Rede me and be nott wrothe,
For I faye no thinge but trothe.

WRITTEN BY

WILLIAM ROY AND JEROME BARLOWE
English Observant Franciscan Friars
PRINTED BY JOHN SCHOTT AT STRASBURG IN 1528

A Proper Dyaloge betwene a Gentillman and a Husbhandman
Eche complaynynge to other their miserable calamite
through the ambicion of the clergye

TOGETHER WITH

A Compendious Olde Treatyse
Shewynge howe that we ought to haue the Scripture in Englyssh

WRITTEN BY A LOLLARD
about 1450 A.D.

PRINTED BY HANS LUFT AT MARBURG, HESSE, IN 1530
From the Unique copy in the British Museum

EDITED BY

EDWARD ARBER
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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION, 3
NOTES OF WILLIAM ROY AND JEROME BARLOW, 9
SKETCH OF CARDINAL WOLSEY’S CAREER, ETC., 15
BIBLIOGRAPHY, 18

1. READ ME AND BE NOT WROTH, 19

This small treatise as a glass or mirror most clear before all men’s eyes, p. 23.

1. Frontispiece, 19
2. The description of the Arms, 20
3. Letter from N. O. [abroad] to P. G. [in England], 21
4. [Dialogue between the Author of the work and the Treatise], 26

In the preface whereof manifestly they shall perceive how great danger now-a-days it is, the truth either to describe with pen or with tongue to declare, p. 23.

Supposed to have been uttered by a Straуть prieft], 30
In the Lamentation following, made by a belly beast, engendered among the greasy or anointed heap, otherwise called the Papistical sect, . . . they may surely grope and feel whereof our spiritual lords masters and (falsely so named) have proceeded and are come, p. 23.

6. A brief Dialogue between a [i.e. the above] prieft’s two servants, named WATKYN and JEFFRAY. [The First Part is supposed to have occurred before dinner], 37
7. The Second Part [of the Dialogue. After dinner], 70
In the Dialogue ensuing or brief Interlude is [the] Mass described with its abominable ministers, Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, Abotts, Monks; Friars, and like other. Wherein also is declared what trees they are, with their fruit; and what they shall remain, their Mass once disannulled and put down, p. 23.

INTRODUCTION, 125

II. A PROPER DIALOGUE BETWEEN A GENTLEMAN AND A HUSBANDMAN. Each complaining to other their miserable calamity through the ambition of the Clergy, 129

1. An A. B. C. to the Spirituality, 129
2. [A Preface in verse. To the Christian reader], 130
3. THE DIALOGUE, 133
5. [THE DIALOGUE concluded], 169

III. A COMPELLIOUS OLD [LOLLARD] TREATISE [written about 1450 A.D.]; Showing how that we ought to have the Scripture in English, 170

1. The excussation of the Treatise, 170
2. Unto the Reader, 170
3. A COMPELLIOUS OLD TREATISE, ETC., 172
Rede me and be nott wrothe,  
For I speake no thinge but trothe.

INTRODUCTION.

He old imperial city of Strafsburg was one of the cities of refuge to the early Protestant reformers, especially to those of the school of Zuingle. It was a Free City. Gradually the inhabitants had won from its Prince-Bishops the substance of self-government; until by the constitution of 1482, (which survived for three centuries, until it was swept away in the storm of the French Revolution) they were confirmed in the perfect control of their own affairs. The constitution of that year vested the executive government in a Senate of thirty nobles, assisted by two councils of The Thirteen and The Fifteen, which, however, were usually spoken of as one, by the name of an older council, viz. The One and Twenty.

The famous city enjoyed many privileges. In its turn, it was the seat of the German diet; and it could coin money; but what most helped Protestantism in that district was its privilege of being a sacred asylum to all refugees, not excepting even criminals.

MATTHEW ZELL, the Apostle of the Reformation in Alface, [b. at Kaiserberg, 1477—d. 9 Jan. 1548] who had been Rector of Freiburg in Brisgau, came to Strafsburg in 1518, and was then appointed preacher of the chapel of St. Lawrence in the Cathedral, an office which he held with great acceptance for thirty years, until his death.

Zell welcomed, in the year 1523, three distinguished Reformers, who took refuge in this bulwark city from the troubles and threatening storms around them. These were (1.) His old fellow-student at Erfurt, WOLFGANG FABRICIUS KOEPFEL, latinized CAPITO [b. at Hagenau, 1478—d. 8 Dec. 1551], who came to assume the priory of St. Thomas, which Leo X. had, of his own accord, given to him two years previously. (2.) In the same month of May, came MARTIN BUCER, or rather BUTZER [b. at Schelstadt, 1491—d. at Cambridge, 28 Feb. 1552], who was accompanied by his wife. (3.) And at some other date in the same year, came the disciple of Gécolampadius, CASPAR HEDIO [b. at Ettingen, 1494—d. at Strafsburg, 17 Oct. 1552], who, with his master and Capito, had begun a Reformation at Basle, even before Luther had spoken out.

These four men led the way to the Reformation at Strafsburg. The latter three are named by Roy at p. 40, together with two others of lesser fame; JOHANN KELNER or KELLER, latinized CELLARIUS, one of the best preachers of the Reformation, and some other scholar, whom he calls SYMPHORIAN. The only
Introduction.

person of that name about this time that we can trace is a French Doctor, Historian, and Philosopher, named Symphorien Champier, latinized Benedict Curtius Symphorianus [b. at Saint Symphorien le Chateau in 1472—d. 1533]; but he appears to have lived at Lyons, and not in any way to have been connected with the Strafburg Protestants.

2. Three years later, so far as we can judge about April 1526, the English Franciscan monk, William Roy, journeyed from Worms to Strafburg. He had been assiﬁting, with hearty, though not entirely disinterested effort, at the secret production of the Instrumment, which he knew to be the most powerful of all others for the Reformation of his own country, viz., the printed New Testament in English. While those precious volumes were floating down the Rhine England-ward: Roy journeyed upwards, with a consciousness that, whatever else he had or had not done, his share, whether great or small, excellent or unworthy, in that translation, had forfeited for him his life, if only he could be caught by the English hierarchy.

Possibly as he travelled he thought of his mother in London; or, looking back on his early days, of his studies and universtity life at Cambridge, of his novitiate at the convent at Greenwich, of the hour of his solemn vow, and of his eyes being opened to the enormities and scandals of monkth life and manners, as he, in this tract, writes them down for a perpetual dishonour. He might have thought of the royal Palace hard by; he might have recalled the rise of the Lord Legate, and thought of his doings—held up herein to everlasting infamy—up to the time when he himself left England: he might then have remembered the causes of his going abroade (to us unknown, though we may certainly credit him with strong yearnings after a purer and nobler life); of his ﬁrst meeting with Tyndale on the continent, either previous to his arrival at Cologne or during his residence there; then of the heavy work of writing and comparison of texts; then of the detection of their work but not of them by Cochleus, whom he contemptuously calls herein that 'vrchyn Coclaye'; then of their flight with the printed sheets up the Rhine to Worms, and of their completion of the Quarto, and production of the Octavo edition of the Testament there. Further, he might have thought over his quarrel with Tyndale (of which he would have his own version), of their parting, and of his resolve to go onward up the Rhine valley. So, protected by the indifcriminany of and general respect for his white garb, he safely reached Strafburg.

3. The current Protestant talk there, probably was a discussion of Luther's tract, De Servo Arbitrio, printed at Wittenberg in the previous December, in anwer to Erasmus' earlier work De libero Arbitrio, printed at Basle in 1523, see p. 42; and the Theological Disputation, then going on, at Baden, in Switzerland.
Introduction.

At that Disputation, brought about by the twelve Swiss cantons, the Dominican John Faber, John Eck, the theologian of Ingoldstadt, and the Franciscan Thomas Murner the great Roman Catholic satirist of the time, together with the legates of the Bishops of Constance, Basel, Coire, and Lucerne, defended the Mafs, Prayers for the Dead, Invocation of Saints, the retention of Images, and the existence of Purgatory; against Ecolampadius and other Protestant divines. The result was indecisive, inasmuch as no change was made: every one, whether Protestant or Catholic, continuing in the same belief and practice as before. Roy refers to Faber, Eck, Murner, with Emser, at pp. 41, 42.

4. A year later, May 1527, one of his old companions of the Greenwich brotherhood, JEROME BARLOW, who had called on Tyndale at Worms, on his way up, found out Roy at Strafburg, and they two appear to have continued together for some months.

