blynde shepherdes? Be not they bowght with the same pryce wherwith we be bought, to be membres of one bodye, wherof Christ is heade? If we be membres of one bodye, certenly we can not then but taste and feale, not onely their euill, but also the lamentable estate of al other caste awaye through them. Lorde, I truste the punysshement is past wherwith thow haste threatened the worlde to be punished with hunger and thryste; not with hungre and thryste of breade and drinke, but for lacke of hearinge thy Worde. Yt is nowe tyme, Lorde, to shewe thyne accustomed goodnes & mercye, for the whiche we doo dayly and harteely praye, sayenge: "Through the tender mercy of God, wherewith he hathe vysyted vs, gene light to vs which sytt in dareknes and in the shadowe of deathe, to guyde our feate into the waye of peace." Also it is a daungerous seethinge thinge to admitte one to be a spirituall pastoure, whose professyon and study all his youte hathe ben in decrees and popishe lawes. For suche a study, for the most parte, ingendereth a popishe harte. If any suche be admitted to be a pastoure, he shall not onely, other secretly in confessyon or by some other crafty meanes, poysone his flocke with mans traidycion & popishe doctrine, but also shall augment the popishe power; for the abrogacion *wherof yowr Grace and yowr honorable Counsell haue taken greate paynes & travayle. Nowe, eftsones, I truste that all men, which reade this lyttele boke, shall perceive therby what incommunynce & damnable euyll enseweth the vngodly presentacyon and admuyssyon of the vunlerned in Gods Worde, and carnall prestes to spryrituall offices.1

1 This page is transposed in the orig., and stands where the next one should be.
2 Orig. officers.
And although such patrons have lytle zeal and loue to the common and publike wealthe, yet for the synguler and carnall loue which they beare to their clerkes (whom they addlyce and bynde surely to eternall dampanacion, if they geue them suche spyrituall offyces, whiche they nether can nor will execute and perfourme) or for the tender zeal and loue which they haue to the sowles so derely bought with Christes bloode, they wyll, wyth all circumpection, prove theyr clerkes that they be not onely well lerned in Gods Worde, but that they also haue taken greate paynes in preacheynge the same, and that they haue also lyued accordyng to their preacheynge. Suche experymcHt and proue was commaunded to be made of weddowes, before they were admytted to lyue vpon the charge of the congregacyon, as it appeareth in Tymothy.

It is hoped they will examine clerks, and so ascertain whether they are well learned.

If bishops be properly elected,

yet there are two more evils belonging to them:

1. Their great lordships, and the rents arising from them.

They live like heathen princes,

1 This page from here is transposed; in the original it precedes the one just given.
but "Poor Christ" had not where to lay His head. They have castles, parks full of deer; fish-ponds, and other pleasures.

2. They have too many cures and too much worldly business. They manage their estates in all their details; must hear testamentary causes, divorce suits, and such other matters not belonging to their vocation. My lord is so occupied with these things that he cannot find time to study or to preach.

Mat. v[4].

Act. vi.

sayeth:—"The foxes have hooles /, the byrdes of the ayre have neastes /, but the sonne of man hathe not wherin to laye his head." But our byshops have gorgeous & sumptuous built howses, maners, & castelles, pleasautely set abowte with parckes, well replenished with deare /; warrens swarminge full of conyes /, and fyshe pooles well stored with dyuere kyndes of fyshes. And not onely these commodities and pleasures /, but also diuerse other pleasures. Howe this lordely and worldely byshoplike estate agreeth with Christes wordes /; I thinke a man can not reasonably conyecture or ymagen, by theyr countenaunce and lyuinge /, that they be Christes trewe disciples. The other myschefe and euill is, that they haue to many worldly cures and buseneses. For to these maners and lordeishes belonge many tenauntes /, for whose leases to be made, fynes and haryottes to be appointed and taken /, amercyamentes to be assessed, taxed, & also forgenen and dispenced /, there be noo fewe sutes made to my lorde byshope /; also the hearinge of testamentorye causes /, dyuorses /, causes of matrimonye /, of sclaunders /, of leacherye /, adultery /, and punyishment of bawedrye /; and suche other bumme courte matters, wherof not one belong to his officie & vocation appointed by Godds Worde. My Lorde Byshoppe is so occupied & vnuquyeted /, that he hathe noo leasure to studye nor to preache Gods Worde. But suche affayres and worldly busynes, nothing perteyninge to his vocation, be very greate hynderance and lett to my Lorde Byshop, that he can not applye hym to exercye his owne officie. "For no man can serve two masters," sayeth Christ. The Apostles thought it not inste and equall to provide for the necessary lyuinge of the poore /, leaunginge Godds Worde vntawght. But my Lorde Byshoppe, doinge these things, nothing perteyninge to his officie /, thincketh
that he hath exactly done his office. From these
greate maners commeth yerely, greate rentes, pleasures,
& profettes;/ which, althoughe they be the good crea-
tures of God/, yet that abundance of them (beinge
where they be more impedymet than helpe) be a
greate occassyon of corrupcion in the vser of them.
And, peraduenture, they wolde allure and intyre a
byshops harte to truste in them and so corrupte hym/,as the Scripture sayeth:—"Blessed is the ryche,
which is founde without blemyshe, & hathe not gone
after golde, nor hoped in money and treasures/; where
is there suche a one and we shall commendte hym and
call hym blessed/; for greate things dothe he amongethis people." And if my Lorde Bysshoppe shulde geue
the superfluyte of his goodes to the poore (whose
goodes iustely they be) as the prophete Ezay sayethe/,than my Lorde shulde lacke them to furnyshe his
lordely countenaunce/; and so my Lorde shulde loose
his lordely honoure and prayse of the worlde. Wher-
fore, as these superfluousse possessions be annexed to
estates of bysshops, by mans mayne fantasye and not
by Gods Worde/, so my Lorde Byshoppe wyll other
keape them to make hym more fryndes/, remembrynge
that "ryches makethe many fryndes/, but the poore
is forsaken of his neyghbowre";/ or denuye the exspence
of them contrary to Godes Worde/, other to make
sure fryndes in the courte aboute the kynge, to obtayne
more promocions & benefices/, or in curiouse buyld-
inge/, sumptuouse and delycate fare/, well appareled
seruauntes/, tryme decked horses, to ryde pompecously
lyke a lorde. Althoughe there were no auctonite to
proue this/, yet the lordely countenaunce & fasshyon
of byshops/, yea, their common exercse and also
practys, can well proue and testyfye this playnenly be-
fore the face of all men, which knoweth the lordely-
nes of bysshopps. As the prophete Ezay sayethe:—
Esa. iij.

His great income
might entice his
heart to trust in
it and so corrupt
him.

"Blessed is the
rich who is
found without
blemish, and has
not gone after
gold:

for he does
great things
among his
people."

Esa. iij.

The bishops use
their riches to
make friends,

or to bribe those
about the court;

or else in building,

fine living,

servants, horses,

and riding like

lords.

SUPPLICATION.
"The chaungynge of their countenaunce bewrayeth them /, yea they declare themr owne synnes them selfes as Sodomytes /, and lyed them not." Doo not these things fayntely agree with the sayenge of their predecessour, Paule the Apostle, which sayeth :—"When we haue foode and raiment let us be content."

Is not this lordely honoure dyrectely agaynste Chrystes wordes /, which sayethe :—"The kynges of nacyons raygne ouer them / and they that haue auctoryte ouer them are called graciously lordees. But yow shall not be so." Also Peter speakeythe to his trewe successoures sayenge :—"Feade yow Christes flocke as muche as lyeth in yow /, takynge the ouersygth of them; not as compelled therunto /, but wylllyngelye /, after a godly sorte /; nor for the desyer of fylthy lunker /, but of a good mynde /; not as thoughe yowe were lordees ouer the paryses /, but that yowe be an example to the flocke /, and that withe good will." But owre lordely byshope estate, and proude countenaunce of lyuyng (as it is nowe vsed) is contrary to Godes Worde /, as it appeareth by these wordes :—"But yow shall not be so." And also by these sayengs :— "Not as thoughe yow were lordees ouer the paryses." And Chryst sayethe :—"He that is not with me /, is agaynste me." Wherefore, so longe as they raigne so lordely in the clergie, contrary to Gods Worde /, so longe be they againste God. And so longe as they be agaynste God /, they be not sente from God /, and then can they not preach trewly and syncerely his worde. "For howe can they preach excepte they be sente?" sayeth Paul. Christe was sente to preach, as it appeareth. Marc. i., Luce. iiiij., and Ezaye. lxii. And Christe sayeth to all his trewe disciples :—"As my Father sente me /, so I do sende yow." And commaundeth also all his Apostles, & trewe successors of the Apostles, to

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1 Orig. iij.
preach the Gospell to the holle worlde, and not lordely
to raigne in the cleryge. Whom Paul teacheth to be
as mynisters /, sayeng: "Lett a man this wise esteame
vs /, euyn as the mynisters of Christe and the stuardes
of the secretes of God." To preach the Gospell ther-
fore (most gracoyuse and prudente Lorde) is the trewe
vocacyon and offyce of all godly byshops /, parsons /,
vycars, and of other shepherdes /; and not to be en-
basadowrs to prynces, / nor to be iudges to here matters
of contencyon, / testamentarye causes /, dynorses /,
sclaunders, / bawdery /, and suche other. Your Grace
hathe, of your laye fee, suffycient bothe in lerninge,
and wysedome, and of good conseynce, to here and
iudge suche causes and varyaunces /; remyttynge by-
shops to attende their offyce and vocacyon by God (and
not by man) appoynted. And therfore they shulde not
exercyse any other offyce than God hathe appoynted
to them. For "no man can serve two masters." And
if byshops and other pastoures wolde dyligently execute
theyr vocacyon and offyce /, moche fewer of these
matters of contencyon shalbe in vre and experience,
other to be harde or iudged. Seinge the Scriptures
commaundeth so ernestly every man to walke as he is
called, many Christen men meruell gretyly why the by-
shops desyre and procure so greedely to exercyse the
offyce perteyninge to an other vocacyon /, and to lene
their vocacyon and offyce (appoynted by God to them
to be exercysed) not executed nor performed and done.
Verely bycause they love the glorye of men / more
then the glorye of God. And surely euyn as Cayphas
and Annas, beinge byshops, and exercysynge the offyce
of seculer and temporall iudges, ded iudge Christ to be
crucifyed /, so owr byshops, so longe as they, contrar"ye
to their callynge, doo exercyse the offyce of temporall
iudges /, so longe shall they persecute Christe and his

i. Cor. iiiij.
To preach the
gospel is the
vocation of all
bishops and
parsens,
and not to be
ambassadors or
judges.

Mat. vi.

Men marvel why
bishops strive
after other offices,
and leave their
own vocation
unperformed.

Joan. vii.1
Verily it is be-
cause they love
the praise of men
more than the
praise of GoL

1 Orig. ix.
There is business enough to employ them in their own office.

Sin reigns everywhere.

Costly apparel and change of fashions have made men who once could maintain 20 or 30 yeomen, and comfort many poor, now scarce able to maintain their own households.

These two things, costly apparel and varying fashions, especially of the women, are the chief cause of this altered state of things.

Men are compelled to sell their lands, or get in debt.

They have to burden their lands with provision for children who should have been provided for during life.

membres/, and studye to suppress his worde/, and not to preach the same. Haue not they busynes suffycyent, wherwith to occupye them in their owne office? If they wolde loke well therunto/, doo not they see on euerie syde detestable synne raigne through-owt all this your realme? Is there not suche excesse and costelynes of apparell/, bycause of dyuersyte and change of fasshyons, that scarce a worshipfull mans landes, which in tymes paste was wonte to fynde and maynteyne twenty or thirty tall yowmen/, a good plentyfull howsholde for the releyfe and counforte of many poore and neadye/; and the same nowe is not suffycyent and able to maynteyne the heyre of the same landes/, his wiffe/, her gentle woman or mayde/, two yowmen/, and one lackey? The pryncypall cause herof is their costly apparell/, and specially their manyfolde and dyuerser chaunges of fasshyons whiche the man, and specially the woman, muste weare vpon bothe headde and bodye. Somtyme cappe/, somtyme hoode/; nowe the Frenshe fasshyon/, nowe the Spanyshe fasshyon/; than the Italian fasshyon/, and then the Myllen fasshyon/; so that there is nco ende of consumynghe of substaunce, and that vaynely, and all to please the prowde folyshe man and womens fantasye. Hereof spryngethe great myserye and neade. The fathers consumynghe theyr goodes in vayne/ pryde/, and wanton lustes (called vpon by your Grace to sere your Majestye for the defence of this yourr realme) have not to doo their dewtye/; wherby they be compelled to sell theyr landes/, or els to burdeyne their frynedes/, or els to daunger them selfe in dette to many. Hereof rysethe it that the father is compelled to declare his will vpon hys landes to be executed after his deathe (when he can not occupye the same hym selfe) for the aduauncement and helpe of his children, and the payment of his dettes/, whom casely he myght in his lyffe
VICES AMONG THE PEOPLE.

haue aduaneed, holpen, and dyscharged, / yf suche ryotouse expenses had ben auoyded. The prophete Osee sayethe:—"There is noo trewethe, / no mercye, / no knowleage of God in earthe; / cursynges, lyenge / murdre, thefte, / adulterye, hate broken in"; / and yet
do owre shepherdes holde theyr peace. What com-
missacyon, / dronckenes, / detestable swearinge by all 
the partes of Christes bodye (and yet callyng them in 
sorne "huntinge othes") extorcyon, / pryde, / coynt-
uousenes, / and suche other detestable vyce, raigne in 
this yowr realme; / agaynste the whiche owre byshops, 
and other pastoures, shulde contynually crye owt, / as 
the Prophete sayethe:—"Crye nowe as lowed as thow 
canste, / leaue not of /, lyfte vp thy voyce lyke a trom-
pett, / and shewe my people their offences, and the 
howse of Iacob their synnes.” But, alas! they be be-
come bothe blynde and dome, / as the Prophete say-
ethe:—"His watchmen are all blynde; / they haue all 
together noo vnderstandinge, / they are all dome dogges, 
not able to barcke; / they are slepye, / folyshe are 
they, and lye snortinge. / They are shameles dogges 
that be neuer satysfyed. The shepherdes also in lyke 
maner haue no vnderstandinge; / but euery man turn-
ethe his owne waye, / euery one after his owne coynt-
uousenes, with all his powre.” What is the cause that 
they doo not execute this their oflyce? Other bycause 
they can not, / or bycause they haue somoche worldely 
busynes that they will not, apply them selfes to per-
fourme bothe. Or els they be afrayed to speake the 
trwethe, lest they shulde dysplease men. Whom 
Paul reproueth sayenge: "If I shulde please men, I 
shulde not be the servaunte of Christe.” Also the 
Prophete sayethe:—"God breakethe the bones of them 
whiche studye to please men; / they be confounded, /,

Drunkennes, 
swearing by 
Christ’s Body, 
"hunting oaths,”
pride, and vice 
reign in the 
realm,
against which 
bishops and 
pastors should 
cry alonel and 
Esa. livii. 
spare not.
But, alas! they 
are blind and 
dumb,
Esaye levi.2
and shameless.
Why don’t the 
bishops execute 
their office?