5. In December of that year came the news that the Bernefe—the chief Swiss canton—diffatified with the result of the Baden Conference, and angry at its acts not having been communicated to them, had fixed another Disputation for the 7th of January following. With the invitations thereto, the Bernefe sent out ten Articles, to which the Disputation was to be limited. They endeavored to compel the representation of the neighbouring Bishops of Constance, Basel, Sion, and Lauffanne, under threat of forfeiture of all their lands and goods in the canton, in the event of the non-appearance of their delegates; and they issued safe conducts to whoever else would come.

On the day of assembly, 7 Jan. 1528, representatives from Basel, Schaffhausen, Zurich, Appenzel, Strafburg, Ulm, Augsburg, Constance, Lindau, and other cities, were present, but no one appeared on behalf of the Catholic bishops. The two Bernefe pastors, Francis Colb and Berthold Haller, who had drawn up the Ten Articles, were assisted by Zwingle, Ecolampadius, Bucer, Capito, Blarer, and others. On the opposite side the principal disputant was the Augustinian Conrad Treiger, who, as soon as the judges decided not to admit any other authority than simple Scripture, left the place. The speeches will be found officially summarized in Handlung oder Acta gehalten Disputation zum Bernn in süchtland; printed by Christophel Froichover at Zurich, in 4to, with the date of 23 March 1528.

The Ten Articles were carried by a large majority, and the Disputation came to an end on 25 January 1528. Immediately after which the Mafs, Altars, Images, &c., were legally suppressed in the Canton and its vicinity.

6. The effect of this Disputation was very great. Constance followed Berne; and Geneva, Constance. In Strafburg, there continued a great fight of opinion all through the year upon the
subject; until the Mass was finally abolished in that city at 8 A.M. on 20th of January 1529, by a majority of 184 to 1 of the Magistracy; 94 others voting for its provisional maintenance only until the next Diet.

One further result of the Disputation of Berne we believe to be "Rede me and be nott wrothe." Otherwise there seems to be no immediate motive or purpose in putting into the mouth of a Strafsburg priest the opening Mock-Lamentation of this Interlude bemoaning the decease of the Mass. The whole point of the Inveotive is that the Mass is dead but not buried. It was morally defunct but not officially abolished. As a matter of fact the Mass was not 'buried' at Strafsburg till 20 February 1529, whereas we know that this Inveotive had been sent to England early in 1528; and on the 1st September of that year, Herman Rynck was buying up for Wolsey every copy of it that he could lay his hands upon anywhere in the Rhine valley. We were inclined to put its composition late in 1527, but we now think it was written not earlier than February or March 1528. The latest allusion in the Text seems to be the fact of Rome under Bourbon in May 1527 'now of late' see at p. 121.

8. Though Roy and Barlow lay the scene of the Interlude at Strafsburg, see p. 39, it is clear that they do not localize the 'decease' to that particular town. They allude as parts of the death struggle to Erasmus' De libero Arbitrio of Sept. 1523, at p. 42; to Faber's appointment as chaplain, in 1526, to the king of the Romans, afterwards the Emperor Ferdinand II., at p. 42; and to Cochlaeus' Responsorio epistolam Bugenhagij Pomerani ad Anglos, printed late in 1526, see p. 44; and to the defence of the Mass by the universities of Cologne and Louvain so early as 1519. So that this part of the Inveotive is but a dramatized representation of the Reformation-struggle in Germany, and especially during the two years 1526-8 that Roy was in the country.

9. Such being the locale, the quest or plot is simply this. The Mass is dead in Germany, where shall it be buried? At Rome? In France? In England? This is debated by two servants of a Strafsburg priest, apparently, however, not hitherto very intimate with each other. Watkyn, evidently a citizen, is full of faith in the power of the gospel; Jeffray, a new-comer from England, who has been 'in religion a dozen years continually,' is full of the art and subtleties of the clergy. Thus the sharpest contrast is kept up in the Dialogue. At last, they fix on A'Becket's shrine at Canterbury as the appropriate grave for the dead Mass. Who then shall be the buriers? The Cardinal? The Bishops? The Secular Clergy? the four orders of mendicant Friars? or the Observant Friars? In the discussion of their respective fitness for this purpose occurs the opportunity for exposing their misdeeds; and it is on this framework that the attack is made upon the hierarchy, priesthood, and monasticism of England.
Introduction.

It was from this quest, as also the refrain of the Lamentation on pp. 30-36, that the tract—having itself no specific title—came to be known as The burying of the Mafs in Rhyme.

10. We now come to the other aspect of the book. Oftentimes it was written by P. G. in England, and sent to N. O., an Englishman abroad, to print. But this was but a blind. The initials N. O. P. G. [P for Q] are apparently quite arbitrary. Tyndale in May 1528, and More in 1529, proclaimed its real authors to be Roy and Barlow; and we know from Rynck's letter that the impression consisted of a thousand copies, and that it was printed by John Schott at Straßburg.

It was written for circulation in England. A fearfully dangerous book to write or even to possess at that time. Intrinsically it is one of the worthiest Satires in our language. Its spirit is excellent. I say no thinge but trothe is its true motto. It is more salt than bitter; and where bitter, it is more from its facts than its expression. The book is the embodiment of the resentment of its authors at the burning of Tyndale's New Testaments at Paul's Cross in 1526. They justify their writing it by the expression of their belief, that there are three stages of admonition employed by the Almighty towards wicked men. First, He shows them His word in purity. That failing, He stirs up some men's spirit to endite their faults, making utterance of their mischief. These two methods being of no avail, He destroys them with pestilence and sword. So God had sent them the English New Testament. They had burnt it. He had now stirred up these Franciscans to this general Indictment. Let them beware lest a worse thing happen unto them. Mere ribald scoffing is thus disclaimed—'I hope that the rede what ever he be/ will not take this worke as a thing convicious/or a princible of hatred and debate,' p. 23. Yet it is written with great strength. Witness this stroke, among others, of the lash on the professed servant of the servants of our Lord.

Mat. C Is this prowde Cardinall rycher/ Then Chrif or goode Sayntie Peter/ In whose roume he dothe succeed?

Jet. C The boffes of his mulis brydies Myght be Chrif and His disciples/ As farre as I can ever rede.—p. 122.

But the writers' real sentiments are expressed, perhaps more than in the 'Dialogue,' in the noble 'balett,' at pp. 66-69, of which this is the keynote.

Alas alas.
The world is worsfe then evyr it was, Never so depe in miserable decaye/ But it cannot thus endure all wayes.
And so stanza follows stanza, with the plaintive refrain, more of faith than of hope—

But it cannot thus endure all waye,

a certain instinct of a coming Reformation, as the ‘balett’ itself is a record of the utmost need of one.

In strong contrast with this is the ‘breve oracion’ in which the writers measure themselves against the Cardinal’s furiousness. Oh to have seen Wolsey reading that!

11. Thus far we have dealt with the history and literary characteristics of this Inveotive. There remain its actual assertions. So far as we have been able to test them, they are, for the most part, with but a trifling exaggeration here and there, ‘no thinge but trothe.’ The parties most largely flagellated are Wolsey and the Observants. Juft those, in fact, whom Roy and Barlow, sometime members of the Greenwich monastery, would probably be best acquainted with. This is an incidental internal proof of their authorship of the tract. Note especially the Observant Friar carrying in his sleeve his bladder full of ginger, nutmegs, or grains, when walking his stations, p. 82.

An examination of the assertions is beyond our present limits. They must be taken as primâ facie testimony respecting English society, just when monasticism was ripening to its fall. If true, as we take them to be in the main, they simply and alone, amply justify the suppreッション of the monasteries in this country, of which dissolution there is a forerunning cry in these lines.

Yet had we the Kynges licence
We wolde with outen diffidence
Their golden shrines in peces brake, p. 111.

12. In conclusion. We cannot suppose that this Inveotive exercised any very large immediate influence. Ryneck effectually stopped that. It is surprising that any of the thousand copies should have escaped the sweep of his net, and the subsequent hunt by Wolsey and More. The first edition must ever be regarded as a suppressed book. So much is this so, that it actually does not occur in the list of suppressed books of 1542. Yet its truths and facts found expression in other contemporary writings; while pottersy is much indebted to the two Franciscans for these excellent photographs of English clerical life of the time, of the proud infolent oppressiveness and ungody living of the King’s favourite; and of the advent and official reception upon English soil of the printed vernacular New Testaments.

Nowe hidder come to REMAYNE. p. 118.
NOTES

respecting

WILLIAM ROY AND JEROME BARLOW,

Observant Friars of the Order of St. Francis, and belonging to the Monastery of Greenwich.

* Approximate or probable dates.

We have in the Facsimile Text of The First Printed New Testament published in the spring of this year (1870), sifted and collected into one focus most of the contemporary evidence now extant respecting the translation, circulation, burning, and confiscation of our first printed English Testaments. Among the evidence therein adduced will be found quotations from the present text, which occur on 44. 114-120, 46-7, of this Reprint, which are contemporary testimony to Wolsey's secret Council with the Bishops, and especially the subsequent burning before Bp. Tonstal at Paul's Cross, of copies of Tyndale's New Testament.

We need not therefore go over that ground again here, nor quote the original Latin texts which will be found in that volume. Our immediate purpose now is to give such few particulars as are known of these two friars, and we will, for that intent, take as proved facts, the results arrived at in that Facsimile Text.


"St. Francis, who was contemporary with St. Dominic, but of another country, being born at Assise in Italy, in the province of Umbria, and duchy of Spoletum, A.D. 1182, was founder of the Franciscan, Grey, or Minor Friars. The first name they had from their founder, the second from their grey clothing, and the third they took out of pretended humility. Their rule was drawn up by St. Francis, A.D. 1209; approved by Pope Innocent III. A.D. 1210, and by the general Lateran Council A.D. 1215. Their habit was a loose garment of a grey colour, reaching down to their ankles, with a cowl of the same, and a cloak over it when they went abroad. They girded themselves with cords, and went barefooted. Davenport saith, they came into England A.D. 1229. But the general opinion is, that they came hither A.D. 1224, and had their first House at Canterbury, and their second at London."

"Some considerable relaxation having by degrees crept into this Order, it was thought requisite to reform it, and to reduce it, as near as might be, to its first rule and institution. Whereupon such as continued under the relaxation were called Conventuals, and such as accepted the reformation were called Observants or Recollects. This reformation was begun about A.D. 1400, by St. Bernard or Bernardin of Siena, confirmed by the Council of Constance A.D. 1414, and afterwards by Eugenius IV. and other Popes. King Edward the Fourth is commonly said to have brought them [i.e. the Observants] into England, but I find no certain account of their being here till King Henry the Seventh built two or three houses for them."—Quoted in Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum, vili. 1502, Ed. 1830.

Lysons gives the following account of the Monastery at Greenwich:—

"King Henry the Seventh, by his charter bearing date 1486, after reciting that his predecessor King Edward IVth had, by the Pope's license, given to certain Minorites, or Observant Friars of the Order of St. Francis, a piece of ground adjoining to his palace, on which were some ancient buildings; and that these Friars having taken possession, and having laid the first stone with great solemnity, began to build several small mansions in honour of the Virgin Mary, St. Francis, and All Saints, granted and confirmed the said premises, and founded a Convent of Friars of the Order above described, to consist of a Warden and twelve brethren at the least. It is said he afterwards rebuilt their Convent for them from their foundation. Katherine (Henry the
NOTES RESPECTING WILLIAM ROY

Eighth's first queen) was a great favourer of the Convent and their Order: she appointed one of the Monks of Greenwich, father John Forrest, to be her confessor: and used, while resident at this place, to rise at midnight and join him and make their devotions. They returned this friendship by openly
exposing her cause when the business of her divorce was agitated, which so far enraged the King that he suppressed the whole Order throughout Eng-
land."—Idem, p. 1512.

William Tyndale, born not earlier than this year.

William Roy was educated at Cambridge. See Cooper, 
Ath. Cantab. i. 44. Ed. 1858.

1532—3. Tyndale is tutor in the family of Sir John Walsh, at Little 
Sodbury in Gloucestershire.

1533. *Oct. Tyndale arrives in London. Applies to Tonstall, Bp. of 
London, to be his chaplain, thinking to have translated the 
Testament. The Bp. declines his services. Having no living
at all, he then went to Humphrey Monmouth, a London 
cloth-merchant, who befriends him.


1535. *April or *May. Tyndale received, probably at Hamburg, a remit-
tance from Monmouth.

1535. *July of *Aug. Tyndale and Roy arrive at Cologne, and commence 
a secret impression of the English New Testament in the printing-
house of Peter Quentel, the celebrated printer of that city.

1535. *Sept. John Dornek, surnamed Coelchæus, gives the following
account of how he stopped their work:—"Having thus become
more intimate and familiar with the Cologne printers, he some-
times heard them confidently boast, when in their cups, that whether the King
and Cardinal of England would or not, all England would in short time be
Lutheran. He heard also that there were two Englishmen lurking there,
learned, skilful in languages, and fluent, whom, however, he never could
see or converse with. Calling, therefore, certain printers into his lodging,
after they were heated with wine, one of them, in more private discourse,
discovered to him the secret by which England was to be drawn over to the
side of Luther—namely, That three thousand copies of the Lutheran New
Testament, translated into the English language, were in the press, and
already were advanced as far as the letter k, in ordine quaterniumus [i.e.
in quarto]. That the expenses were fully supplied by English merchants;
who were secretly to convey the work when printed, and to disperse it widely
through all England, before the King or Cardinal could discover or pro-
hibit it.

Cochæus being inwardly affected by fear and wonder, disguised his grief,
der the appearance of admiration. But another day, considering with
himself the magnitude of the grievous danger, he cast in mind by what
method he might expeditiously obstruct these very wicked attempts. He
went, therefore, secretly to Herman Rinck, a patrician of Cologne and Mili-
tary Knight, familiar both with the Emperor and the King of England, and
a Counsellor, and disclosed to him the whole affair, as, by means of the wine,
he had received it. He, that he might ascertain all things more certainly,
sent another person into the house where the work was printing, according
to the discovery of Cochæus: and when he had understood from him that
the matter was even so, and that there was great abundance of paper there,
he went to the Senate, and so brought it about that the printer was inter-
dicted from proceeding farther in that work. The two English apostates,
swatching away with them the quarto sheets printed, fled by ship, going up
the Rhine to Worms, where the people were under the full rage of Luther-
anism, that there, by another printer, they might complete the work begun.
Rinck and Cochæus, however, immediately advised by their letters the
King, the Cardinal, and the Bishop of Rochester [Fisher], that they might,
with the greatest diligence, take care lest that most pernicious article of
merchandize should be conveyed into all ports of England." The original of
this is De Actis et Scriptis Martini Lutheri, pp. 132-134, Ed. 1549.
AND JEROME BARLOW.

1535. DEC. 2. Dr. LEE, the king's almoner, journeying through France into Spain, thus writes to the king from Bordeaux:—"Please it your Highness more to understand that I am certainie enformed as I passed in this contree that an Englishman, your subject, at the solicitation and instance of Luther, with whom he is, has the translated the Newe Testament in to English, and within fewe days entendeth to arrive with the same emprinted in England."—Cott. Vest. E. iii. fol. 211. orig.

1536. JAN. or FEB. The New Testaments were finished at Worma.

Now comes Tyndale's own explicit testimony, and the earliest mention of Roy by name. "Whyle I abode a faythful companyon which now hath taken an other voyage vpon him/ to preache christ where (I suppose) he was neuer yet preached (God which put in his herte thytter to goo sende his sprite with him/ cometh vn to him with his/ and bringe his purpose to good effecte) one William Roye a man somewhat craftye when he came therto new acquayntance and before he be thoryv knowne and namely when all is spent/ came vn to me and offered his helpe. As longe as he had no money/ somwhat I could ruelen him: but as sone as he had goten him my money/ he became lyke hym selfe agayne. Neuerthelesse I suffered all things tyll yat was endyd whych I coude not dune alone wyth out one both to wryte and to helpe me to compare ye testetis tother. When that was endyd I toke my leue and bothe him farewell for oure two luyes/ and as men syve a daye longer."—Preface to The Parable of the Wycked Mammon, finished at Marburg 8 May 1538.

It is clear from this that Roy was with Tyndale from the time he first joined until the printing was completely finished. "The faythful companyon" does not seem to have been concerned in the translation and printing at all, but merely to have been Tyndale's friend and solace. Otherwise his leaving the translator in the emergency and with his good wishes, is inexplicable. Therefore Roy was the other Englishman who fled with Tyndale up the Rhine.