1 Orig. v. 2 Orig. lxvi. 
3 53rd in A. Version.
They love their possessions; because the Lorde dispyseth them. Notwithstanding, our byshops louse so well their greate domynions, whereby they maynteyne their lordely honour, that they will not dysplease men with preachynge the treuth, lest they shulde then loose their greate possessyons;/ and, consequently, their lordely glorye. But surely as longe as they possessetheyr greate domynions/, so longe they wyll contyneweth and maynteyne their pryde. And so longe as they contyneweth in pryde/, so longe they shall not recyeue the Holy Ghoste/, whiche shall teach them to speake the treuth. "For vpon whom shall my Sprete reaste" (sayeth the Prophete Esaye) "but vpon the meake and lowely/, and vpon hym which feareth my sayengs." Also the Prophete sayeth: "God resysteth the prowde/, and vnto the meake and lowely he geneth his grace." Wherfore, so longe as the byshops contyneweth in this worldely wealtthe and honowre/, so longe will they neuer do their dewtye and offyce/; but rather persecute the Worde of God whiche declar eth and sheweth what is their offyce and their dewtye. And so longe as they do not exercye their offyce and vocatyon/, but do persecute the Worde and suche as sincere preache the same/, so longe shall synne increase. "For if the eye be wicked/, all the body shalbe full of darcknes." For euon as at suche tyme when the Byshoppe of Rome was fyrste endowed with greate possessyons/, a voyce was harde/, seyinge:—"Nowe venome and poyson is caste and shed forthe into the churche of God." In lykewyse, no doubt, most godly Gouernoure/, semblable voyce and sayenge maye be veryfyed in and vpon all the churche of Englande/, sythen yowr byshops were endowed with so greate possessyons and lordely domynions. No doubt, gracious Lorde/, so longe as grete lordely domynions/, worldly honours and wealtthe/, be annexed and knyt to the vocacyon and
offyces of byshops and other pastours /, these myscheunes & inconuenyences shall ever ensue & folowe. Fyrste the moste prowde and ambycyouse /, the moste councioune and wycked, / which other by money, frendshyp, or flattery, can obtayne the benefyce /, wyll laboure with all study and polycye to gett the benefyce, / only for the worldely honoure, and not for the zeale and loue which he shulde haue to enstrucyte and teache the people commyttted to his cure and charge. And for the profett which belongethe and apperteynethe to the same benefyce /, they wyll dyssemble humlyte and despeecon of all worldely profettes and pleasures /, so colorablye and subtelly /, that yt shall be very harde for youre Magestye, or any other hauynge authoryte, to gene benefyces, to perceyue them. And when they haue obteyned the benefyce /, than every Christian man shall well perceyue that he hathe not entered in by the dore; that is, for the zeale and loue, to doo and execute the offyce /, but hathe clymmed vp and assendeth by a nother waye /; that ys, for the luken and honoure annexed to the offyce. And than certenly, whosoever assendeth and entereth in by a nother waye /, can not be but a thefe /, by daye and by nyght; / whose study and laboure muste be to steale /, kyll /, and to destroy. As Christe (whose wordes muste euere be true) sayethe: —"The thefe commethe not but to steale, / to kyll /, and to destroy." So that, so longe as so moche worldly profett and honour belongethe to the benefyce, so longe wyll he that, for wante and lacke of lernynge can not doe the offyce /, and also the moste councioune and proude, / wyll laboure to hauue the offyce /, whereby the people commyttted to his cure /, shall not onely be vntawght /, and not lerned in Gods Worde /, but also all they which can preache and teache Godds Worde and loue the same, / by suche

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1 Orig. vntawght.
It is easier to gather grapes of thorns than of such greedy thieves to have any Christian religion.

Seeing all these things, the king is bound to take away from bishops and other spiritual ministers all their superfluous possessions and worldly cures; and, this done, to appoint such as can preach and have preached; and to remove all such as will not.

The poison being removed, faith shall increase and sin decrease; a worldly wolf, shall be extremely persecuted and tormented. For he can not but steale, kyll, and destroye, and ytterly abhore, and hate the godly, as Christe sayeth:—"Yf you were of the worlde, the worlde wolde lune his owne. But because you be not of the worlde, but I haue chosen you from the worlde, therfore the worlde dothe hate you." No doubt a man shall moche rather vpon thornes gather grapes, vpon brambles and bryres gather fygges, than of suche greedy theues to haue any Chrysten relygyon, other setforthe, or, or stablyshed. Wherfore (moste redoubted Prynce) seinge that their greate possessions, ryches, worldly offyces, cures, and busynes, be the impedyment and let that they do not execute their vocacyon and offyce, which is so godly, profitable, and necessayre for this your common wealthe; yowe beinge owr soueraigne Lorde and Kynge (whom God hathe called to governe this your realme, and to redresse the enormytes and abuses of the same), by all iustye and equyte are bounden to take awaye from byshoppes and other spirytuall shepherdes suche superfluote of possessions, and ryches, and other secular cures, busynes, and worldly offyces, which be the cause of moche synne in them; and no lesse occasyon whereby they be letted to execute their offyce, to the greate losse and hynderance of moche faythe, vertue, and goodnes, which myght be admynistred to your subiectes, through the trewe preachynge of Godes Worde. And that done, than circumspectly to take heade that none be admytted to be pastoures, but suche as can preache, and haue preached soyerely Godes Worde. And all suche as will not, to remove them from their cures. This godly ordre obserued in the electyon of spirytuall pastoures, and the pestylent poysisone moued and taken away from ther vocacyon, faythe shall increase, and synne shall decrease; trewe
BISHOPS TO BE TAKEN AWAY.

obedience shall be observed with all humility, to your 
Majesty and to the higher powers 
by your Grace appointed in office.

Cuius quietnes, rest, and peace shall be stably fixed, God shall be feared, honoured, and loved, which is the effect of all Christian living.

( )

O Lord, save our most sovereign Lord, King of England, and grant that he may once feel throughly and perceive what miserable calamity, sorrow, and wretchedness we suffer now in these days a brode in the country, by these unlearned, popish, and most cruel tyrants, even the very enemies of Christ's cross; whose pain shall be without end, when we shall live in joy for ever. Grant yet again, I say, good Lord, and most merciful Father, through thy Son Jesus Christ, that when his Grace shall know and perceive (by thy gift and goodnes) their most detestable ways in my supprin ge thy heritage, that he will earnestly go aabout to se a redresse a monge them; and to the penitent and contrite in heart to shew his accustomed goodnes, and to the other his iustice, according to Saint Paul's doctrine, and his Graces laws.

And, most dread Sovereign (with all humility and humbleness of heart), I beseech your Grace (according to your accustomed goodnes), to take this my rude
I speak for the glory of God.

as a fruit of my obedience,

supplycayon to the beste /, as a frute of my obedy-
ence /, wheryn I haue not dyssembled /, but haue
opened fully vnto your Grace the grounde and very
bottome of my hart; / not of any grudge, euyll wyll, or
malyce that I beare to any spirytuall shepherde (God I
take to recorde), but onely for the glory
of God /, the honour of your Gra
ce /, and the wealthe and profett
of your moste naturall
and louinge
subie-
tes.

FINIS.

† Enprynted in the yeare of our
Lorde .M. CCCCC. xliiiij.
in the moneth of
Decembre.

( )
A Supplication of the Poore Commons.

Proverbs xxiv. Chapter.

Who so stoppeth his eare at the criyng of the poore, ye shall crye hym selue, and shall not be heard.
To the most victorious
Prynce Henry the viii. by the Grace of God
Kyng of Englannde, Fraunce, & Ireland;
Defender of the Fayth, and Supreme
Head of the Churche of England,
and Ireland, immediatly next
vnto God: hys humble and
most Faythfull Subiectes
of the Realme of En-
gland, wysh lyfe
euerlastyng.

Ituously complaineth the pore commons of this
your Maiesties realme, greatly lamentyng their
owne miserable pouertie; and yet muche more
the most lamentable and more then wretched
estate of their chyldren and posterite. Whose myserie,
forsene and throughly considered, is and ought of very
nature, to be more dolorous and sorowful vnfo euerye
naturall hert then that which we our selues feale and
sustayne. Not many yeres tofore, your Highnes poore
subiectes, the lame, and impotente creatures of this
realme, presented your Highnes with a piteful and
lamentable complaint, imputyng the head and chiefe
cause of their penury and lacke of reliefe, vnfo the
great & infinite nombre of valiant and sturdy beggers
which had, by their subtyll and crafty demaner in
begging, gotten into their handes more then the third
the yearly revenues.

Your Majesty needeth out the monks and nuns, who, under the disguise of contempt of this world, wallowed in riches; and removed many gilded beggars, whose holiness was held in such esteem that we reverenced them as gods.

When they were abolished, like children, we fell into an uproar, and, forgetting our obedience to the king, we behavied as the Ephesians did to S. Paul, and the Jews to Stephen, when he said God dwelt not in temples made with hands.

part of the yearly reuenerwse and possessions of this your Highnes realme. Wherupon (as it seemed) your Hyghnes (sekynge a redresse and reformation of thisgreate and intollerable enormitie,—as a merciful father ouer this your natural country; mowed wyth pitie towards the miserable and pittifull nombre of blind, lame, lazar, & other the impotent creatures of this your realme) hath, wyth most earnest diligence, supplantled, and, as it were, weeded out, a greate nombre of valiaunt and sturdy monckes, fryers, chanons, heremites, and nunnes. Which disguised ypocrites, under the name of the contemp of this world, wallowed in the sea in the worldes wealth. And to the entent your louing & obedient subiectes might the better be able to relace the needie & impotent creatures, you toke from them the greate nombre of gilded beggers, whose holines was so fast roted in the hertes of vs your pore commons, through the false dilusions of the forsayd sturdy & valiant beggers, that we wold not stick to go an .C. myles on our bare fete to seke one of them, that we might not only bestow our almes vpon them, but also do them reverence and honour none other wise then if they had benc very gods. Yea, when your Hyghnes had ordeyned that al these forsayd beggers shulde be ytterly abolished, nener to deceyne vs of our almes anye more, we, like men alwaies brought vp in solish supersthicion of these false Phariseis & flateryng hypocrites, knewe not the obedience that we owe to you, our natural and most rightfull Prince, but in-continent fel in an vprore criyng, "Our holi dayes, abbayes & pylgrimmages!" None of[th]er wise than the Ephesians dyd agaynst the elect vessell of God, Sancte Paule, when he sayd, "They are not godes, which be made with handes," and as the Iewse did against holy Steuen, when he sayd that "God dwelleth not in an house made with mans hand." Yea, had not God wrought
on your parte, in appeasing that sturdy thronge, this realme had, euen then, ben like to have bene utterly decayed. For euen those whome your Highnes had called to-gither to assiste you in that daungerous tyme, were (for the moste parte) so bente to the opinion of the other, that many of them woulde not stike to say, "When we shal come to the battaile,—we know what we have to do." But nowe (the Lorde be thanked there-fore) that your Highnes hath finished that your godly purpose, without bloudshed of your poore commones, and that the Worde of God hath ben so set furth & taught by your command[m]ent, that every man that lusteth may therin learne his dutie and office; we are fully perswaded, that all such as resiste the pours, whome God hathe ordeyned and appoynted to rule & gouerne the multitude of thyss worlde, do not resyste man, but God. Be you certayne therfore (most gracious Prince) that we (your most obedient subiectes) walkeyn in the fear of the Lord, wyl not from hense forth (so long as the knowledge of Godes Worde shall reigne amongeste vs) attempt any such so diuilishe enterprise, as to rebel agaynst your Highnesse, our most natural Sonerayne and Leage Lorde; either for our for-fathers popyshe tradicions, or otheroure owne fantastical dreams; not withstaundyng that the remenaunt of the sturdy beggers (not yet weaded out) do daylye, in theyr writynges, counsels, and preachinges, stere vs thereunto. For what meane they in their sermons when they lament the greate discord and myserable estate of this our tyme, wishyng that all thynge were nowe as it was .xx. yeares since, but that they woulde haue a Pope, pardons, lightyng of candels to images, knockyng and knelyng to them, with runnyng hither and thither on pilgremage; besides the infinit number of purgatory horseleches, on whom the vengeaunce of God is so manifestly declared for their beastly buggery,
They tell us that vice has prevailed since we had the Scriptures in English,

but their aim is to make us abhor the Bible.

They would have us as blind as we were when we would have fought against our king, for the maintaining of their papish traditions.

They have procured a law that none shall have the Bible in his house, unless he can spend £10 a year, but they only wish to enslave men's souls by withholding spiritual food.