So the work having at length come to an end, Tyndale set himself to prepare 1536. SPRING. for translating the Old Testament by studying Hebrew.

What became of Roy he thus us in continuation:

"After we were departed he went/ and gate him new frendes whiche thinge to dune he passeth all that euery I yet knewe. And there when he had stored hym of money he gate him to Argentine where he professeth wonderfull facultyes and maketh bost of no small things."—Idem.

1537. SPRING. He then thus introduces us to Jerome Barlow—

"A yere after that and now. xii. monethes before the pryntinge of this worke/ [finished 8 May 1538] came one Ierom a brother of Grenchwel also/ thorow wormes to Argentine/ [Strasburg] sayenge that he entended to be Christes disciple an other whyl and to kepe (as nye God wolde gyue hym grace) the profession of his baptym/ and to gett his lyuing with his handes/ and to lyue no longer ydel and of the swete and laboure of those captuyne whiche they had taught/ not to byleue in Chryst: but in cuttsSHOWes and russet coetes. Whiche Jerom with all diligence I warned of Royes boldnesse and ehoorted hym to beware of hym and to walke quyetly and with all pacience and longe sofferinge accordyng as we haue Chryste and his apostles for an ensample/ whiche thinge he also promysed me. Neuerthelesse when he was comen to Argentine William Roye (whos tongue is able not only to make foles sterke madde/ but also to discyeuw the wisest that is at the fyrst sight and acquayntance) gate him to hym and set him a werk to make rymes/ whyle he hym selfe translated a dialoge out of latyn in to Englysh/ in whose prologue he promyseth moare a grete deale than I fere me he wyll euer paye."—Idem.

This passage indubitably fixes the authorship of Rede me and be nott wrothe upon these two Franciscan friars; more particularly assigning to Barlow its expression and to Roy its matter; not but what Roy must have been indebted to Barlow, who apparently had come straight from England, for some of his home facts, down to say April 1537.
Roy's translation 'out of laten' above referred to is apparently now lost. The title of the original Latin text, of unknown authorship, is given by Mr. Park, in Harleian Misc., ix. 3, Ed. 1812, as Inter patrem Christianum et filium contemptum dialogum Christianum. It was written against the seven sacraments, as the following passage in Sir T. More's Supplication of Souls, published in the summer of 1539, proves.

"They parseyung thys haue therfore forste assayd the furste way all redy/ sendyng forth Tyndals translacyon of the new testament in suche wyse handled as yt should haue bene the fountayn and well spryng of all their hole hereysies. For he had corrupted and purposely changed in many placys the text/ with such wordys as he myght make yt sene to the vnlernd people/ that the scrupure affyrned theyr hereysies it selfe. Then cam synke after out in prynt the dyaloge of frere Roy and frere Hyreome/betwene ye father and ye sonne agaynst ye sacrament of ye aultur; and the blasphemyouse boke entytled the beryeng of the masse. [i.e. Rede me, &c.] Then cam forth after Tyndals wykyed boke of Mammona [dated 8 May 1528] and after that his more wykyd boke of obedyence [dated 1 October 1528]. fol. xix. b."

1528. Aug. 5. Wolsey sends orders to Rynck to buy up everywhere books printed in English, and to arrest Roy and Tyndale.

Sept. 1. Rynck gets Roy's books out of the pawn of the Frankfort Oct. 4. Jews. He writes thus to Wolsey: "Most holy and most gracious father in Christ, most merciful lord—after offering my humble and willing service to your Holiness's pleasure, with grateful and sincere mind, I wish to inform your grace and fatherhood as follows.

Your grace's letters dated August 5, at your palace of Hampton Court, were given to me by John West priest of the order of St. Francis de Obervania, at Cologne on Sept. 21, having been sent on from Frankfort by a swift messenger in two days, which letters ordered me to buy up everywhere books printed in English, and to arrest Roy and Hutchins. They and their accomplices have not been seen at Frankfort since Easter and the market after Lent, and it is not known whither they have gone, and whether they are alive or dead. John Schott, citizen of Strasburg, their engraver, says he does not know whither they have vanished. Their books indeed are stuffed with heresy, full of envy and slander against your grace's glory and honour, and what is worst and contrary to Christian charity, make the king's serenity, my most kind and noble lord and illustrious prince, infamous to all worshippers of Christ. However, I, as a most humble, faithful and diligent servant, three weeks before receiving your grace's letters, heard and perceived that those very books had been pawned to the Jews at Frankfort for a certain sum of money, and then, on my own account, laboured and endeavoured to get hold of them as soon as possible. The engraver [i.e. printer], John Schott, demanded beside the interest for the Jews, the pay for his labour and the expense of the paper, and said that he should sell them to whoever would give the most money. So, as your grace had sent me letters and commissions from England, I immediately spared neither my person, my money, nor my trouble, (as I was bound to do,) but made use of the privileges previously received from his Imperial Majesty. I gained over the consuls of Frankfort and some senators and judges, by gifts and presents, so that I might scrape and heap together all those books from every place; which was done in three or four places, so that I hope that all of those books yet printed are in my possession, except two which your grace's commissary the above named John West asked for and received from me for the greater profit and advantage of the king's grace and yours. Two books indeed, I gave him, as I found him faithful and diligent for your grace, whom he has often served and doubtless will in future serve. Unless I had discovered it, and interfered, the books would have been enclosed and hidden in paper covers, packed in ten bundles covered with linen and conveyed in time by sea, craftily and without exciting any suspicion to Scotland and England, where they would have been sold only as blank paper; but I think that very few, or none, have been exported or sold. Besides I have . . . and procured from the consuls of Frankfort a prohibition strengthened by oaths, of their
further printing from copper types, and the engraver himself is bound by his oath to send me the original written copy. In addition to this, I will endeavour in every way to arrest Roy and Hutchins and other opponents and rebels of the king's grace and yours, and to find out where they live, as John West, and my son Hermann Rynck and John Geilkyrche my servant will assure you by word of mouth, to whom your grace may give credence just as to myself, for they will keep silence concerning and conceal whatever orders your grace gives them. I send them now to the king's grace and yours, chiefly on account of the favourable issue of the business, and that I may show and do a thing pleasing to the king's grace and yours."

"These privileges, in my opinion, contain that throughout the whole Roman Empire, especially in Germany, no rebels or traitors to the king of England shall be kept or suffered, much less heretics who excite sedition among the Christians of the whole kingdom of England. By force of this privilege, Edmund de la Pole, who called himself the duke of Suffolk, was demanded by king Philip, to be sent into England, as was fitting. Then William Roy, William Tyndale, Jerome Barlow, Alexander Barclay, and their adherents, formerly Observants of the order of St. Francis, but now apostates, George Coates also, and many other rebels of the king's grace, ought to be arrested, punished and delivered up on account of Lutheran heresy, which ought to be blasted out and rooted up, to confirm the Christian faith, of which there is much need in the kingdom of England. This opinion of mine the aforesaid privilege will show much more clearly, but I have retained no copy of it. Your grace's excellent prudence however will be able to consider and manage these matters more prudently than I can express them in writing. When therefore such a mandate comes to me hither, I will execute it to the honour of Almighty God, your grace and the whole realm of England, as a Christian, and with all my diligence, strength and care.

In this manner therefore, for the safety and profit of the king's grace and yours, and of all the subjects of the English realm, both religious and secular, as far as I could with divine help, and according to your grace's command, I searched for heretical books, sparing neither labour nor money. I went to the market at Frankfort with a papal and imperial mandate, using especially the privileges or mandates which I obtained from the late Emperor Maximilian and now hold from the present Emperor Charles. I compelled the engraver John Schott to take an oath before the consuls, judges, and senators of Frankfort to confess how many of such books he had printed in English, German, French or other languages. Then he confessed on oath that he had only printed hitherto a thousand books of six quires [or signatures. This is Roy's translation 'out of later'], and a thousand of nine quires [The first edition of this Inversion consists of nine signatures. A to I.] in the English tongue, at the order of Roy and Hutchins, who had no money to pay for the books printed, much less to have them printed in other languages. Wherefore I bought almost all these, and have them at my house at Cologne, as my son will show your grace and will request your grace to inform me what you wish to be done with the books so bought, which shall then be executed and done with all diligence as far as possible to me and mine with God's favour, to show our duty to the king's grace and yours. So may your grace fare well for many happy years. Dated at Cologne, 4 October, 1528.