Are the rich only in possession of souls? Christ said the Gospel was preached to the poor, and the Gospel, which they would shut

that the very places where they dwelt, or not thought worthy to be the dwellinges of men, but the causes of bruit bestes and venemous wormes? They tell vs what vice, vncharitablenes, lacke of mercy, diuercitic of opinions, and other lyke enormites, haue raigned euer sence men had the Scripture in Englyshe. And what is thys other then to cause, mens consciens to abhorre the same, as the onely cause and originall of all thys? They say that it sufficeth a laye man to beleue as they teach, and not to meddle with the interpretation of the Scriptures. And what meaneth that, but that they would haue vs so blynd agayn, as we were when we would haue fought agaynst oure naturall Prynce, for the maynten ance of their popyshe traditions and purgatory patrimony? They cannot abyde this name, "the Word of God;" but they wold haue the Scripture called the commandement of God. And what meaneth this, but that thei are the same enmyes of God, whom that two edged sword shall destroy? Finally, thei haue procured a lawe, that none shal so hardly haue the Scripture in his house, onlesse he maye spend x. pound by yere. And what meaneth this, but that they would famyssh the soules of the residue, witholdyng theiyr food from them? We appeale to your Highnes judgement in this behalfe, whither this lawe be indifferent or not. If none should be alowed meat in your Highnes house, but suche as were clothed in veluet, with chains of gold about theiyr neckes, what seruauntes wold your Maiestie haue shortly? What steruelynges would your seruauntes be aboue all other! For no man within your realme may refuse to do your Grace seruyce. Hath God put immortall soules in none other but in such as be possessiorners of this world? Did not Chryst send word to Ihon the Baptist that the pore receyued the Gossip? And the Gospel that thei shutte vp from vs, was it not the writynges of poore fyshers men and
symple creatures, euen taken for the dregges of the worlde? Were not the setters furthe of it and the prophetes also, persecuted, tormented, and slayne? And why do these men disable them for readers of the Scriptures, that are not indued with the possessions of this worlde? Vndoutely (most gratious Souerayn) because they are the very same that shut vp the kyng-dome of God before men; thei enter not them selues, nother suffer thei them to entre that wolde. They are lyke to a curre dogge liyng in a cocke of haye. For he wyll eate none of the hey hym selfe, nother suffer any other beast that commeth to eate therof. But some wyl peraduenature say, they were not all sturdy beggers that were in the Parlament when this lawe was stablished. For many of them, and the most parte were secular men, and not of suche habilite that this lawe would permyt them to haue the Scripture in their houses. Wherfore, this lawe is in-different, and taketh not the Worde of God from vs; but we wythoure ful consent haue committed it to them, in the sayde lawe limytted. Where vnto we answer, that, if we haue geuen it ouer from vs to the possessioners of this worlde, we may well be lykened to the Gedarites, Marke v., which desired Christ to departe from theyr country, and the lurking night birdes, which can not abyde the bryghte beames of the son. We may boldly affirme that what man soeuer doth wyttyngly and willingly forsake the knowledge of the lynely Worde of God (the fooe of our solles, and lyghte ofoure footesteppes,) is none of the flocke of Christ, forasmuch as his shepe heare his voyce, & reioyce in the same. Did thei that toke their names of anye philosopher, shut vp theyr masters doctrine from them selfe? Did thei not thynke them selues vnworthy to be named after their masters, vnlesse thei knewe their preceptes and rules? Did not the monkes, friers, and other the superstitious religious, employe all theyr SUPPLICATION.
following this example, study to obtain a knowledge of their statutes. And shall we exclude ourselves from a knowledge of Christ's laws which we must follow, on pain of damnation? If we have rejected God's offer, when He used your Highness to publish His word, in which we may learn His love towards us; let us repent most humbly, and beseech Him to forget our obstinacy. Don't let our enemies say the studye to knowe their rules and statutes? Do not the Coelginers at this daye set the boke of theyr statutes at libertie, streightlye commaundyng echel felowe vnder payne of punishemente to employ them, to haue the through knowledge of the same? And shold we glory to be the flocke of Chryst, and to be called of him Christians, when we do willyngly and wittyngly exclude our selfe from the knowleage of the rule which he hathe commaunded vs to folowe, on payne of dampanation of oure soules? Would your Hyglines thinke that man were willyng to do your commandement, that would not diligently reade ouer your Highnes letters sent from you to certifie hym of youre wyll and pleasure in hys office? And what other thinge is the whole Scripture then the declar[at]ion of the wyll of God? Wer it lykely therfore, that we, excluding our selues from the knowledge therof, shold be willyng to do his wyll? If we haue therfore reected this mercifull profer of our moost mercifull Father, when he vsed youre Hyglines, as hys instrumente, to publyshe and set forthe hys moost lyuelycke Worle, wherin is declared the inestimable loue that he beare towards vs, in that he gane hys onelye Sonne to be an acceptable sacrifice for oure synnes; and the vnspekable mercy which caused him to accept vs as iust, euen for his Sonnes sake, without our workes or descuinges; let vs now humbly fal downe prostrate before his Maiestye, wyth perfecte repentance of this, the contempte of his mercifull gyfte; moost humbly besekinge hym, of his infinyte goodnes, tenderly to beholde the doloures of our hertes, for that we neglected so mercifull a profere; and to forget oure obstinacie ther in, geuyinge your Hyglines suche desire of oure saluation, that you wyll as favorably restore vnto vs the Scripture in oure English tongue, as you dyd at the fyrst translation ther-of set it abrode. Let not the adversaries take occasion
to say, the Bible was of a traytours settinge forthe, and not of your Hyghnes owne doynge. For so they reporte, that Thomas Cromwell, late Earle of Essex, was the chyfe doer, and not youre Hyghnes, but as led by him. All thys thei do to withdraw the mindes of vs (your Hyghnesses subjectes) from the readynge and study thereof. Which thyng doth casely appere by the diligence they shewe in settyng furth and execution of your Hyghnes proclamations and injunctions concernyng the same. For when youre Highnes gane commaundement that thei shoulde se that there were in euer parysh churche, within thys your Highnes realme, one Byble at the least set at libertie, so that euer man myght frely come to it, and read therin, suche thynges as should be for his consolation, manye of this wicked generation, as well preystes as other their faithfull adherentes, wuld pluck it other into the quyre, other elles into som pue, where pore men durst not presume to come. Yea, ther is no smale nombre of churches that hath no Byble at all. And yet not suffised with the withholdyng of it from the pore of their owne parishes, they neger rested tyl they had a commaundement from your Highnes, that no man, of what degree so euer he wer, should read the Bible in the tyme of Goddes seruice (as they call it); as though the hearyng of theyr Latin lyes, and coniuryng of water and salte, were rather the seruice of God, then the study of his most Holy Worde, the onelye foode of our soules, and lyght of our fote steppes; wythout whiche no man can walke vp pryghtly in perfect lyfe, worthy our name and profession.

This was theyr diligence in settyng forthe the Byble at your Hyghnesse commaundement. But when your Highnesse had diunised a proclamation for the burnyng of certen translations of the Newe Testament, they were so bold to burne the whole Bibles, because
they burnt the whole Bible because the same men translated it.

See how they play bo-peep with your Highness's commands, suppressing, where they dare, what you have allowed.

They wished the Bible called in, and promised a new translation in seven years.

In this they were like the criminal who saved his life by promising to teach an ass to dance in 11 years.

They trusted that in that time your Highness would be dead, or the Bible forgotten.

they were of those men translations. And ye your Hyghnesse woulde enquire of them whoe toke the paynes in translatinge the Great Byble that your Highnes hath authorised, we thynke they could not, for verye shame, denie, but, euern agaynste theyr wylles, graunt, that those poore men, whose paines & greate travayle they haue rewarded with fire and banishment, were the doers ther of. See, grationse Prince, how they play bopipe with your Highnes commaundementes, suppressinge, in al that they dare, the thyng that youre Highnesse hath authorised; euern as it were men that loked for a faire daye, which we trust, in the Lorde Iesu, they shall never see. As we herd say, they profered your Highnesse, that if it wolde please you to call in the Bible agayne (for as much as it was not faithfully translated in al partes) they wold ouer see it, and with in .vii. yeres set it forth agayne. A while; we think they haue red the story of a certen man, who, beynge condemned to die, profered that, if he might haue his life, he would doo his prince such a pleasure as neuer man dyd, for hee woulde, wythin the space of .xiii. yeres, teach him an ase to daunce. Where vpon he had his lyfe graunted him, vpon condition that ye he dyd not performe his promised enterprise, that then he shoulde never the lesse suffer deathe. Thys done, he was demaunded of one of his familiers, why he was so madde to take vpon him such an enterprise, so farre beyonde all reason and possibilytie? He answered, "my frend, hold the content; I haue wrought wysly, for wyth in these xiii. yeares, ether the kynge, I, or the ase, shalbe dead; so that by thys meanes I shall escape thys reprochfull and shamfull death." So your byshopes (most victorious Prince) if they might haue gotten in the Bible for vii. yeres, they wolde haue trusted that by that tyme, ether, youre Highnes shoulde haue ben dead, or the Bible forgotten, or els
they them selues out of your Highnes reache, so that you should not haue had like power ouer them as you haue nowe. Wel, go to, we trust ere the vii. yeres be past, God shall reiiaile vnto your Highnes moch more of theyr subtyll imaginations then we are worthy to know of. Moreouer, wil your Highnes se houe faithfully they dyd youre commandement, when you appoynted two of them to ouer loke the translation of the Bible? They sayd they had done youre Highnes commaundement therin, yea, they set their names there vnto; but when they sawe the worlde som what lyke to wrynge on the other syde, they denied it, and said they never medeled therewith, causyng the prynter to take out theyr names, which were erst set before the Bible, to certifie all men that thei had diligently perused it according as your Highnes had commaundd. One other poynct of theyr dilige?ce your Highnes may note in the settyng furth and vsyng of youre Hyghnes Primer both in Englysli and Latin. And in the diligent readyng vnto the people, the exhortation to prayer, which you ordyned and commaundd to be redde alwaies before the Possession in Englysh. We thynk no man can blameles say, that euer he heard one of them reade it twyse ouer. Yea, when your Highnes was returned from youre victory done at Bullyn, they dyd what they coulde to haue called it in agayne. In so much that they caused all such parishes as they myght commaunde, to vse theyr olde Kyre Eleyson agayne. And yet to this daye, thei vse, on solempne feastes, to folow theyr olde ordinary, not withstandyng your Highnes commaundement. But when thei katch any thyng that soundeth to the contrary, it shall not escape so, we warrant you. It shalbe swynged in euery pulpyt wyth, "this is the Kynges gratious wyll; and yet these heretickes wylbe styll doying in the Scriptures. A shomaker, a cobbler, a tayler, a boy not

Two were appointed to overlook the translation,
and set their names to it, to testifie they had done so;

afterwards they had their names omitted, sayying they had never meddled with it.

They never read the exhortation to prayer, as commaundd by your Highness,
and on Feast days use the old ordinary.

When they catch anything they like, it is "swinged" in every pulpit, as the king's gracious will.

or themselves ou:
They say how well disposed the people used to be;

how many hospitals were built, and colleges founded;

and would add, abbeys and chantries were then founded, if they dare.

If they had their way, building would be the best trade going.

We pray that their subtleties may always come to light before they prevail;

that these sturdy beggars be rooted out;

and that the tenth of every man's increase may go to the poor, as it was long before Christ, and long before the Law.

yet xx. yeres of age, shal not stycke to reprove that a lerned manne of xl. yeaeres studye shall affyrmee in the declaration of Gods Word. O how godly wer the people disposed, when thei knew nothyng of the Scripture, but as thei were taught by profound clerkes and well lerned men! Then were there hospitals buylded for the poore. Then wer there coleges buylded for the maintenaunce of lernyng.” Yea, if they durst they would say, “Then were abbayes & chantries founded for the realyfe of the pore soules in the bitter payns of Purgatory. Then were our purses filled with the offerynge of the denout people that vsed to seke the blessed images, and relickes of our Saviour Christ, & of his Blessed Mother Mary with the residue of his saints.” If your Highnes would rayse vp but one abbe, chauntry, or pilgremage, you shuld easely perceine which way thei are bent. We doute not but for these vii. yeres folowyng, masons occupation, with other belonging to buyldying, would be the best handy craftes within this your royalme. We praye God their subtil imaginations maye alwaies come to lyghte before thei preuail to the hinderance of Gods veritie. And that it maye please hym alwaies to assist your Highnes in the defendyng and settyng furth of the same, to hys glory, and the soul helth of vs, your Highnes most faithful & obedient subiectes. And that you leave not of, tyll you have roted out all these sturdy beggers, that the pore members of Christ may haue that porsion to lyue vpon, which was from the beginnyng apoynted for them. We meane the x. part of every mans yerly increase. For though, at the commyng of Christ, and long before, these tenthes were genen to the pristes of the lawe, yet was it not so from the beginnynge; for at the fyreste, because the world was not so replenished with people, but that every man was a great possessioner, it was thought good to take of the best of their increase and
THE ORIGIN OF TITHES.

At the first every man offered his sacrifice to God, as we learn by the story of Cain and Abel.

Then Moses gave a law, commanding a certain family to be priests, who were to receive a part of every sacrifice.

When they were settled in Canaan, tenths of all increase were given to the priests, who ministered in the Tabernacle.

Other provision was made for the poor, so that they might have some share in the produce of the earth.

After Christ, the Christians had all in common.

This did not answer when they increased in number.

to offer it to the liyung God in sacrifice, as it appereth by the storie of Abel and Cain. But whan the people grewe to so greate a nombre that euerye man coulde not have a sufficient porsion to lyue vpon, vnlesse he were able to laboure and tyll the grounde; then was it prouided that every possessioner shoulde set the tenth of his yearely increase in the porche of hys house, that the lame, blinde, sycke, and diseased, myght be there releden. This order continued tyll the time that Moyses, by the commaundement of God, gaue a lawe to the Israelites, and appoynted that a certayne kynred amongst them, that is, the Leuites, shuld be alwayes theyr priestes, and mynysters of the Tabernacle; vnto whom he appoynted certayne partes of euery sacrifice, that they myght lyue therby. For as yet there was no tenthes to be paied, for then they were in their iorny from Egypt, which iorny continued ful xl. yeres; but after that they wer once settled in the Lande of Promesse, and gathered the fruytes of the grounde, they thought good to geue the tenthes of theyr increase to the priestes that ministred in the Tabernacle, that they myght lyue ther vpon, acconlyng to the wordes of the prophet Mal. iii:—"Bring in euery tenth into my barn, that ther may be meat in my house." But then ther was an other pronysion for the poore, Leui. xxiii. For no man myght lease, rale, or gleane his grounde after he had gathered of his croppe. Noo, they mighte not gather their grapes nor frutes twyse, but must leue the latward fruit, with the scateryng of theyr corne, for the poore to gather, that they myghte haue some relyefe therby; this order continued to the commynge of Chryst.

After whose commynge, the Christian sort had all thynge commune, so that no man knewe of any increase, for as much as no man toke anye thynge for hys owne, Actes iii. But when the nombre of Christians encreased so muche that they possessed hole cyties,
But no tenths were paid to the ministers.

After this, when the Christian religion was established, and men spent their time over the Scriptures, it was thought good to provide for the poor, by reverting to the old law.

In the apostles' time, deacons were appointed to distribute to the poor, according to their need; and these deacons received the tithes.

countrys, & kyngdomes, it was thought good that every man should knowe hys owne, to the intent that such as other wyse woulde haue lyued ydly shoulde therby be prowoked to laboure, as apeareth by the rule that Saint Paul gaue to the Tessalonians, ii. Tessaloni. iii., which was thys:—"Who so laboureth not, let hym not eat." Yet was ther no tenthes payd to the ministers, for Paull wrytinge to the Corinthians, i. Corin. ix., desireth them to be good to such as laboure in the ministration of the Gospell, affirminge that it is but mete that suche as serve the aultur, should haue a liaynge therby; and that it were farre vndesent to musell the oxe that travauteeth all the daye in treadyng the corne out of the strawe, Deutro. xxv. Which thinge he neded not to haue done, yf the tenthes of ech mans encrease had as than ben geuen to them; for that myght haue sufficed them well ynough (onlesse they had ben as gredye as oure ministres bee, whiche be neuer satisfied).

Yet after thys, whan the Christian religion was thorowly stablyshed in many congregations, & many men had laboured ouer the Scriptures, they thoughte good to pro- vide for the poore impotent creatures accordinge to the example of the auncient fathers of the olde lawe. And bycause they were perswaded that Christ, offering vp him selfe vpon the crosse, had ended all sacrifice, Hebre. x., so that the ministers amonge them neded not to bee pestered with any other thing then preaching, they agreed to adde vnto the preachers an other sort of ministers, which myght supplie the office of holy Steuen, and the other which, in the primatiue church, were appointed to distribute the goodes of the congregation, accordinge as euerie man shoulde stand in neede, Actu. vi. To these men they gane the tenthe of theyr yerlye encrease, to the intent that they shoulde there vpon

1 Orig. iii.
2 Orig. satisfieth.
3 Orig. accordigne.
IN THE EARLY CHURCH.

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minister all necessaries, as well to the preachers, as to the poor impotent members of the church.

But after that persecution began to cease, & the preachers of the worde of God lived in peace, and that the people were fully bente to learne & followe the doctrine of Christe; they dyd by the preachers, as the Israelites wolde haue doone by Christe, when he had fede so many of them wyth so lytle bread, Iohn vi. They made them their rulers, thinkyng that those men which had broughte them out of the darkenes of erroure, and instructed them in the true knowledge of God, coulde best goure the publike weale. And woulde walke most vprightly in example of lyfe, compellinge the people ther by, to embrace all godlye & honest lyuinge, and to detest and abhore the contrari. This was their intent (most gracious Prince) whan they gaue rule to the preachers of Goddes truth and verite. And in very dede the thinge proued according to their expectation, for a season.

But alas, after the true shepherdes were departed out of thys lyfe, there entred into the fouilde most rauening woullfes, of whom Saint Paule gave vs warnyng, whan he said "I know for a certenty, that immediatly after my departinge from you, there shall enter in amonge you certen in sheppes clothing, but inwardly they are rauening wolffes," Act. xx.

The lyke thynge dyd Sainte Peter forsee, when he premonished the elders, that they shold not behaue themselfes toward the people, as men hauing dominion over them, i. Pe. v.

These hierlinges intended not to maintain & increase the spiritual treasure of the congregation, but to fyl their owne coffers with golde and vayne treasure; to bringe them selues aboue kinges and emperours, yea to be taken for Goddes vicars vpon earthe. And

When persecutions began to cease, and ministers lived in peace, and people began to learn,

they made their ministers rulers, thinking they would walk most uprightly.

This answered for a season.

After these shepherds died wolves came into the fold,

who only intended to fill their coffers with gold, and to raise themselves above all kings and emperours.

1 Orig. publike.
TRADITIONS AND PRACTICES

They promised to keep hospitality for the poor,

and the people not only gave them tenths, but possessions also, that they might be more hospitable.

Then came traditions, or church laws, which were supposed to have as much authority as the commands of God.

Now they may command us to build churches with high steeples and bells;

and their masses, and Pope's pardons.

that they myght the sooner bringe this their purpose to passe, they persuaded the people that it should be much more conuenient that they had the tenthes & patrimony of the church (as they call it) then the deacons, whom the people had elected there vnto. And that it should be more bescaming that the deacones were at theyr fyndinge, then that they shoulde be at the deacons findinge ; for they woulde kepe hospitality for the poore, accordinge as the institution of the Apostles was that they should; which thynge they could not do onles they had wher withal to maintaine it. By these meanes were the people sone persuaded to gene vnto them not onely the tenth, but certein possessions also, to thentent thei might maintayne the more liberal hospitality for the relieue of the pore. This done, all their study was to set them selues so hyghe in the conscience of the people, that they should take all their traditions to be of no lesse authoritie then the commaundement of God. To do this they could find none so ready a way as to name theyr traditions the lawes of the church. For yf we beliere that Christe is the heade of the churche, and that he is God ; then muste we neades graunt that the lawes of the church be Goddes lawes. O diuelleish subtilltie, more then serpentical! What subtill fouler could e have diunised a more subtill trayne to bringe the poore, simple byrdes into his nette? Certes, yf al the deuels in hell had ben of theyr counsel (as we thikeye they were) they could not have concluded vpon a more subtil imagination. Now have they ynough, what needeth them to seke any further? Now may they commaund vs to buylde them goodly churches with hyghe steeples, & greate belles to ryng oure pence into theyr purses, when our frendes be dead. Nowe may they make vs beliere that theyr masses be helpefull sacrifices, both for the quick and the dead. Nowe must we beliere that the Popes pardons do re-
lease vs both from payne and faute, but Christ releaseth the faute only. Now must we beleue they can make of two creatures one, that is to say, coniure water and saulte that it be made a medicine both for bodye & soul; and of such force that it may be able to roote out the devell him self with all hys aungels and ministers. Nowe must we beleue that repentance anuyleth vs not, onles we declare all our synnes, with the circumstances thereof, to one of them, and do such satisfaction as they shall appoint vs to do. Now can we not denye but that the outragiouse belonging of a sorte of sodemicall bulls, myngled with the proud pipying of organs, is the servise of God, and worthy to be preferred before the redyng and preching of Gods Worde. Now must we beleue that God wyl not heare our praiere onles we be in fauoure with some of the deade saintes which wyl be our aduocate. Now must we beleue that the making and gilting of ymages, building of abayse, churches, chauntries, gyldes, hermitages, and gyuinge of boke, bell, candelsticke, basen, yower, erwetes, pax, chalyse, corporace, vestimentes, aulter clothes, curtens, hanginges, towels, torches, tapurs, shope, sensoures, pixese, coopes, cannebes, & runnyng on pilgrimage, is more acceptable to God then the vii. workes of mercy. Now must we beleue that they can not erre, though they set vp the bloude of a dudeke to be honored for the verye bloude of Christe, though they made the Roode of Kente to wagge hys yies, though they were bandes & fornicators with the holy whore of Kent. We maye not thinke they ought to marye wyues, though we take them dayly abusinge other mens wyues. We must not saye that they are rauenynga woullfes, but the true shepherdes of Christ; although we see them bothe bye & sell the congregacions of Christ; & when they have them, loke for nought els but what yearelye rentes may

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*Orig. af.*
Your Highness knows their desire to feed the flock; how a law was passed compelling them to preach four times a year.

But they pleaded for the chaplains of your Majesty, and the law was relaxed for all such as held office, either under the king or the nobles.

We are compelled to forget we are your subjects, and claim to be brothers with you in God's household.

Ahab when he intended to go against Ramoth, consulted the four hundred false prophets, and they told him he should prosper;

be clearly reaped therof. Your Hyghnes knoweth ryghte well what desyre they haue to feed the flocke, for it is not yet many yeares sense youre Hyghnesse, in your hygh Courte and Parliament, was, by theyre negligence, constrained to establishe a lawe, that, vnder payne of a forfayte, they shoulde preache in every of theyr paryshes foure tymes in a yeare at the leste, and that none shoulde haue moe benefices then one, wherenpon he shoulde be reasident. But here they put your Highnes in mynde of all such chapelyns as do service to youre Hyghnes, and to other your nobles of this your realme, besides other, certein graduates of the vniversities. Wherevpon it was prouided, by the authoritie of the sayd parliament, that every such chaplayn myght haue many benifices, and be non residence, to lye at the vniversitie, or els where, at his pleasure, so he wer in any of your nobles service. Oh gratious Prince, here are we, your natural, and most obeisant leage people, constrained to forget (with all humble subjection we spake it) that we are of nature & by the ordinance of God your most bounden subiectes, and to cal to remembrauance that by our second byrth we ar your brothers and felowe seruauntes (although he in a much inferior ministry) in the houshold of the Lorde our God. Most humble beseking your Highnes to forget also in thys poynte that you are our Leage Lorde and Souerayne, taking our wordes as a token of the feruent desire that we (your most faithful subiects) haue of your solles salvation. Achabe kyng of Israel, whan he intended to make a viage, and to take by force the country and inhabitantes of Ramoth Giliade, he caused his prophetes, to the nombre of CCCC. false prophetes, to be brought before him, that he might know by them whether the Lord wolde prosper his iourney or not. These false prophetes, standing in the syght of the kynge, & beinge demaunded of him,
whether he sholde make expedition against Ramoth or not, answered with one voice, "Make expedition, the Lord shall give it into the hands of the king," iii. Reg. xxii. In lyke maner (most dread Souerayne) your Hyghnes & youre most noble prodicessours, haue alwaies consulted a great nombre of false prophetes, which, as Achabes prophetes dyd, prophesied vnto you lies; wringynge & wrestynge the Scriptures to stabilishe your Hyghnes in all such thynges as they perseyued you bret vnto. And if at any tyme anye true Micheas haue prophesied vnto you the truth of Gods Worde, one Sedechias or other boxeth him on the cheke that he remneth streight into the fyre. So that litherto they haue led your Highnes in this detestable errore, that you thyncke it lawfull for you and your nobles, to reward those false flattering Babylon[.]call prophethes wyth that porcion which, by the ordinaunce of God, is due to the poore impotent creatures, the lame, blinde, lazer, & sore membres of Christe. We beseeke you (most deare Soueraine) euen for the hope you haue in the redemption by Christ, that you call to remembrance that dreadfull daye, when your Highnesse shall stande before the judgement seat of God in no more reputation then one of those miserable creatures which do nowe daylye dy in the stretes for lack of theyr dwe porsion, wherewith you & your nobles do reward those gnatical elbowhangers, your chaplaines. 

If theyr ministrie be so necessary to your Highnes that you can not lacke them, yet let not the vnsasiable dogges denour the bread that was prepared for the children; let them be appoynted lyninges worthy their ministration. What reason is it that a surveyer of bildinges or landes, an alckmist, or a goldsmith, shoulde be rewarded with benefice vpon benefice, which of very reason oughte to be committed to none other but such

\footnote{1 1 Kings xxii. in the Authorised Version.}
which ought only to be given to godly and learned men?

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as, through godly lerninge and conversaion, wer able, and would apply them selues, to walke anydes theyr flocke in al godly example and puritie of lyfe? Howe greate a numbre is there of theym that, vnder the name of your chaplynes, may dispand yerly by benefices, some one C., some CC., some CCC., some CCCC., some CCCCC.; yea, some M. markes and more! It is a comone saiying among vs, your Hyghnes pore commons, that one of your Highnes chapplene, not many yeres synce, vsed, when he lusted to ride a brode for hys repast, to cary wyth hym a scrowle, wherin wer written the names of the parishes wherof he was parson.

As it fortuned, in hys journe he aspied a churche standynge vpon a fayre hyll, pleasautly beset with groues and playn feldes, the goodly grene medowes liyng beneth by the banckes of a cluistalline ryuer garnished with wyllouse, poplers, palme trees, and alders, most beautiful to behold. This vigilant pastoure, taken with the syghte of this terestial paradise, sayd vnto a seruaunt of his (the clerke of his signet no doubtte it was, for he vsed to cary his masters ryng in his mouth) “Robin,” sayd he, “yonder benefice standeth very pleasantly, I would it were myne.” The seruaunt aanswered, “Why, syr,” quoth he, “it is your owne benefice;” and named the parish. “Is it so?” quoth your chaplen. And with that he pulled out his scroule to se for certentie whether it were so or not.

Se (most dread Souerayn) what care they take for the flocke. When they se theyr parrysh churches they knowe theim not by the situaition. If youre Highnes had so manye swyne in youre royallme as you haue men, would ye commyt them to the kepyng & fedyng of such swynherdes as did not know theyr swynsecotes when thei sawe theym? Oh merciful God, how far wide is this our tyme from the primatiue church! Defer not (moost deare Soueraine) the reformation of this
myss; for the day of the Lord is at hand, and shall come vpon vs as a thefe in the nyght, ii. Peter iii. 

Disceiue not your selfe through the false gloses of these flatteryng ipocrytes. Turne them out after theyr brethren, the pyed purgatory patriarches; and restore to the poore members of Christ theyr due portion, which they trusted to haue receiued, when they sawe your Highnes turne out the other sturdy beggers. But alas! thei failed of theyr expectation, and are now in more penurye then euer they were. For, although the sturdy beggers gat all the denotion of the good charitable people from them, yet had the pore impotent creatures some relefe of theyr scrappes, where as nowe they\textsuperscript{1} hauie nothyng. Then had they hospitals, and almshouses to be lodged in, but nowe they lye and storue in the stretes. Then was their number great, but nowe much greater. And no merueil, for ther is in sted of these sturdy beggers, crept in a sturdy sorte of extorsioners. 

These men cesse not to oppresse vs, your Highnes pore commons, in such sort that many thousandes of vs, which here before lyued honestly vpon our sore labour and travayl, bryngyng vp our children in the exercise of honest labore, are now constrained some to begge, some to borowe, and some to robbe & steale, to get food for vs and our poore wiues & chylde, which is most lyke to growe to inconuenience, we are constrained to suffer our chylde to spend the flour of theyr youth in idlenes, bringyng them vp other to bear wallettes, other eels, if thei be sturdy, to stuffe prisons, and garnysh galow trees. For such of vs as haue no possessions lefte to vs by oure predicessours and elders departed this lyfe, can nowe get no ferme, tennement, or cottage, at these mens handes, without we paye vnto them more then we are able to make. Yea, this was tollerable, so long as, after this extreme exaction, we wer not for the residue of our yeares oppressed with

\textsuperscript{1} Orig. thye.
rents are raised much higher than they were.

Abbey lands are bought of the king.

and the buyers compel us to bring in our covenants.

and take new leases, telling us that all our former writings are void.

when we ought to hold for two or three lives longer.

We cannot send our children to school.

they must labour to help pay the rent.

much greater rentes then hath of ancient tyme bene paid for the same groundes; for than a man myght within few yeres be able to recover his fyne, and after- warde lyue honestly by hys trauel. But now these extorsioners have so improved theyr landes that they make of xl. s. fyne xl. pounde, and of v. nobles rent v. pound, yea, not suffised with this oppression within theyr owne inheritaunce, they buy at your Highnes hand such abbay landes as you appoint to be sold.