Ryack confounds Tyndale with Roy: otherwise his secret information seems exact and true.

1528. Dec. 17. In a letter of the same red-hot zealot, West, we obtain the following further valuable information:

"Syr. The cause of my writing unto your Mastership at this time is this. Our father minister, who is Father William Robbyson, Warder of Greenwich, was yesterday or this day, at my Lord's Grace to complain upon me, and that my Lord should take away the commission from me. And all because they will not let me come to London and to seek for them that my Lord knoweth of, and to enquire whether Roy was, when he was in England with his mother, and for other sort of businesse according to my
NOTES RESPECTING WILLIAM ROY AND JEROME BARLOW.

commission, And they have great indignation at me because I have sped so well, and because there are more of them guilty in the matter of Lutherans. Wherefore I pray you to help now as my special trust is in you, and the sooner the better. If you can get the obedience send it to me to Greenwich by one of your servants, and that he deliver it to no man but to myself. For I am weary of my life among them; and all because I see them that they be willing to maintain these rebellious heretics in their mischief, and they pray to God that they might not [I be taken]. At Greenwich, at our convent, the xvii December A Do. 1528. JOHN WEST." The original is Cotton. MS. Vitell. B. x. f. 171.

1529. [† 2 FEB.] Simon Fish's Supplication of the Beggers is scattered in the streets of London. It is alluded to at p. 144.

SUMMER. Sir T. More answers it in The Supplication of Soulys, also alluded to at p. 144.

1530. SPRING. A proper Dialouge is printed at Marburg.

Richard Bayfield, sometime Chamberlain of the Benedictine Monastery of Bury St Edmunds, having gone abroad to Tyndale and Fryth, returns with a large supply of Protestant books in Latin and English, which he lands at Colchester in Midsummer 1530.

NOV. He lands a second supply at St Catharines at Allhallow tide: but George Constantine having betrayed the consignment to Sir T. More, the Lord Chancellor seizes the whole.

1531. EASTER. Unabated, he lands a third supply in Norfolk, and brings them to London in a mail.

1532. EASTER. He is arrested in Mark Lane, London.

NOV. 10-21. He undergoes several examinations.

NOV. 27. He is burnt at or near Newgate. See List of proscribed books in Lambeth Library MSS. 306. fol. 65. col. 2. printed in Political, Religious, and Love Poems. Ed. by Mr. Furnivall. 1866.

Sir T. More, in the Preface to his Constitucion of Tyndall's Answer. &c. of 1532, in giving a long catalogue, more or less accurate, of Protestant books, has the following ribald passage respecting Roy, to whom he attributes Tyndale's exposition of I. Corinthian. vii. c—

"That work hath no name of the maker, but some wene yt was frere Roy/whych when he was fallen in heresy, then founde yt vnlawfull to lyue in chastyste, and ranne oute of hys order, and hath synnes sought many a false vnlyeufull way to lyue by/wherein he made so many chaunges, that as Bayfield a nother heretyque and late burned in smythfield tolde vnto me/f he made a mete ende at laste, and was burned in Portugale."

Bayfield was very likely to know about Roy, and very unlikely to tell the Lord Chancellor anything to his detriment. That Roy should have got to Portugal is at present quite unaccountable; and provokes the supposition that the Martyr put More on a wrong scent. The archives of that country would readily prove whether an English heretic friar was burnt in that country between 1528—1531.

With this notice dies out our present information respecting the Authors of this Invective: unless the slightest possible notice of Roy by Bp. Bale in his Illustrium majoris &c. f. 256. Ed. 1548 be taken into account.
OUTLINE OF THE CAREER
of
THOMAS WOLSEY,
Cardinal Archbishop of York, &c.,
And some Notes of his Children.

Taken chiefly from Thomas' Historical Notes, i. Ed. 1856; Le Neve's Fasti Eccles. Angl. Ed. 1859, &c.; and The Life of Wolsey, by his Gentleman Usher (i George Cavendish).


1471. Mar. Thomas, the son of Thomas and Joan Wolsey, b. at Ipswich. Cavendish says, 'an honest poore man's son.' A Wood, who somewhat preposterously calls such an untamed tiger as Wolsey 'the greatest, most noble, and most disinterested clergyman of that age,' accuses the author of Rede me, &c., whom he ignorantly calls a 'canting and severe Puritan,' of first saying that he was a butcher's son; but the statement—in itself no degradation to an honest mind—occurs much earlier. Mr. Furnivall has printed in Ballads from MSS. i. Ed. 1870, a poem written about 1520, now Harl. MS. 2,252, fol. 136, in which occur these lines—

To see a Churl, a Butcher's cur,
To reign and rule in such honour.

John Skelton, writing in 1522-3, Why come ye not to Court; thus refers to it:—

How be it the primordial
Of his wretched original,
And his base progeny,
And his greasy genealogy,
He came of the sang royal,
That was cast out of a butcher's stall.

For which poem he fled for sanctuary to Westminster Abbey, where, protected by the Abbot Islip, he lived until his death on 29 June 1529.


Wolsey's Gentleman Usher states of him—'Being but a child, was very apt to be learned; wherefore by the means of his parents, or of his good friends, and masters, he was conveyed to the university of Oxonford, where he shortly prospered so in learning, as he told me by his own mouthe, he was x486. made Bachelor of Arts, when he past not fifteen years of age, in so much that for the rareness of his age, he was called most commonly, through the University, the Boy Bachelor.


1507. Autumn. Performs a journey for the king from Richmond to Flanders and back in 80 hours.

1509. Feb. 2. Is collated Dean of Lincoln.
Feb. 8. Is collated Prebend (Welton Brinkhall) of Lincoln.
Mar. 25. Is installed Dean of Lincoln by proxy.

1509. April 22. Henry VIII. succeeds to the throne.

1509. May 3. Exchanges his Prebendarship for that of Stow Longa in the same Cathedral.

AUG. 21. Is installed as Dean in person.
Is introduced by Fox, Bp. of Winchester, to the Court.
Is made the King's Almoner.
Is made Rector of Torrington.

July 5. Is made Prebend of Hereford. [Resigns it in Jan. 1512].
1511 Feb. 17. Is appointed Canon of Windsor. [Resigns it in 1512].

1512. ! Is made Dean of Hereford. [Resigns it 3 Dec. 1512.]

Becomes Prime Minister, and has the direction of the supplies for the army invading France. Is made Bp. of Tournay on its capture.

July 8. Is collated Precentor of St. Paul’s, London. [Resigns it in 1514, on being made a Bp.]

1513-14. He obtains the Abbey of St. Amand.


July 14. Cardinal Bainbridge, Archbishop of York, is poisoned at Rome. Wolsey is appointed his successor. Aug. 5. As Archbp. elect, is entrusted with the custody of the temporalities.

Sept. 15. Papal bulls for his translation, which are published in York Cathedral on Dec. 3.

1515. Fox, Bp. of Winchester, retires in disgust at Wolsey. The Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk soon follow.

Sept. 10. Wolsey is made a Cardinal by the title of Sancta Caecilia trans Tiberim.

Dec. 22. Archbp. Warham resigns the Lord Chancellorship, and retires from Court. Wolsey succeeds him on the same day.

1517. Appointed to collect the Tenth levied by the Popes for the recovery of the duchy of Urbino.

A pension is assigned to him by the king of Spain.


July 29. Campeggio makes his entry into London.

July 30. Papal Bull to hold see of Bath and Wells in commendam.

Aug. 28. Obtains the temporalities.

Oct. Pension of 12,000 livres Tournais allowed him for the loss of the Bishopric of that town.

Campeggio is recalled.

1519. June 10. Papal commission as sole Legate. Erects a Legate’s court. Is godfather to the second son of Francis I. The Archbp. of Canterbury complains to the king of Wolsey oppressing the clergy. The judge of the Legate’s court is convicted. Wolsey consequently hates Warham still more. He had already been violently offended with him, for subscribing himself Your brother of Canterbury.

1520. May—July. Accompanies the King at The Field of the Cloth of Gold.

1521. Apr. His Legatine power is enlarged by Bull.

July. Mediator at the Congress of Calais. Abbey of St. Albans granted to him in commendam.