And, when they stand ones ful seased therin, they make vs, your pore commons, so in dout of their threatynge, that we dare do none other but bring into their courtes our copies taken of the countes of the late dissolved monastaries, and confirmed by youre Hygh Court of Parliament, thei make vs beleue that, by the vertue of your Highnes sale, all our former writynge are voyde and of none effect. And that if we wil not take new leases of them, we must theen furthwith avoid the groundes, as hauyng therin none entrest. Moreover, when they can espy no commodious thynge to be boughte at your Highnes hand, thei labour for, and optayne, certayne leases for xxi. yeres, in and vpon such abbay landes as lie commodiously for them. Then do they dashe vs out of countenaunce with your Highnes authorite, makyng vs beleue that, by the vertue of your Highnes leas, our copies are voyde. So that they compell vs to surrender al our former writynge wherby we ought to holde some for ii. and some for iii. lyues, & to take by indenture for xxi. yeres, oueryng both fynes & rentes, beyonde all reason and conscience. This thinge causeth that suche possessioners as here tofore were able and vsed to maintain their owne chyldren, and some of ours, to lernynge and suche other qualites as are necessarye to be had in this your Highnes royalm, are now of necessite compelled to set theyr owne children to labour, and al is lylte inough to pay the lordes rent,
& to take the house anew at the exile of the yeres. So that we your poore commons, which haue no groundes, nor are able to take any at these extorsioners hands, can fynd no way to set our chylde ren on worke, no, though we profer them for meat & drynk & poore clothes to couer their bodies. Helpe, mercifull Prynce in this extremite; suffer not the hope of so noble a realme ytterly to peryshe, through the vnsatiable desire of the possessioners. Remember that you shal not leue this kyngedome to a straunger, but to that child of great towardnes our most natural Prince Edward; em-
ploy your study to leue hym a Commune Weale to gourne, and not an island of brute beastes, amongst whom the strongest deuour the weaker. Remembre that your office is to defende the innocent & to punysh the oppressar. God hath not suffered al your nobles to distayne their consciences with this most vngodly oppression. If your Highnes would take in hand the redresse of these great oppressions, dont ye not you could lacke no ayde, for he is faythfull that hath promised to prosper al them that seke his glory and the welth of his pore membres in this church mylitant. Contrariwyse, if you suffre his pore membres to be thus oppressed, loke for none other then the ryghtefull judgement of God, for your negligence in your offyce and mynistry. For the bloud of all them that, through your negligence shal peryshe, shalbe required at your hand. Be mercifull therefore to your selfe, & vs your most obesiant subiectes. Indanger not your solle by the sufferyng of vs, your poore commons, to be brought all to the names of beggers & most miserable wreches. Let vs be vnto your Highnes, as the inferiour membres of the bodye to their head. Remembre that your hore heares are a token that nature maketh hast to absolve the course of your lyfe; preuente the subtile imagina-
tions of them that galpe, and loke after the crowne of 

Help us in our extremity, and do not suffer the hope of the realm to perish!

Study to leave your son, Prince Edward, a Commonwealth, not an island of beasts. Remember you are the defender of the innocent, and the punisher of the oppressor.

If you will redress our grievances you are sure of aid;

if not, the blood of those who die by your negligence will be required at your hands.

Remember your hear hairs are a token that your life must soon end, and prevent the imaginations of
such as gape for your death.

We pray you may live to see the confusion of all such traitors, and see your son able to govern the realm.

Vice is rampant in the land.

Simony has lost its name, and usury is lawful gain. Unless these things be redressed, they will bring the wrath of God upon us. By our example we are worse than Jews or Mahometans.

This realm after your daies. For what greater hope can thei haue as concerning that detectable and deuylysh imagination, then that they might wynne the heretes of vs, your Highnes commons, by the deliuerying vs from the captiuitie and mystery that we are in? We beseke God, your Highnes maye lyue to put awaye all such occasions, and to se the confusion of all suche trayterous heretes; and that youre Grace may se that worthy Prynce Edward able to gouerne and defend this your realme, vanquishying all his enemyse, bothe far and nere, as your Highnes, by the ayde of Almightye God, hath done hitherto. Defer not, most dread Sourayne Lorde, the reformation of these so great enormities; for the wound is euen vnto death, if it continue anye whyle longer. A prynce welbeloued of his people is muche more ryche then he that hath houses full of gold. And yet is he much more ryche that is beloued of God. For if God bee on your part, who can preuyale agaynst your Hyghnes? By thys we meane the great and myghtie abhomination of vyce, that nowe rayneth with-in this your Highnesse realme this day. For hordome is more estemed then wedlocke, although not vniuersally, yet amongst a great number of lycensious persons. Simoni hath lost bys name, and vsery is lawfull gaynes.

These things, onlesse they be redressed, wyl bringe the ire of God vpon the realme. For what doth it lesse then declare vs to be cleane fallen from the doctrine of Christ, who taught vs to lend, lokinge to haue no gayne therby? What example of lyfe is in vs this daye to declare, that we rather bee the people of God then the Iewes or Maometane? Certes (most renomed Prince) none but that we confesse hym to be God. And that were sufficient, yf our deedes dyd not denye him. Yf the rulers haue genen the occasion of these thynges, alas for them; they had ben better to haue had mylstones hanged about theyr neckes, and haue

1 Orig. than
ben cast into the sea. But if the people haue taken it of them selues, and be not punished of the rulers, but be permitted frelye to use it; the blud of them that perish shalbe required at the watchmans hand, Ezechi. xxxiii. Thus princes are punished when the people offende. But now (most deare Souerayne) your Highnes may in this matter try your prelates whether they be of God or nat; for yf they were of God, they woulde, accordinge to the wordes of the prophet, neuer sease, but openly and with a criyngye voyce, declare vnto the people theyr faultes, Esai. lviii, and not be hushed wyth an acte in parliament; for that declareth them to be the setters forthe of mans tradicyons and not of Godes lawes, so that this saying of our Sainiour Christ is verified in them:—"This people honoreth me with theyr lyppes, but their herte is fare from me: they teache the doctrines and commaundementes of men," Math. xv. But here they thinke to stopoure mouthes wyth the feare of your Highnesse displeasure; they say youre Highnes lawes are Godes lawes, & that we are as moch bounde to obserue them as the lawe of God genen by Moyses. Trueth it is (most deare Lorde), that we are bounde by the commaundement of God, to obey your Hyghnesse, & all youre lawes set forth, by your Hygh Court of Parliament, but yf they dissent from or be contrary to anye iote of the Scripture, we muste, with Ihon & Peter, say, Actu. iii., "Iudge you whether it be better for vs to obeye God or man." We speake not this because we think by this, that we may rebel agaynst you, our naturall Prince. But that yf youre Hyghnes would enforce vs by a law to do any thing contrary to that God hath commaundd vs, that then we ought manfully to cleane to the truth of Godes word, boldly confessing the truth therof, fearing nothing the death of this body; and yet moost humble submittinge ourse selues vnto you, redy to abyde and pacientlye to suffer what kynde of torment so euer
we must submit to punishment.

But these dumb dogs only fawn upon their masters.

Before the law allowed 10 per cent. they could preach against usury,

but now they are silent.

A grievous burden on the city of London

are the extorsionate charges which are made on every man in respect of tenths.

should be leyd upon vs, knowing for certenty that we are happy when we suffer persecution for the truthes sake, and that he is faythfull that hath promessed to be reuenged ofoure injuries. But these dombe dogges haue lerned to faine upon them that vse to bringe them bread, and to bee wonderful hasty when they be man-tayned and cherished; but yf they be but ones byde cowche, they know their liripope so well that they draw the tayle betwene the legges, and gette them selues streyght to the kennell. And then come who so wyll, and do what they wyll, these dogges wyll sterre no more tyll they heare theyr maister saye, "hye cut and longe tayle." So frayd they are of stripes, and lesthe they shoulde be tyde vp so short that they myght not raynge a brode and worry now and than a simple lambe or two. Before it was passed by Acte of Parliament that men myghte take x. li. by yeare for an hondreth pound lone, how vehement were they in the matter? All theyr sermons were lytle other then inuectiues agaynst vsery. Then they could alleage both Christ and the Psalmist to proue that Christen men ought to lende what they may spare, & to loke for no gaynes therof. But nowe they do not onlye holde them selues styll as concern-ynge thyss matter, but also they endeueoure to imitat, yea, and to passe the example of the extorsyoners and vserers. For euyn the laste yeare they opetyned by theyr imporuntu sute, a graunte which, yf it be not reuoked, wyll in continuance of tyme be the greateste impoynishment of vs your poore commons (and chyffly in the citie of London) that euuer chanced sence the fyrst beginnyng therof. They haue obtayned, and it is enacted, that euery man wythin the sayd citie, shall yearly pay vnto them acconlynge to the rentes they are charged wyth xvi. d. ob. of euery x. s. So that yf the forces of the groundes do double & triple the rentes, (as they do in dead) then most the pore tenantes paye
also double & triple tenthes as dwe encrease of their riches: this is not vnylke vnto that which is practised in the contry amongst vs your Highnes poore commons. For when it hath pleased God to punish vs with the rot of our shepe, so that perhappes some one of vs hathe hylded C. shepe, then haue some of the persons constrayned vs to geue them x. of the felles, for they cal it increase so longe as we sell them. And therfore must they (as Godes debities) take the tenth thereof. Haue compassion vpon vs (most gracius Soueraine); suffer not these vnsatiable dogges thus to eat vs out of al that we haue; considre that it is against al reason & conscience, that we, your pore commones, shoude be thus oppressed; that where the landlorde taketh of vs duble & triple rent, that then we shall pay also to the person duble or triple tenthes. But see (moost dere Souerayne) howe craftely they haue wroughte thys feathe; they requyre not the tenthes of the lande lorde that haue the increase, but of the ternauntes, whych of necessitye are constrayned to pay to the lorde their askynge, other elles to be without dwellinge places. They know right well that yf they shoulde haue matched them selues with the landelordes, they happelye shoulde haue bene to weake for them at the lengthe. But they were in good hope that we (your poore commons) shoude neuer be able to stande in theyre handes, as in veroe deed we shall not onles your Hyghnes wyll voultsafe to take our cause in hand; for yf we haue not wherwith to pay them, they maie, by the vertue of the acte distresse suche implementes as they shal fynde in our houses. They know our conditions of olde, sence they toke theyre mortuaries. We had rather, in maner, famysh oure selues for lack of fode, and to make right harde shyft besydes, then that we woulde be troubled for anye suche thyng. And doutlesse (most renomed Prince) yf the oppression were not

It is as bad in the country.

If 100 sheep die of rot, the parsons compel us to give them 10 of the skins: they call it all increase.

Don't let us be thus oppressed, to pay double or triple tents, on double or triple rents.

We cannot stand against the priests, unless you take our cause in hand.

We would rather starve than trouble your Highness.

and if the oppression had
to moch beyond all reason and conscience, we woulde neuer haue troubled youre Highnes with all. Yea, yf there were any hope that they would be satisfied by this, we woulde rather fast iii. dayes every weake, then we woulde seame to be slack in doyng all such thynges as the lawe byndethe vs to. But we se daylye so great increase of theyre vnsatiable desire, that we fear lest in processe of time they wil make vs all begge an[d] brynge to them all that we can gette. It is no rare thinge to se the poore impotent creatures begge at Easter to pay for the Sacrament when they receane it. And it is no lesse commune to se men begge for such dead corpses as haue nothinge to paye the pristes diuitie.1 Yea it is not longe sence there was in your Highnes cytie of London a dead corps brought to the church to be buryed, beyng so poore that it was naked wythout any cloth to cover it. But these charitable men, whiche teache vs that [it] is one of the workes of mercy to bury the dead, woulde not take the paynes to bury the dead corps, oulesse they had theyr dutye, as they call it. In fyne, they caused the dead corps to be carryed into the strete agayne, and there to remayne tyll the poore people, whych dwelled in the place where the poore creature dyed, had begged so moch as the pristes call theyr dwe. O mercifull Lord, who can be able worthily to lament the miserable estate of thyse tyne? When those men whiche in all thyngye profess to be the light of the worlde, the teachers of the ignoraunte, & the leaders of the blynd, are so fare withoute mercy (whyche Christe preferred before sacrifice) that they wyl not do so moch as wast a lytle of theyr breathe in readinge ouer a fewe psalmes at the buryall of one of the poore membres of Christ, oulesse they haue money for theyr laboure! And whan those persons whom the other, called spiritual, do compt but as brute beastes, callynge them temporall, shall showe more mercy, the badge of 1 Orig. diuitie.
the Christian soldiery, towards the poor members of Christ, then they which glory to be the true prophets of Christ, and successors of the Apostles! Yea, when those painted sepulchres be so merciful that they pitifully not them, whom the very infidels would pitifully! Where is their so little mercy showed as amongst them? In so much that their covetousness has grown into a proverb:

“No penny, no pater noster.”

The fees they receive for marriages and burials render tithes unnecessary.

Of every £100, they receive £13 15s.

They receive more than your Highness did when beset by mortal enemies; yet they wish for more.

They would tithe our wives, if they were permitted.

The Christian soldiers, towards the poor members of Christ, then they which glory to be the true prophets of Christ, and successors of the Apostles! Yea, when those painted sepulchres are so merciful that they pitifully not them, whom the very infidels would pitifully! Where is their so little mercy showed as amongst them? In so much that their covetousness has grown into a proverb:

“No penny, no pater noster.”

If your Highness would call a compt of them, and cause them to shew the bokes of the names of them that have ben buried & married with in this yeare, conferring the number of the summe of money they take for every such burial & marriage, you should easily persuade howe lytle neede they have to oppresse vs with double & triple tithes. Judge then (most victoryous Prince) what an unreasonable summe the whole & grosse summe of these enhanced tithes wyth other theyr pettvy bryberye, draweth to. They receave of every hondreth li. xiii. li. xv. s., & of the thousands, one hundreth, and xxxvii. li. x. s. Then may youre Highnesse soone be certayned what they receyue of the whole rentes of the citie. No doute (gracyouse Prynce) they receyue of vs yearly moore then your Hyghnesse dyd at anye tyme when you were besette on euerie syde wyth mortall enemyes. And yet theyr conscience woulde serue them wel ynowgh to take three tymes as moche as they do, yf your Hyghnesse woulde suffer them. For they use to saye that, for as moche as it is established by a lawe, they may, wyth good conscience, take it yf it were more. Yea yf your Hyghnesse woulde suffer them, theyr conscience woulde serue them to lye wyth our wifes euerie tentyne nyghte, other els to have euerye tentyne wyfe in the paryshe at theyre...
pleasure. But our trust is that your Highness' will tye them shorter, and to saye the trueth it is tyme; for ye you suffer them a whyle they will attempt to make your Highness pay the tenthes unto them as longe as they haue payed them to you. For they have already soughte oure our ware houses, store houses, stables, warifles, and barnes, causynge vs to paye, not onely the tenthe for that we never payd before; but also the vii. peny of the whole rentes, raised throughout the whole cytie. Who can iudge other therefor (most dready Souerayne) but that they wold, ye thei wist how, cause your Highness to pay vnto them not onely the tenth of your yerely revenues, but also the tenth peny of all such spoiles as youre Highnes shall take in warres; for they carp moch vpon Abrahams geuinge of the tenth of his spoile to Melchisedech. Wherfore most merciful Prince, consider with mercy this pitiful complaint of vs your most faithful subiects, deliveringe vs from the mouthes of these unsaciable beasts, which do daylye employ them selues to deuoure vs, our wyues and childeerne, even as we were fode prepared for them to deuoure. Let the order that Paule toke with the faithfull of the primatiue church, take effect in these our days, the last days of this miserable world. Let none eat that laboureth not, ii. Thessa. iii. Let them also that be called to be preachers, haue the rewarde of preachers; ouerloade them not with the possessions & ryches of this world, for the cares therof do choke the worde. Let not eche raunynge woulfe that commeth wyth a shepbeoke in hys hande be recieved as a shepherde. Let not the simple lambes of Christ be committe to the tuition of these so rauneninge woulfes. Let not the porcion of the poore be committed to them that distribute not, but rather gather and heape vp, coumptynge all fysehe that cometh to the net. Let the

1 Orig. iii.
worthy prophetes that walke diligently in theyr voca-
cion, be called to the gouernance of the spiritual flocke
of Christ, and let them be repelled that come uncalled,
we meane suche as sue to beare the name of youre
Hyghnesse chaplaynes, onelye because they trust to
optayne thereby lordlyck lininges out of the persion
of the poore. Take pity (mooste mercifull Prince) vpon
vs youre poore, and faythful leage people; take pity
vpon youre owne soule, which shall at the laste daye
be charged wyth all abuses that your Hyghnes suffereth
frely to raygne. Beleue not those gnatonicall adher-
entes that wyll not sticke to affirme and denye, so that
they may trust to please you therby. Let them not
perswade your Highnes that al is good that is concluded
in your Hygh Court of Parliament. Remembre, O,
howe they ledde your Hyghnes whan you sent forthe
your letters vnder your broode scale, streyghtly com-
maundinge every and singular your Highnes subiectes,
vnder payne of youre Highnes displeasure, to ayde,
supporte, and forther all and singular prockters &
pardoners. Remembre in what case they had brought
iour Highnes whan you thought it godlynes to viset in
your owne parson the graues, images, & relikes of
dead saintes, doing to them diuine honour & reverence.
Let them not perswade you that God is or can be better
serued in the Latine tong then in the Englysh; con-
sider what great folly Saynte Paull counteth it for men
to pray, which is to talke wyth almighty God, in a tong
they understand not, i. Corin. xiii. Yea and how
moch greater folly it is to thyncke holynes in hearynge
a tale told in a straunge tong. Your Hyghnes com-
maunded that none should receaue the Sacrament at
Easter, but such as coulde and dyd vse the Lordes
prayer wyth the articles of the fayth in the Englysh tong.
But they byd vs vse that which is most ready to vs.