1522. Is disappointed of the Papacy. Adrian VI. chosen.

Wolsey had two illegitimate children—a son, Thomas Winter, to whom he gave many ecclesiastical offices before he was of age, which Winter resigned on his father’s fall: and also a daughter, who was a nun at Salisbury. [Brewer]

Mar. 27. In order to support the war against France without calling a Parliament, Wolsey orders by warrant a survey or valuation of the lands and property. This was followed by a general loan of the Tenth on the lay subjects, and the Fourth on the clergy. This made great noise all over the kingdom against the Cardinal.

1522. Mar. 28. Winter is made Prebend of Lincoln. [He resigns it in 1529.]

1523. Jan. 9. Winter is made Prebend and also Archdeacon of York.

He resigns both in Dec. 1529.

Apr. 15. Convocation and Parliament assemble on the same day. Wolsey demands and obtains from the clergy a subsidy of Half their annual revenue, and gets it. He demands 42. in the pound of the Commons, and gets 22. He is much mortified at the Commons. His Legateship prolonged for five years.

May. Is again disappointed of the Papacy. Clement VII. elected.
Winter is made Chancellor of Salisbury. [He resigns it in 1529.]

**APR. 30.** Wolsey receives the temporalities of the see of Durham in commendam, having resigned Bath and Wells.

**1524. JAN. 9.** His Legantine powers are granted to him for life.

First suppression of monasteries for his intended colleges at Ipswich and Oxford.

**Wolsey is now at the summit of his greatness. He remains for yet five years as great a man as a subject could well be.**

1525. Comotions near London on account of taxes. The King is furious. Wolsey appeases him, and gives him Hampton Court Palace. Henry allows him in exchange to live in his palace at Richmond.

**1526. MAR. 24.** Winter is made Archdeacon of Richmond. [He resigns it in 1529.]

**MAR. 26.** Winter is made Dean of Wells. [He resigns it in 1528.]

**1527. JULY—SEPT.** Wolsey makes his astonishingly pompous progress to Amiens and back, as Ambassador Extraordinary to the French King, in order to negotiate a match between the Duke of Orleans and the Princess, afterwards Queen Mary.

**JULY** He sends Dr. Knight, Secretary of State, to Rome touching the divorce.

**1528. JAN.** He orders the heralds, Clarencieux and Guienne, to declare war against Spain, without the King's knowledge. Henry orders this matter to be examined in Council. Wolsey makes his peace with the king.

**1529. APR. 6.** Receives temporalities of the see of Winchester in commendam, having resigned Durham.

**MAR. 31.** Campeggio and he open the court to try the divorce question. **AUTUMN.** Whilst these things were thus in hand, the cardinal of Yorke was advised that the king had set his affection upon a young gentlewoman named Anne, the daughter of Sir Thomas Bulton, vicount Rochford, which did wait upon the queen. This was a great grieve unto the cardinal, as he that perceived aforehand, that the king would marie the said gentlewoman, if the diuorse took place. Wherefore he began with all diligence to disappoint that match, which by reason of the misliking that he had to the woman, he judged ought to be avoided more than present death. While the matter stood in this state, and that the cause of the queene was to be heared and judged at Rome, by reason of the appeale which by hir was put in: the cardinal required the pope by letters and secret messengers, that in anie wise he should defer the judgement of the diuorse, till he might frame the kings mind to his purpose. Howbeit he went about nothing so secrete, but that the same came to the kings knowledge, who tooke so high displeasure with such his cloked dissimulation, that he determined to abase his degree, sith as an vnthankesfull person he forgot himselfe and his duty towards him that had so highlie advanced him to all honor and dignitie. *Holinshed.* liii. 908, Ed. 1586.

**OCT. 19.** He delivers up the Great Seal to the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk. The king orders him to go to Esher. He is stripped of all his offices except his Archbishopprick.

**NOV. 3.** Parliament meets. He is impeached.

**1530. LENT.** He removes to Richmond.

**APRIL.** He journeys to the north, and lives in his Archepiscopal residence at Cawood.

**NOV. 4.** Friday. He is arrested there by the Earl of Northumberland for high treason. He was to have been enthroned with high pomp as archbp. on the following Monday.

**NOV. 29.** Journeying towards London, he dies at Leicester Abbey on Tuesday 29 Nov. at 8 a.m.: ext. 59.

His Gentleman Usher says, 'I assure you, in his time, he was the haughtiest man in all his proceedings alive.'
BIBLIOGRAPHY.

* Editions not seen.

Rede me and be nott wrothe.

I.—Separate publication.

1. [1528. Strasburg.] See title on opposite page. There are at present two vol. 8vo. copies in the British Museum; one with pressmark C. 21. a, the other in the Grenville Collection, No. 11, 167.

4. [1845. London.] A simple reprint, in black letter, of No. 1, by the Chis- vol. 8vo.wick Press.

11.—With other works.


III.—Adaptations, &c.


A Proper Dyalogue, &c.

... The only known copy of the Dyalogue was discovered by Lord Arthur Harvey in the library at Ickworth in the autumn of 1862.

II.—With a compendious old Treatise, &c.

1. 1530. Marburg. See title at p. 120, and Colophon at p. 184. 23 leaves. vol. 8vo. The press-mark of the Museum copy is C. 37. a.

*2. [1530. Marburg.] It would seem that when the old Treatise was separately printed (see No. 2 below) that this Dyalogue was also reprinted. Oldys in his Harl. Pamphlets, No. 173, quotes such a copy, without date or name of place or printer, on 24 leaves.

3. 1863. London. The same, reproduced in facsimile (by hand-traced litho vol. 8vo. graphic), with an Introduction, by Francis Fry, Esq. F.S.A.


A compendious old Treatise, &c.

A MS. copy of this letter was bequeathed by Archbp. Parker to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. It has the following title:—A determination of a doctor of divinity against them that say it is not lawful to have holy writs and other books in English. J. Nasmyth's Cat., &c., p. 333, Ed. 1777.

1.—As a separate publication.

2. 1530. Marburg. A compendious old treatise of howe that we ought to vol. 8 leaves. have ye Scripture in Englishes/ Col. Emprunted at Marlb our of the lande of Hessen/ be my Hans Luft/in the yer of oure lorde MCCCCLXXXV. It has 34 lines to a page. A perfectly distinct edition from No. 1. The press-mark of the Museum copy is C. 25. d.

3. [1546.] London. A compendious Olde treatysse shewynge/ howe that we vol. 8vo. ought to have the Scripture in Englishes with the Auctours.

Col. Imprinted by me Rycharde Banckes/ dwellynge in gracious streete/ besyde the cundyte. The Museum copy is C. 37. b.

II.—With other works.

1. 1530. Marburg. At the end of A proper Dyalogue, &c. See title at p. x vol. 8vo. 170, and Col. at p. 184. It is printed 32 lines to a page, some- 9 leaves. what narrower than those in No. 2.

4. 1563. London. The Olde Treatise is included in the first edition only vol. folio. of John Fox's Actes and Monuments, &c., pp. 452-5.


6. 1863. Bristol. vol. 8vo. Facsimiled by Mr. Fry, with the Dyalogue, &c.

Rede me and be nott wrothe,
For I saye no thynge but trothe.
I will ascende makyng my state so hye/
That my pompous honoure shall never dye.

O Caftyfe when thou thynekst least of all/
With confusion thou shalt have a fall.

[In the original edition, the griffons, club, and Cardinal's hat are painted red. In which way drops of blood are represented as falling from the edges of the six axes.]
The description of the armes.

Of the prowde Cardinall this is the sfielde
Borne vp betwene two angels off Sathan.
The sixe blouddy axes in a bare seld
Sheweth the cruelte of the red man/
whiche hathe devoured the beautifull swan.
Mortall enmy vnto the whyte Lion/
Carret of Yorcke/ the vyle butcheres sonne.

The sixe bulles heddes in a seld blacke
Betokeneth his stordy furioussnes
Wherfore the godly lyght to put abacke
He bryngeth in his dyvilifhe darcknes.
The bandog in the middes doth expresse
The maftif Curre bred in Ypswith towne
Gnawynge with his teth a kynges crowne.

The cloubbe signifieth playne his tiranny
Covered over with a Cardinalls hatt
Wherin shalbe fulfilled the prophecy
Aryfe vp Iacke and put on thy falatt/
For the tyme is come of bagge and walatt
The temporall cheualry thus thrown downe
Wherby prest take hede and beware thy crowne.
To his singular good friend and brother in Christ Master. P. G. A.
O. desyreth grace and peace from God the father/ thorow the
lorde Jesus Christ.