1 Orig. stickt. 2 Orig. Erster.
They baptize in Latin, making us say 'Volo' and 'Credo,' when we don't know what is asked of us, and know not what we profess.

If a child receives any hurt, we blame the priest, and say that member was not well christened.

applying that which is spiritual wholly to the flesh.

The oath of obedience to your Majesty is in English, that we may know what is our duty.

Why then should not the oath which we take to God be in a language which we can understand?

We pray God to preserve your

They baptyse our chylde in the Latyne tong, beding vs say, 'Volo,' and 'Credo,' whan we know not what it is that they demande of vs. By this meane is it bringhte to passe that we know not what we profess in our baptisme, but supersticiously we think that the holynes of the wordes whych sound so straungly in oure eares, & of the water that is so oft crossed is the doyng of all the matter. Yea we thyncke that yf our chyl- der be well plunged in the fourte they shalbe healthfull in all theyr limbs euer after, but yf they, by any misaduenture, receyue any hurte in any of theyr membres, incontinent we ley the faute in the prist, sayinge, that member was not wel christened. Oh mercifull God, what hert can be able worthely to lament this more then Jewdaical superstition? The thing that is mere spirituall, we applye whollye to the flesh. Was there euer any vayne ydolatours that woulde honour theyr goddes in a language they underestimated not? Were the monckes, friers, and chanons, wyth other superstitious religions, professed in a straungge tong? Is not the othe of obeysaunce that we your leage people take vnto you, ministred in the English tonge? And for what other purpose but that we may therby knowe our mooste bounden denitie toward you oure naturall Prince and Leage Lorde? Is it then besamynge that we, takyng an othe of obeysaunce to the Kyngge of all kynges, the God of all the world, and Maker therof, shulde not know what is demaunted of vs nor what we answere agayne? Yf we hold vs styll as concerning thys more then hell darke- nesse, the very stones of your pal layce woulde make exclamation. Preuent therfore, most gracious Prince, the yre of God whiche hangeth ouer thys your royalme. Remember that his long sufferance shalbe recompensed wyth the extremitie of the penysment. Wherfore, most worthy Prince, we humbly beseeke oure heavenly
Father, the Guear of al goodnes, euen for the Lord
Iesu Christes sake oure Sauyoure and Redeamer, that
he preserue you alwayes, geninge you grace to walke
circumpectsly in your vocation and ministery, that, at
the last day, you may receaue the incorruptible crowne
of glory, and reigne with our Elder Brother the fyrst
begotten Sonne of God the Father Almighty; to whom
Wyth the Holy Goost be all honore and glory
for euer and euer. All true
Englysh hertes saye,
Amen.

Psalme. xl.\(^1\)

\(\text{H}^\) Happy is the man that pityeth the poore: for in
tyme of trouble the Lord shal deliuer hym.

Thus haue we (your moost obeisant subiectes) de-
clared the fervent desire we haue not only of your
prosperous succes in the affaires of this life, but also of
your eternal reign with the Lord Iesu in the celestial
kingdom, of whose fayth ye are, in earth, Defender,
and of the faythfull congregacion, in thys lYTE angle
of the earth congregate, the Supreme Heade immediatlye
nexte vnto him, by whose mighty hand you haue
hytherto vanquished, not onely the externe enemies of
this moost noble royaume, but all such as haue most
dyuilyshly ymagined, conspired, & attempted treason
against youre Hyghnes, theyr moost naturall Leage
Lord and Gouernour. What histories should we reade
to knowe of so many and so daungerous conspirations,
so wonderfullye detect & auoyded? Who myghte so
sone haue wrought the most detestable purpose of
treason, as she that slept in your bosom? What mighty
princes haue ben betrayed by them that they haue
loued aboue all creatures? And howe wonderfulllye,
euen at the verye poynt,\(^2\) and in the time of most

\(^1\) xlii. in Au. Ver. \(^2\) Orig. yoynt.
MAY THE OLD TIMES NEVER RETURN.

That abominable idol, the Pope, who was so high in the consciences of us all,

he is become your footstool. Rejoice, for the Lord is your right hand.

Go forth to conquer; and return not till you have purged the Lord's vineyard.

Let not Prince Edward be oppressed in his youth.

but call to mind your own youth, when these evils were too strong for you. There are many who would be glad to see the old times come again.

The wisdom of God lead you into all truth. Amen.

daunger, hath the myghtye hande of the Lorde de-lyuered you? Besydes this, that moost abominable ydoll of Rome, which sate so hygh not only in the consciences of vs your most bounden subiectes & poore commones but also your nobles (even from the highest to the lowest) were all hys faythfull adherentes; in so moche that som of them would not styck to sheade the best bloude of theyr bodyes in hys quarel. And yet how wonderfully hath the Lord our God, made him iour fote stole? Reioise (deare Souerayne) reioyce. The Lord is your right hande, he hath found you faythful in a lytle, & shall ordeyne you ouer moch more. Onely beware that you, puttyng your ha?Kle to the ploughe, do not loke backwarde. Go forthe manfully to conquere, and turne not agayne tyll you haue purged this vineyard of the Lorde, so that there remayne not one lytle impe besides those that our Heauenly Father hath planted. Let not that noble Prince Edwarde be oppressed in the dayes of hys youth, with the combrouse weadyngge oute of suche rotten and fruyteles trees, lest perchaunce they take deaper roote then that his tender youte he may be able to moue. Forget not your owne youth, when these adulterine trees were to stronge for you. Thynke not but that you shall leave behynd you a great nombre that wolde be glad to se the old stompes of these fruitiles trees sprynge agayne. The Lord bringe them all to confusion, geuyng your Highnes long lyfe, with assistence of hys grace, to performe that whyche you haue begonne. The wysdom of the Lorde oure God leade you into all trueth. Amen.

¶ Your moste faythfull and obeysaunt subiectes, the Pore Commomnes of the Royalme of Englande.

Anno. M. ccccc. xlvi.
A Certayne
causes gathered together,
wherin is shewed the decaye
of England, only by the great
multitude of shepe, to the bit-
ter decay of household kepyng,
maintenaunce of men, dearth
of corne, and other notable
dyscommodityes appro-
ued by syxe olde
Proverbes.

Prouer. 20
A Kyng that sitteth in judg-ment, and looketh well about
him, dryneth away all euell.

[The title of the Lambeth copy had Causes, onely, multytude, housholde
kepyng, Kynge, euyll.]
To the Kynges moste honorable Counsell, 
and the Lordes of the Parlayment house.

The fyrst Article & poynt, as we do thinke, it is\(^1\) great pyttye (so the will of God it were) that there is not\(^2\) corne ynoough within this Realme of Englande, at all tymes necessary to certfy & suffyce the Kynges subiectes for the space of one yere, two, or thre, yf there were no corne sown in this Realme by the sayde space.

We do saye that the Kinges Maiestie, mercifully hearing the petition of these his graces poore subiectes, maye at al tymes remedy it, when it shall *please hys Maiestie, being for a common wealth for his graces subiectes, & to the greate encrease of this noble realme of England.

We saye, as reason doeth leade vs, that shepe & shepemasters, doeth cause skantyte of corne, whiche we do thinke\(^3\) it maye be well approved, by reason of six prouerbes; for & yf all our lyuynges, and all our commodities, were diuyded in partes, by reason of the same syx prouerbes, we that be the Kynges Maiestyes poore subiectes, do lose syx of our commodityes, then haue we thre losses, whiche make nyne; by reason of the same thre losses, we, the Kynges Magestyes\(^4\) subiectes, do lose the third part of our lyuinge, then haue we the tenth part, which we cal a remedy, beseching your noble grace, to remebye when your Maiestye shall please.

\(^{1}\) is it—Cambridge copy.  
\(^{2}\) no—C.  
\(^{3}\) thincke—Lambeth copy; and with a e elsewhere.  
\(^{4}\) mayestyes—C.
Concerning the first proverb.

The more shepe, the dearer is the woll.
The more shepe, the dearer is the motton.
The more shepe, the dearer is the beffe.
The more shepe, the dearer is the corne.
The more shepe, the skanter is the whit meate.
The more shepe, the fewer egges for a peny.*

In the 1st proverb, the complaint is from Oxfordshire, Bucks, and Northamptonshire.

We desire you to pardon our ignorance, but to consider what we advance, seeing it is done for the good of the realm.

In these 3 counties are many landowners who set no store by tillage,
or yet by breeding and feeding cattle,
but stock their land with sheep.

[* sign. A .iiiij.]

In the 1st proverb the complaint is for Oxford-shyre, Buckyngham-shyre, & Northampton-shyre; and as for all other shyres, we refer it to the playntynes¹.

We shall desire you, and all other that read and see the true ententes & meanynges of this our doinges, to pardon our ignoraunce; yet not withstanding, we desire you sumwhat to attender the premisses, seing it is done, and put forth, for the commoditye of the Kinges Magesties realme, and for the welth of his graces poore subjectes.

In the sayde Oxford-shyre, Buckyngham-shyre, & Northampton-shyre, there be many men of worship dwelling within the sayde thre shyres, and hath great landes to lyne vpon, the which we praye to God to gene them ioyle of, and well to occupy it. Many of these worshipful men, sette no store, nor pryse, vpon the mayntenauce of tyllage of theyr landes, as before tyme hath been vsed, neyther breadyng nor feadyngge of cattle, but many of them dooth kepe the most substaunce of theyr landes in theyr owne handes². And where tillage was wont to be, nowe is it stored wyth greate vmbamment of shepe: & they that haue great vmbament of shepe, muste needed haue greate store of woll, and we cannot thynke † who shulde make the pryse of woll, but those that haue great plente of shepe. And we do partly knowe that there be some dwellingne

¹ playntynes—C. ² L.(ambeth copy) repeats des by mistake.
within these three shires, rather then they wyll sell their wooll at a lowe pryse, they will kepe it a yere or twayne, and all to make it deare, and to kepe it a deare pryse. And by this meanes the fyrst proverbe to be true: The more shepe, the dearer is the woll.

In the seconde proverbe, as we do thynke: The more shepe, the dearer is the moton.

As by reason, the most substaunce of our feadynge was wont to be on bezfe, and now it is on motton. And so many mouthes goith to motton, whiche causeth motton to be deare.

In the third proverbe, as we do thinke: The more shepe, the dearer is the bezfe.

As by reason that breiding and fedynge, is not set by as it hath bene in tymes past; and where as shepe is kepte vpon the pasture groundes where breadyng & fedynge of bezfes was wont to be kept¹, And now there is nothyng kept there but motton.

The fourth proverbe: The more shepe, the dearer is the corne.

By reason tyllage is not vsed, occupied, and mainteyned as it hath bene before tyme, but shepe kept vpon the grounde, where tyllage was wont to be kept and mainteyned.

The v. proverbe: The more shepe, the skanter is the wetye meate.

By reason tyllage is² not vsed, occupied, and maynteyned, nother mayntenaunce of houses and hospitaltye, where as catle was wont to be fede and brede; by reason of kepyng of catle, shulde increase whyt meate; and now there is nothyng kept there but only shepe.

The syxte proverbe: The more shepe, the fewer egges for a peney.

¹ The Cambridge copy repeats "& where as shepe is kept vpon the pasture groundes, where breedyng and fedynge was wont to be kept," RATHER THAN SELL WOOL AT A LOW PRICE THEY KEEP IT TO MAKE IT DEAR.

² So the 1st proverb is true. Rather than sell wool at a low price they keep it to make it dear.

The 2nd proverb: The more shepe, the dearer the mutton. We used to feed beef, now it is mutton, and so many eat it that it is dear.

The 3rd proverb: The more shepe, the dearer the beef. Beef used to be kept, now there is nothing but mutton.

The 4th proverb: The more shepe, the dearer the corn. TILLAGE IS NOT NOW USED, BUT SHEEP ARE KEPT ON THE GROUND.

The 5th proverb: The more shepe, the scantler the white meat.

Where cattle were fed, white meat was increased.

The 6th proverb: The more shepe, the fewer egges for a penny.

1 The Cambridge copy repeats "& where as shepe is kept vpon the pasture groundes, where breedyng and fedynge was wont to be kept,"

SUPPLICATION.
Poultry was bred by cottagers; now there is nothing but sheep.

Thus the six proverbs are true.

Three losses which make nine.
1. Fewer plows by forty in Oxfordshire.
2. Some of these are driven to beg, some to steal.
3. Besides keeping 6 persons, every plow gives 30 quarters of grain a year to sell, and 40 plows, each yielding 30 quarters, make 1200 quarters in each county.

By reason cottages go downe in the contre, where as pultrye was wont to be breade and fedde, nowe there is nothyng kept there but shepe, which cause the egges to be solde for fower a penny.

Thus be the syx proverbes true, as we do thynke, desyrynge you to gene hearynge vnto them, and that it may be wel amended, for the common welthe of the Kynges poore subiectes.

Then haue we thre losses, that maketh nyne.