By your laste letter/ dere brother in Christ/ I perceived/ that youre desyre was/ to have the lytle worke which ye sent/ wele examened/ and diligently put into prynt. Which thynge (the bonde of charitie/ where with not alonely Joh. xv you and I/ but we with the whole nombre of Christis chosyn flocke/ rema[n]yngge amonge oure nacion of englishe men/ are knet together/ purly for the truthes fake pondered) I could be no lesse but fullfil and accomplisyfhe. For as moche as it is a thynge so necessary. Where of no doute/ shall sprynge grett frute vnto the fammisshed/ and lyght vnto theym which of longe seafon have bene fore bylynd-
Ma. xxv folded. Though the rammyfhe refydue of gotes/ fo farre envred with mannis blynde reaason (which repute grett felicite to make men beleve/ goode to be the naturall cause of evill/ darknes to procede oute of light) and lyinge to be grounded in truth/
Mat. xxiiiij. and to make of the worde of lyfe the glave of death/ contrary to all trueth) that scripture calleth theym faulce teachers/ and bryngers in prevely of damnable sectes/ even denyinge the lorde that bought theym/
[i. pe. J. i]
and brynge on their owne heddes fwyfte dampnacion/
for their leadynge of many into their damnable
ap. xviij waies. Of whose boddies annd foules thus
Ma. vij once blynded and ledde out of the narowe
waye of lyfe/ into the broade waye of perdicion/
thorowe covetousnes they make their marchandyse.
ij. Pet. ij Wherby the waye of trueth (that is to faye
the glorious gospell of Chriſt) is evill spocken of. In
fo moche that they after this manner sealed with the
apo. xvij marke of the grett beast of the erth/ whose
j. t. iiiij conſciences. S. paul describeth to be
finged with the hott yeron of blaſphemy/ only geve
hede to the fpretes of errore/ and dyvelyſſhe doc-
tryne of theym which speake faulcæ through hipocrisſy/
iiij. forbyddyng to mary/ and communandyng
to abſlayne from meates and foche wother) cannot
but barke there att/ forbid it/ and with all violence
perſecute the reders there of. Yet. I nevertheleſſe
ij. Pet. j with you/ doinge after the apoftles erudi-
ij. Pe. jij cion/ as longe as I folowe no decevable
fables/ will not be negligent to put my brethren in
reſembrance (thogh they partly knowe them their
ſelves/ and are ftablyſſhed in the preſent trueth) or
thoſe thynges wherby they maye the more evidently
note the difceatfulness of mortall man/ and the better
come vnſto the knowledge of the immortall god.
Seynge the tymę at honde wherin god of his infinite
Luc. j mercy/ hath ordeneſ before to make
Rom. j theym thorowe Chriſt oure lorde parte
Ac. iiiij takers alſo of his glorious will and porpoſe.
Ebre. iij even as in the gospell oure favoure before
mar. iij. xvij to all his hadd promesed. I therfore con-
lu. iiiij. ix fyderynge the worlde thus to be wraped
J. Io. v
in myfery and blindnes (and now in these
latter dayes becon an hole or denne of
falce fowy hypocrites/ and a mancon for all ravenynge
wolves disgfed in lambes skynnes/ which hate all love/
and with oute drede of god swander but for theire
praye) have iudged it a thynge moft convenient/ to
fett this smale treatous as a glas or myroure moft
cleare before all mens eyes. In the preface where of
manyfetly they shall perceave/ howe grett daunger
nowe a dayes it is/ the trueth other to describe with
penne/ or with tonge to declare. In the
lamentacion folowyng/ made by a bely beasft/ engend-
dred amonenge the gresy/ or anoynted heap/
wother wyfe called the papyftical secte (whom Chrift
calleth a croked/ vntawarde/ and crouel/gene-
ration of venemous vipers) they may furly
groape and fele/ where of oure spretuall
lordes/ mafters/ and rulars (falcely so named) have
proceded/ and are come. with what presomcion they
difdayne the auncient and true noble bloud. and what
preeminence and dignite they have ob-
tayned through their faulce and crafti bryngynge vppe
of the blasphemous masse/ which principallly is their
holde/ stede/ and defence. Forthermore in the
dialoge ensuynge or breve interlude/ is mas descriyed
with his abhominable ministers. as Popes/ Cardinalls/
bifhops/ abbotes/ monkes/ fryres/ and lyke wother.
wherin also is declared whatt trees they
are with their frute. annad what they shall
remayne their masse once disanulled/ and putt downe.
Which all well confydered/ I hoape that the reder
what ever he be/ will nott take this worke as a thynge
covious/ or a principle of hatred and debate. nor
Rom. iij yet despyse the ryches of the godnes/ and
of the pacience/ of the longe soferance of god. but will
remember that his kyndnes only leadeth hym to re-
i. Cor. iij pentaunce. and mekely with the sprete of
quyetnes/ fyrst iudge it/ and then confydr e hym filse.
and fautlesse he shall fynde it a grett occasion/ to love/
and also to thancke god his father moft mercifull/
which of his tender mercy hath nott delyvered hym
vppe vnto a leawd mynde/ with these vesseles of wrathe/
Rom. iij and children of the devill/ to do those
Ioa. viij thynges which are nott comly/ ful of all
Rom. iij vnrigh toufnes/ fornication/ wickednes/
covetoufnes/ maliciousnes. &c. and fofered hym nott
to become lyke vnto theym/ a hater of god/ and of
his godly worde. agaynft whose vngodlines/ and vnr-
ri gh toufnes/ the wrath of the hevenly god apereth.
because they with holde the true rightoufnes of god/
Rom. iij whiche commeth throwe the lyght of the
gospel of Christ/ in the vnrigh toufnes of mans lawes
and tradicions. Ye/ and as sayth. S. paul/ though
they knowe the rightoufnes of god/ howe they which
foche thynges committ are worthey of death/ yett nott
only do the same/ but also have pleasure in the
doars of them. Wherfore they are before god with
oute excufe. feinge that knowinge god/ they glorify
hym nott as god. nor yett are thanckfull. but wexe full
of vanities in their ymaginacions. countynge them
felves wyse where as in dede they are foles. For with
their folysihe and blynde hert/ they tourne the glory
of the immortall god/ vnto the similitude of the
ymage of mortall man. He shall lykwyse clearly
perceve/ that we of duty colde do no leffe/ but for
the preservacion and tutell of the innocent and semple/
to declare the pestilent doblenes/ and decevable 
itudio of the wicked. accordinge to the doctryne 
shewed vnto vs every where by Christ oure 
master. which cam to fave annd not to destroye. For 
one rotten apple/ lytell and lytell putrisfeeth 
an whole heape. a lytell fower leven the 
whole lompe of dowe. one rancklynge 
member/ the whole boddy. Shortly to conclude. Here in I am well perued/ lett the vngodly roare 
and barcke never so lowde/ that the fyre which Christ 
cam to kyndle on erth/ cannott butt 
burne. that is to faye/ his godly worde forevemore 
enceae and continue. Wherfore dere 
brother/ ye ny mo foche fnale stickes 
come vnto youre hondes/ which ye shall 
judge apte vnto the augmentacion of this fyre/ fende 
them vnto me (ye in englonde they maye not be pub-
lished) and by goddis grace with all my power and 
possibilitie/ I shall so endever my fylfe to kyndle 
theym/ that as many as are of the fede of 
abraham shall fe their light/ and therby 
gloryfy their father celestiall/ which kepe you and 
youres continually stengthynge you with his 
sprete of comforte to his glory 
for ever Amen.
The Author of the worke.
Go forthe lytell treatous nothyng a fraide.
To the Cardinall of Yorcke dedicate
And though he threaten the be not dismayde
To pupplysse his abhominable estate
For though his power he doeth elevate
Yett the season is nowe verily come
Vt inveniatur iniquitas eius ad odium.

The Treatous.
O my author howe shall I be so bolde
A fore the Cardinall to shewe my face
Seinge all the clargy with hym doth holde/
Also in faveour of the Kyngis grace
With furious sentence they will me chace
Forbiddynge eny perfone to rede me
Whersfore my deare author it cannott be.

The Author.
Thou knowest very well whatt his lyfe is
Vnto all people greatly detestable/
He caufeth many one to do amisse
Thorow his example abominable.
Whersfore it is nothyng reprobable
To declare his mischefe and whordom
Vt inveniatur iniquitas eius ad odium.