The fyrst losse, as we do thinke, there is not so many plowes vsed, occupied and mainteyned within Oxforthshyre as was in Kynge Henry the Seuente tyme, and sens hys fyrste comming there lacketh xl. plowes, euery plough was able to kepe vi. persons, downe lyinge and vprisynge in hys house, the whiche draweth to twelf score persons in Oxfordshyre.

And where that the sayde twelf score persons were wont to haue meate, drynke, rayment and wages, payinge skot and lot to God & to our Kyng, now there is nothyng kept there, but onlye shepe. Now these twelfscore persons had nede to haue liuing:—whether shal they go? into Northhamptonshyre? and there is also the lyuinge of twelf score persons loste: whether shall then they goo? foureth from shyre to shyre, and to be seathered thus abrode, within the Kynges maiestyes Realme, where it shall please Almighty God; and for lacke of maisters, by compulsion dryuen, some of them to begge, and some to steale.

The seconde losse, as we do thinke: That there is neuer a plough of the xl. plowes, but he is able to tyll and plowe to certiese syx persons, and euery ploughe to sell xxx. quarters of grayne by the yeare, or els he can full yll paye, syx, seuen, eyght pountl by the yeare. xl plowes, xxx. quarters euery ploughe, draweth to two

1 This "two hundreth" must mean twelve hundred: $40 \times 30 = 1200$. 
hundredth quarters in Buckingham shyre, two hundredth quarters in Oxfordshire, & two .cc. quarters in Northampton shyre, & so forth from shyre to shyre in certaine shyres within the Kinges Maiesties Realme of Englande.

what shall the twelf two hundredth quarters of corne do in Oxfordshire? we do thinke it wyll mainteyne the Kynges markettes, and sustayne the Kynges'subiectes; and lykewyse in Buckyngham shyre, & also in Northampton shyre and so from shyre to shyre, in certaine shyres wythin the Kynges Magesties Realme. Furthermore it is to be considerd what thys twelth hundredth quarters of corne is able to do within Oxfordshire, it is able to certifye & suffyce xv. score people by the yere, bread and drynke, & allowe to euery person ij. quarters of weate, and two quarters of malt, by the yere; where as in the firste the hole lyuyng of twelf score persons, meate, & drynke, and rayment, vprysyng & downe lyinge, payinge skot and lot to our God, and to our Kyng. And the seconde losse, bread and drynke for .xv score persons by the yere, whiche the hole nombre draweth to .v. hundredth and .xl. persons in Oxford shyre; and so in Buckyngham shyre, & so lykewyse in Northampton shyre, and so forth from shyre to shyre wythin the Kynges Maiestyes Realme.

And yt it be as we do thinke, that there be .iiiij. score plowes in euery one of these shires les then there was, then is there the lyuyng lost of a thousand & iiiij. score persons in euerye one of these foresayde shyres. Thys is the seconde losse, as we do thinke, and call for remedy for it.

The thirde losse, as we do thinke: We do lose in the sayd thre shyres kepyng of houshold and hospitalitye, & maintayning of tyllage and houshold kepyng; we do lacke corne, and also lese our cattell; for where any housholde is kept, there is kept kyne.

1 C omits 'and'.
and calues; and of oure kine there commeth mylke, butter and chease; and all this doeth sustayne the Kynges Mayesties suibiecutes; and for thys we haue nothyng but shepe.

And furthermore, where householde be kept, there is hogges, pygges, and bakon, capons, heones, duckes, egges, frute, and many other commodities, that is necessary & needefull to be had for the maintenaunce and lyuinge of the Kynges Maiesties poore subiectes to lyue by; and for that we haue nothyng but shepe. This is the thyrd losse.

The x. is, which we do cal for remedy, and we desyre of God and the Kynges Maiestye, yf it shal please his Highnes to be so good & gracious vnto his poore subiectes, that there might be in euery shyre & hundred, as many plowes vsed, occupyed, and maynteyned, *as many householde as in king Henry the Seuenth tyme, fyrst commynge. And then vnfyayned, as we do thynke, we sholde haue corne ynough, cattell ynough, and shepe ynough; then wil shepe and well be in more mens handes; we shall haue also white meate ynough, and all thynges necessary. And thus Iesu preserue oure drede soueraingne Lorde and Kyng!

As we do thynke, we haue two losses more that we haue not spoken: The firste losse is for lacke of householde kepynge & mayntenaunce of tyllage. It is great decay to artyllary: for that do we reken that shepeherdes be but yll archers. And as we do further thynke, it leseth the kings Maiesty in provision for his noble householde, that is to saye, in wheat, malt, benes, mottons, veles, hay and otes, and pultry, & all maner suche provisions that belongeth to his Maiestyes householde, as we do thynke, v. thousande markes by the yeare with the left. In a trial as we do thynke, yf it shuld please the Kynges Maiesties ofiycers to call in hys graces puruayers, & examyne them where they
haue had within their tyme for his graces provision of his warres, & for his Maiestyes housholde, where as there is nowe nothyng to be gotten: for they that kepe the sayde landes, hath put the foresayde landes to pastures, *themself byeth all maner of grayne & corne to kepe theyr housholde with all.

Furthermore, yf it shall please the Kinges Highnes, and hys noble counsell, for to haue a further tryall of thys matter, and to assure it to be true, take al craftes men dwelling in cyties & townes, daye laborers that laboreth by water or by lande, cottygers & other householders, refusyng none, but only them that hath al this aboundaunce, that is to saye, shepe or wellmasters, and inclosers, the lamentacions of the Kinges Maiestyes subjectes will make any true hered body to seke & call for remedy, whiche we beseche the Lorde to amende. Amen.

Furthermore, as we do thinke, this Realme doeth decaye by thys meanes: It is to vnderstande and knowen, that there is in England, townes and villages to the number of fifty thousand & vpward, & for euery towne and vyllage,—take them one with an other throughout all,—there is one plowe decayed sens the fyrste yeare of the raigne of kyng Henry the Seuenth. And in som townes and vyllages all the hole towne, decayed sens that time; and yf there be for every towne and village one plough decayed, sens the first yeare of the raigne of kyng Henry the Seuenth, then is there decayed .l. thousande plowes and vpwarde.

The *whiche .l. thousande plowes, euery plough were able to mainteine .vi. persons: That is to saye, the man, the wyfe, and fower other in his house, lesse and more. .l. thousande plowes, six persons to euery plough, draweth to the number of thre hundred thousand persons were wont to haue meate, drynke, and rayment, vprysing and down lyinge, paying skot and who paid scot and

Those who keep the lands, and have put them to pasture, [* sign. B. iij.]

Take all crafts- men, and all labourers,

* Take all crafts-

and their lamentation will make a true man call for remedy.

In each of 50,000 towns, one plow is decayed since the 1 Hen. VII, 

[* sign. B. iij.] which 50,000 plows represent a loss of 300,000 persons,

whom paid scot and
lot to God, & to the Kyng. And now they haue nothynge, but goeth about in England from dore to dore, and axe theyr almose for Goddes sake. And because they will not begge, some of them doeth steale, and then they be hanged, and thus the Realme doeth decay, and by none other wayes els, as we do thynke. Beseechynge your Hyghnes (of your moste noble grace) and honourable lordshyppes, the premisses tenderly considered before you in examinacion vpon the premisses, that we may haue a remedy in this behalf. And we shall dayely praye for the conservacion of your Highnes, and for your ful noble lordshyppes.

Finis.

“Imprinted at London in Pouls churche yearde at the sygne of Saynet Austen by Heugh Singleton.”

1 Dibdin’s *Ames* gives dates for Singleton from 1553 (or 1550 according to Herbert’s notes), and says that Singleton died in 1592-3. The date of the present tract cannot therefore be earlier than 1550, or later than 1553, when Edward VI, to whose Counsil it is evidently addrest, died.—F.
NOTES.

p. 36. Six Articles.—These celebrated Articles are found in the "Bloody Statute," 31 Hen. VIII. cap. 14. They run:—1. That in the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar, by the strength and efficacy of Christ's mighty word (it being spoken by the priest) is present really under the form of bread and wine, the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary; and that after the consecration there remains no substance of bread or wine, nor any other substance, but the Substance of Christ God and Man.

2. That the communion in both kinds is not necessary ad salutem by the law of God to all persons; and that it is to be believed and not doubted of, but that in the flesh under the form of bread is the very blood, and with the blood under the form of wine is the very flesh as well apart as though they were both together.

3. That priests, after the order of priesthood received as afore, may not marry by the law of God.

4. That vows of chastity or widowhead by man or woman made to God advisedly, ought to be observed by the law of God; and that it exempteth them from other liberties of Christian people, which without that they might enjoy.

5. That it is meet and necessary that private Masses be continued and admitted in the King's English Church and congregation, as whereby good Christian people ordering themselves accordingly, do receive both godly and goodly consolation and benefit; and it is agreeable also to God's law.

6. That auricular confession is expedient and necessary to be retained and continued, used and frequented in the Church of God.—Statutes at Large, ii. 149, ed. 1811. Commissions were issued to the Archbishops, Bishops, &c., to execute the Act, and to them powers were given to take and burn books containing matters contrary to it. The Act was to be read quarterly in all churches.

p. 62. Outbreak in 1536-7.—On the 2nd of October, 1536, when the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were to hold their visitation at Louth,
they found a great body of peasantry in arms, clamouring for their holidays; and proclaiming that they were gathered together for the maintenance of the faith, which was about to be destroyed. So far from Henry having finished his "godly purpose without bloudshtede" of his "poore commones" (p. 63) he "wrote to Norfolk on the 22nd February, to 'cause such dreadful execution to be done upon a good number of the inhabitants of every town, village, and hamlet, that have offended in this rebellion, as they may be a fearful spectacle to all others hereafter that would practise any like matter,' A priest and a butcher at Windsor were hanged for expressing sympathy with the Northern rebels."—Knight's Crown Hist. of Eng., p. 198, 200.

pp. 64—68. The Bible.—It was in 1536 that the Vicar-general’s injunctions directed every parish priest to place a copy of the whole Bible in his church. These copies were all based upon Tyndal’s translation. The bishops, although they had undertaken to supply a version which should suit Catholic orthodoxy, left their work untouched. In 1539 Taverner’s Bible appeared. This contained a summary of things in Holy Scripture. "The priesthood was denied; masses and purgatory were ignored; the sacraments were described as nothing but outward signs." This led to the sale of unauthorized editions being forbidden, and after some discussion "a temporary limitation was imposed, perhaps wisely, upon its indiscriminate use." "It was wrangled over in ale-houses and tap-rooms. It was disfigured ‘in rhymes, printed ballads, plays, songs, and other fantasies.’ Scandalous brawls and controversies disgraced the churches where it was placed for the people to read."—Froude, iv. 288—291. In the 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. cap. 1, the Bible was forbidden to be read in English in any church. Women, artificers, prentices, journeymen, servingmen, husbandmen, and labourers, might read the New Testament in English. Nothing was to be taught or maintained contrary to the King’s Instructions.—Stat. at Large, ii. 201.

p. 67. Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex.—It was "with the private connivance of Cromwell" that "other editions" of the Bible than those authorized were put in circulation (Froude, iv. 289), and this was not forgotten when he stood attainted of treason. Not only was he accused of having "been the most corrupt traitor and deceiver of the king and the crown that had ever been known in his whole reign," but it was alleged that "he being also a heretic, had dispersed many erroneous books among the king’s subjects, [the Bible probably being one.] particularly some that were contrary to the belief of the sacrament." On the day of his beheading, 28th July, 1540, Henry married Catherine Howard.1 Six years later one of the very party, to serve which he had risked (and lost) so much, was found to brand him as "a traytoure!"

p. 69. Boulogne.—On the 18th of September, 1544, Henry made his solemn entry into Boulogne.—Knight, p. 211. See also Froude, iv. 352.

1 Knight’s Crown Hist. of Eng., p. 206.
NOTES.

p. 75. The Holy Maid of Kent. Elizabeth Barton.—"About the time of Easter, in the seventeenth yeere of the Reigne of King Henrie the Eight, it hapned a certaine maiden . . . servant to one Thomas Kob . . . to bee touched with a great infirmitie in her bodie, which did ascendde at divers times up into her throte, and swelled greatly" (Lambarde's Perambulation, p. 170, rep.). Her history is well known. "In the ende her dissimulation was deciphered, her Popish comforters were bewraied, the deceived people were well satisfied, these dangerous deceivers were worthel'ly executed, and the Devill their Master was quite and cleane confounded."—Ib. p. 175.

p. 75. The Rood of Kent was at Boxley. It is thus described by Lambarde (p. 205):—"It chaunced (as the tale is) that upon a time, a cunning Carpenter of our countrie was taken prisoner in the warres betweene us and Fraunce, who (wanting otherwise to satisfie for his ransome, and having good leysure to devise for his deliverance) thought it best to attempt some curious enterprise, within the compasse of his owne Art and skill, to make himselfe some money withall: And therefore, getting togither fit matter for his purpose, he compacted of wood, wyer, paste and paper, a Roode of such exquisite arte and excellencie, that it not onely matched in comelynesse and due proportion of the partes the best of the common sorte; but in straunge motion, variety of gesture, and nimblenes of joints, passed al other that before had been seene: the same being able to bow down and lift up it selfe, to shake and stirre the handes and feete, to nod the head, to rolle the eies, to wag the chaps, to bende the browes, and finally to represent to the eie, both the proper motion of each member of the body, and also a lively, expresse, and signifiant shew of a well contented or displeased minde: byting the lippe, and gathering a frowning, froward, and disdainful face, when it would pretend offence: and shewing a most milde, amiable, and smyling cheere and countenaunce, when it woulde seeme to be well pleased."

p. 91. Queen Catherine Howard.—In 1541, Henry solemnly offered thanksgiving for the happiness he found in the society of this his Fifth Queen. On the 12th of February, 1542, she and lady Rochford were executed.
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GLOSSARIAL INDEX.


My best thanks are due to the Rev. Dr Rock and the Rev. W. W. Skeat for their valuable assistance in the explanation of certain words in this Glossary.

ADDYCTE, 47, to give over to.
Adulterable, 8, available.
Adulterine, 92, adulterate, counterfeit, corrupt.
Alckmist, 77, alchemist.
Aniners, 34, almoners.
Artchers, 100, archers.
Artillary, 100, artillery, the art of shooting with bows and arrows.
Assityng, 2, to aseite, to call, to summon.
Attender, 96, to attend to.
A wiles, 68. ? In the mean time.
Axe, 101, ask.


Bloudsupper, 5, a murderer, a bloodsucker. "Poor creatures that should be killed by these unsaciate blood-soupers for his truth's sake." Bp Bale, p. 324.
Bopipe, 68, bo-peep.
"Some of the byshoppes at your injunctions slepe, Some laugh and gobye, and some can play loo pipe,"
Bale's Kyng Johan, p. 97.
Brenninge, 41, burning.
Bruit, 64, brute.
Bryres, 56, briers.
Buggery, 63, "the coupling of one man with another, or of man or woman with a brute beast." P.
Bumme court, 48, a court which took cognizance of certain vices.
By, set by, 97, thought much of.

Cannebes, 75, canopies. "Cannabie, canabie, a corruption of canopy." Jamieson; who adds that it is used in Inventories. "Canopium, reticulum subtile factum de canabo. The Canope alluded to in the Promptorium was very probably the Umbraculum under which the Sacred Host was carried in the
procession on Palm Sunday. Canopy to be borne over the sacrament.”

Carp, 88, talk, or speak.
Catyuite, 23, captivity.
Chaplaynes, 42. “Rydynge Chaplaynes”?
Church ales, 41; a church ale was a feast in commemoration of the dedication of a church.
Cocke of haye, 65, “a conical heap of hay.” II.
Coelginers, 66. Bailey has “coeligious,” but whether the “Coelginers” were a “heaven-born” sect or what they were I don’t know. Cp. “Then was there an infinite table of . . . . . . sententioners and sumnists, of colliginers and canonists.” Bp Bale, p. 350.
Canon Rock suggests that the writer meant Culdees. “The Culdees were a sect of religious monks, remarkable for their religious exercises of preaching and praying.” B.
Cohybyted, 25, hindered.
Commessacyon, 53, commissation, revelling.
Coopes, 75, Copes. “Cope, a sacred vestment which is directed by the Canons of the Reformed Church to be worn at the celebration of the communion in cathedral and collegiate church.” P. P., note 2, p. 91.
Corporace, 75, “Corporasse, or corporalle. Corporale.” P. P. “The term corporas, corporalis palla, denotes a consecrated linen cloth folded and placed upon the altar in the service of the mass, beneath the sacred elements.” 1b. note 3, p. 93. The corporal “is the name given to the linen cloth which is spread over the body (corpus), or consecrated bread, in the communion.” Hook’s Church Diet., 9th ed. So that the corporas or corporal is placed beneath the Elements by the Roman Catholic, over them by the Protestant.
Countes, 80, convents.
Countorable, 28, comfortable.
Countforte, 28, comfort.
Covent, 27, convent.
Cream, 41, *Chrism*. Oil consecrated in the Romish and Greek churches by the bishop, and used in baptism, confirmation, orders, and extreme unction. “At the last crept in the worshipping of relics and shrines, with holy oil and cream.” Bp Bale, p. 320.
Crwetes, 75, cruets. “Crewet or crevet, a little vial, or narrow-mouth’d glass.” P. “Copes, crosses, cruets.” Bp Bale, p. 259.
Cukkoldrie, 6, the act of adultery.
Cure, 29, care.
Dashed, 8, condemned, confined. “The gentlemen were dashed by his earnestness.” Gia’s Baby, p. 175.
Delities, 85, deputies. “These spiritual tyrants shall examine you . . . . . . and so deliver you up unto kings and delities.” Bp Bale, p. 6.
Demanner, 61, demeanour.
Demurante, 32, grave in behaviour.
Deplorate, 46, deplorable.
Dimitted, 46, dismissed, sent away.
Distayne, vii, dismissed, sent away.
Dwe, 77, due.
Dome, 53, dumb.
Drafsacke, 15, a sack full of draf, a place of extreme wickedness. “Proving their traditions to be most vile draf, and most stinking dregs of sin.” Bp Bale, p. 285.

Elbowhangers, 77, hangers-on, parasites.


Enmying, ix. See above.

Enprisonmente, 36, imprisonment.

Enterdite, 5, interdict.

Entermedlyng, xi, intermixing.

Eretik, 9, heretic.

Estatute, 30, statute.

Exquysytely, 22, exquisitely, accurately, with great exactness; minutely. “Exquisite, curious, choice; also exact, or carry’d on to the utmost height.” P.

Externe, 91, external.

Felles, 85, fells, skins, or hides.

Fifteenes, 3, fifteenths.

Frayd, 84, afraid.

Fumish, viii, angry, fractious.

Fumishly, ix, angrily.

Galpe, 81, gape, gape after, to look forward to.

Gnatonical, 77, 89, gnat-like.

Goulafres, 10. See note, p. 10.

Gyldes, 75. “Gild, guild, or geld, A company of men united together, with laws and orders made among themselves.” P. In the text it means the house in which a religious fraternity or gild lived.

Habilité, 65, ability, power, or authority.

Habitacle, 24, a dwelling or habitation. “And he shall finally sup with me and with him in the eternal habitacle of God.” Bp Bale, p. 296.

Holle, 50, whole.

Hyed, 50, hide.

Hylded, 85, skinned. Hild, to skin. H.


Impe, 92, a shoot of a tree, a cutting, a bud. “He shall be called . . . a lamb of Christ’s told, a sheep of his pasture, a branch of his vine, a member of his church, an imp of his kingdom.” Bp Bale, p. 292. The same writer uses it in a bad sense: “O very imps of hell, and limbs of the devil!” p. 441.

Importune, 84, importunate.

Jorney, 71, journey.


Iour, 92, your.

Ioywell, 39, jewel.

Kyre Eleyson, 69. Kyrie Eleison, the Greek of “Lord, have mercy” upon us.

Latward, 71. “Lateward, that is of the latter season.” P.

Lazer, 77, leprous, afflicted with leprosy.

Leas, 80, lease.

Liripope, 84. The following is Mr Halliwell’s note on this word: “Liripoops. An appendage to the ancient hood, consisting of long tails or tippets, passing round the neck, and hanging down before,
reaching to the feet, and often jagged. The term is often jocularly used by writers of the 16th and 17th centuries. 'A lirripoop vel lirripiope, a silly empty creature, an old dotard.' 2 Milles, MS. Devon Gloss. A priest was formerly jocularly termed a lerry-cum-poope. It seems to mean a trick or stratagem, in the London Prodigal, p. 111. 'And whereas thou takest the matter so farre in suffe, I will teach thee thy lirripups after another fashion than to be thus male-pertlie coeking and billing with me, that am thy governour.' Stanubarst, p. 35.

Theres a girle that knowes her lerripoop.
Lillie's Mother Bobnie, 1594."
"I believe the searf grew out of the fur tippet or amnice, or amess, not the livripe of the hood." Church Times, 16 Dec., 1870, p. 536, col. 4.

Lobies, 14, looby, a silly awkward fellow. H.

Loutes, 15, clownish unmannerly fellows.

Lubbers, 15. "Abbey loutes or lubbers." Drudges, lazy drones. "Idul abbey-lubbarys, wyhe are apte to no thyng but... only to ete and dryne." England in Henry VIII's Time, p. 131, ed. J. M. Cowper.

Lubricite, 7, lubricity, incontinency. See Labriecus, Cooperi Thesaurus.

Lyulyke, 66, lively, living.

Mailheme, 8. "Mailhem or Maim, (F.) maim, wound, hurt." P.

Morowe mas, 42. Morrow Mass. I am indebted to Canon Rock for the following:—"Time out of mind and while the Anglo-Saxons ruled, there used to be in every monastery, cathedral, and large church, in this land, two altars in every chancel: one, the high or large altar; the other, a smaller altar, not always but usually at the back of this larger altar. Every morning at dawn, and at the end of matins, a mass was sung or said at the smaller altar, and the monk or priest who celebrated it was termed the morrow-mass priest; and the altar itself was named the morrow Mass Altar." "The morrow masse awter" of Faversham had, in the 4th Henry VIII. "Imprimis. A chisely-byl of grene damaske with lynes of golde with apparel for the preest. It. A masse boke preyented. It. 2 eruetts of pewter. It. 2 kanystyks and a small of laton standing upon brods herse." Jacob's Faversham, p. 164.

And Thomas Sterkey of Faversham gave, in 1525, "to the morrow masse aaltar every weeke a penny after my decease the space of one whole yere." Lewis's Fun. Mon. in the Church of Faversham, p. 37.

Mortwaries, 85, mortuaries.
"Mortuary, in the English ecclesiastical law, is a gift left by a man at his death to his parish church, in recompence of personal tithes omitted to be paid in his lifetime. By 21 Hen. VIII. c. 6, mortuaries were commuted into money payments." Hook's Ch. Diet.

Mought, 5, might.

Muneke pencyons, 42, ?Monk pensioners.

Murmuraeyon, 26, murmure, or murmuring.

Myse, 78, a wrong, that which is amiss.

Nasturreium, ix, the herb nose-smart.

Noble, 80, a coin of the value of 6s. 8d. "And in this yere (1527) began the golde to ryse, as the angell nobyl at vijs. and in November after it was made vijs. vjd." Grey Friars' Chron., p. 33. The angel also was of the value of 6s. 8d.
But when "a phisician called Doctor Nicholas," received "xx Angellis, vij li. x. s." the angel was worth 7s. 6d. *Furnivall's Andrew Boorde*, p. 49, note 1.

Obecant, 81, obedient.
Obeyeance, 90, obedience.
Other, 46, either.

Palme trees, 78. The Sallow, *salix caprea*, is commonly known in the Midland counties as the Palm.

"For look here, what I found on a palme-tree."

*As You Like It*, iii. 2.

"Ye leaning palms, that seem to look
Pleased o'er your image in the brook."

*Clare's Rural Life*, p. 62.

Pax, 75. A small tablet of silver, or some fit material, often very elaborately ornamented, by means of which the kiss of peace was, in the medieaval Church, circulated through the congregation. "Crucifixes ... borne aloft in their gaddings abroad, with the religious occupynings of their paxes, cruets, and jewels which be of silver." *Bp Bale*, p. 526.

Pewling, viii, ix, x. "To pule, to pic or cry as chickens and young birds do. To whine, to cry, to whimper." B.

"To speak *puling*, like a beggar at Hallowmas."

*Two Gent. Ver.*, ii. 1.

"A wretched *puling* fool,
A whining mammet."

*Rom. & Jul.* iii. 5.

Persequution, 73, persecution.
Personagyes, 34, personages. "So

is there in personages, some sente from Christ as shepherdes to fede,
and some from the deuyll as theues to deouure." *Lever's Sermons*, p. 66, Arber's reprint.

Petttyt, 87, petty, little, small, paltry.
Pixes, 75. Pyx, the vessel or box in which the Host is kept. Irreverently called "god-boxes" by *Bp Bale*, p. 527.

Pours, 63, powers, authorities.

Prist, 90, priest.
Producessours, 77, predecessors.
Prophanate, xi, to profane.
Proſsession, 69, procession.
Prystishe, 45, priestish.
Pue, 67, pew.
Pyed, 79, black and white, parti-coloured. "These [freres of the Pye] would appear to be not very different from the Carmelites; they were called Pied Friars from their dress being a mixture of black and white, like a magpie." *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede*, ed. Skeat, p. 35.

"The Pied Friars had but one house, viz at Norwich. We find the expression 'Fratrum, quos Freres Pye veteres appellabant' in Thom. Walsingham. Hist. Angli- cana, vol. i. p. 182; ed. H. T. Riley. See also Notes and Queries, 4 S. ii. 496." *Additional Note to the same.*

Pynfolde, viii, a place of confinement.

Quest, 9, inquest, a jury of citizens.

Realyfe, 70, relief.

Renomed, 82, renowned.
Reuaille, 69, reveal.
Royalme, 78, realm.

Salue, 28, to apply salve to, to heal.

Scala celi, 41, Scala Coeli, the name given to "a vision of St. Bernard's, who, while celebrating a funereal mass, saw the souls for whom he was praying going up to heaven by a ladder." Sometimes the term "is used merely as one of mystical figurative names of the Madonna," Political and Rel. Poems, xxvii.

Seased, 80 (Law term), seized of, possessed of.
Sence, 41, cense, to perfume with incense.
Sensoures, 75, censers.
Serpentical, 74, serpent-like, devilish.

Shepe, 75, ? ship. "Schyppe, vesselle to put yr rychel (incense)" P. P. "Accre, a schyp for cense," Nominale MS. xv. Cent. quoted by Halliwell. "He gave a scenser, and a schyp of clene syluer, argento puro." Norman, P. P. p. 80, note 6. Sir T. More uses the word, but the reference I have not at hand. Canon Rock tells me he thinks sheep is meant. He says, "It was usual in those times for people having nothing better to bestow in charity, to give certain animals to the church that therewith some money might arise, to be expended for charitable purposes: cows, for instance, that their milk, butter, and cheese might produce sums for charity; and sheep for the wool they produced, to be sold for the like purpose. The ship for incense is not a thimble, but an oblong shallow kind of box for holding incense. This appliance is now called 'an incense boat,' and in Latin is known as the navicula, because shaped in the form of one, but without any mast."

Skanter, 96, scarer.
Skantite, 95, scarceness.
Skot and lot, 98, "a customary contribution laid upon all subjects according to their ability." B. "Every freeholder is bound to be a partaker in lot, which is liability to hold office, and in scot, which means contribution to taxes and other charges." Riley's Mem. of London, p. 691, quoted in Smith's English Gilds, p. 474.
Sloughtfully, 3, cruelly, murderously.
Sparceld, vi, enlightened, illuminated.
Steare, 24, 63, stir.
Sterndynges, 64, starvelings; lean, hungry-looking persons.
Strawne, x, strewn, scattered.
Summer, 17, summoner. See note, p. 17.
Swynescotes, 78, pig-sties.
Swynged, 69, repeated frequently and loudly.
Tapuris, 75, tapers.
Thonching, 96, touching.
Trentalles, 41, Trental, a service of thirty masses for the dead, usually celebrated on as many different days. "On ye morwe to seie
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guess. It may be warn, to admonish, and mall. But what is mall? It can hardly be Fr. mal. It can hardly be Mall or Moll, a common name for frail ones. Nor am I satisfied with a friend's guess that the word is warn'em'all! It's too clever. And as if to make that which is dark darker, I find A.S. wear-malm (spelt wearn-malm in Bosworth) means by companies. Cf. O.E. flockmel, by flocks, and piece-meal, by pieces.

Weyte, 97, white.
Wringyng, 77. "To wrest... to wring... to force the sense of a passage or author." P.
Wyllouse, 78, willows.
Wyte, ix, blame, reproach.
Yie, 1, eye.
Yower, 75, ewer.
Ypochrise, 11, hypocrisy.
Ypochrite, 11, hypocrites.


Ymbermente, 96, number. Ymber, number. II.
Vnaxed, 8, unasked.
Vndoutely, 65, undoubtedly.
Voult safe, 85, vouchsafe. Another form of the word is withsave. "For unto them only are his heavenly verities known, to whom he withsaveth to open them." Bp Bale, p. 473.
Vre, 51, ure, use.
Vtylile, 3, utility.

Wayne, 23, vain.
Warmoll, 9. See note, p. 9. Mr Skeat says: "Warnmoll. I know nothing of it, and can only