The Treatous.
Though his lyfe of all people is hated
Yet in the masse they putt moche confidence
Whiche through out all the world is dilated
As a worke of singuler magnificence/
Prestes also they have in reverence
With all wother persones of the spretualte
Wherfore my deare author it cannot be.

The Author.

O deare treatous thou mayst not confyder
Their blynde affeccion in ignorance
Wherby all the worldly both farre and near
Hath bene combred with longe continuance.
Itt is goddis will his trueth to avaunce
And to putt antichrist oute of his kyngdom
Vt inveniatur iniquitas eius ad odium

The Treatous.

Well yett there is greate occasion of grudge
Be cause I apeare to be convicous.
Withouten fayle the clargy will me iudge
To procede of a sprete presumptuous/
For to vse soche wordes contumelious
It becommeth not chisten charite
Wherfore my deare author it cannot be.

The Author.

O my treatous it is goddis iudgement
So to recompence their madde blasphemy
Seynge they burned his holy testament
Thorowe the prowde cardinals tyranny
Agaynst whose harde obstynacy to crye
The stones in the strete cannot be dom
Vt inveniatur iniquitas eius ad odium.
The Treausour.

Yf I presume to make relation
   Of secret matters that be uncertain
They will count it for diffamation
   Or things contrived of a frowarde brayne
To describe their faults it is but vain
   Except I were in some authority
Wherfore my deare author it cannot be.

The Author.

As touching that thou need not to be dictate
   The trueth shalbe thy conservation
Whyles thou presume no faults to detect
   But wheare thou hast hadde certification
By their knowledge and information
   Which have forfaken the whore of rome
Vt inveniatur iniquitas eius ad odium.

The Treausour.

Alas yett in their outrageous furoure
They shall course and banne with cruel sentence.
   All those which have to me eny favoure
Ether to my saynge geve credence
   In hell and heaven they have preeminence
To do as they lyfte with free libertie
   Wherfore my deare author it cannot be.

The Author.

O treatous'lett antichrist crye and roare
   Manassynge with fulminacions
His cruelte shalbe feared no moare
Men knowynge his abhominacions
Fye apon his forged execrations.
Seynge his tyranny is overcome
Vt inveniatur iniquitas eius ad odium.

Fye on his dyvlishe interdiccions
With his keyes lockis chaynes and fetters
Fye apon all his iurisdicticions
And apon those whiche to hym are detters
Fye apon his bulles breves and letters
Wherin he is named seruus servorum
Vt inveniatur iniquitas eius ad odium.

Fye on his golden thre folded crowne
Whiche he vteth to weare apon his head
Fye apon his maieste and renowne
Clayminge on erthe to be in Christis heade
Fye on his carkses bothe quycke and dead
Ex hoc nunc et ufque in seculum
Vt inveniatur iniquitas eius ad odium.

Blissed they be which are cursed of the pope
And cursed are they whom he doth bliss
A cursed are all they that have eny hope
Ether in his peronne or els in his.
For of almyghty god a cursed he is
Per omnia secula seculorum
Vt inveniatur iniquitas eius ad odium.

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1 This refrain is taken from the Vulgate, and in the Douay version (1609-10 A.D.) is rendered—That his iniquitie may be found unto hatred. In the Authorized Version the Hebrew is translated—Until his iniquity be found to be hateful.—Ps. xxxvi. a.
C Heare foloweth the lamentacion.

Alas alas for woo and bitter payne
    Oppresed withe grefe and forofull care
Howe shal we from hevy wepynge refrayne
    Confyderynge the cafe that we in are.
We have now lost the pryce of oure welfare
    Seynge that gone is the maffe
Nowe decesoed alas alas.

Wo worth the time that ever we were born
    To fe the chaunce of this dolorours daye
For now ar we mocked and laughed to skorn
    Owre honour brought to extreme decaye
We maye well fyngle alas and well awaye
    Seynge that gone is the maffe
Nowe decesoed alas alas.

Aproche proud patriarkis with youre pope
    Bishhops arfbysshops and Cardinalls gaye
With all other prelatis which had your hope
    To be mayntayned by the maffe all waye
Who shall finde oure belly and ryche araye
    Seynge that gone is the maffe
Nowe decesoed alas alas.

Drawe nere ye preftis in youre longe gownis
    With all the fryres of the beggerly ordres
Com hither monkis: with brode shaven crounis
    And all foche as are shoren above the ears/
Helpe me to lament with dolourous teares
    Seynge that gone is the maffe
Nowe decesoed alas alas.
The dolfull destruction of noble troye
   Was never to man haulfe so lamentable
Nor yet the subuersion of Rome oure ioye
   Vnder whom we were counted honorable.
O fortune fortune: thou arte vnfaurable
   Seynge that gone is the maffe
   Nowe deceased alas alas.

Departed is nowe the maffe and clean gone
   The chefe vpholder of oure liberte
Wherby our whores and harlotis everychone
   Were mayntayned in ryche felicite.
Full fore we shall repent this daye to fe
   Seynge that gone is the maffe
   Nowe deceased alas alas.

Our baudis and brothels have loft ther finding
   Oure baftardes compelled to go astraye/
Oure wyninge mill hath loft her gryndinge
   Which we supposed never to decaye.
Alas therfore what shal we do or laye
   Seynge that gone is the maffe
   Nowe deceased alas alas.

Oure gay velvet gównis furred with fables
   Which werre wont to kepe vs from colde
The pauleys and hackeneis in oure fables
   Nowe to make cheveaunce must be folde
Adue forked mitres and croffes of golde
   Seynge that gone is the maffe
   Nowe deceased alas alas.

We shal nowe abate oure welthy tables
   With delicate deyntyes so delicious
Oure mery iestes and plesaunt fables
   Are nowe tourned to matters dolorous
We must laye downe oure estate so pompous
   Seynge that gone is the maffe
   Nowe deceased alas alas.
Oure syngres fhyninge with precyous ftons
Sett in golden rynges of ryche valoure
Oure effeminate fleshe and tender bones
Shalbe constrayned to faule vnto laboure
For why decayed is all oure honoure
Seynge that gone is the maffe.
    Nowe deceased alas alas.

Where as we vfed apon mules to ryde
Nowe must we nedes prycke a fote a lone
Oure wantan daliaunce and boffinge pride
With wofull misery is over gone.
Oure gliftringe golde is turned to a stone
Seynge that gone is the maffe.
    Nowe deceased alas alas.

We had oure servantes in most courtly wyse
In greate multitude folowingeoure tayle
With garded lyverey after the newe gyfe
Whome we frely supported to iest and rayle
How be it nowe eache from wother shall saryle
Seynge that gone is the maffe/
    Nowe deceased/ alas alas.

Oure povre kinred we lytell vnderstode/
    And of whatt vilnes oure pompe did aysfe.
We desdayned the eftates of noble blode/
    Nothyng afdayde oure betteres to despyse.
Wherfor agaynst vs they will nowe surmyfe
Seynge that gone is the maffe/
    Nowe deceased/ alas alas.

We were called lordees and doctours reverente/
Royally ragynyng in the spretualte.
In every place wheare we were presente/
They vayled their bonetis and bowed a kne.
But it begynneth nowe wother wyfe to be.
Seynge that gone is the maffe/
    Nowe deceased/ alas alas.
We devowred the full enaunce of the poore/
    Wastynge the goodes of people temporall.
Wherewith we noryshed many a whore/
    To satiffye oure pleasure beastiall.
And yet we were counted spetuall.
    Vnder faveoure of the maffe/
        Nowe deceased/ alas alas.

Ooure greate lordspippes and dominacions/
Withoure ryche iuelles and somptous plate.
    Ooure places and large habitaciones/
Adorned with hangyngis and beddes of state
    From oure hondes shall nowe be separeate.
Seynge that gone is the maffe
        Nowe deceased/ alas alas.

A due/ oure ayde and supprotacion/
    Wherby fortune so merely did smyle.
Farwele conforte and consolacion/
    Thus foddonly chaunged with in a whyle.
Ooure vayne confyndence dyd vs fore begyle.
    Seynge that gone is the maffe/
        Nowe deceased/ alas alas.

By the maffe we were exalted so hye/
    That scantely any man we wolde once knowe.
We thought for to ascende vnto the lyke
    Havynge oure seate above the rayne bowe
But we are come downe agayne full lowe.
Seynge that gone is the maffe/
        Nowe deceased/ alas alas.

The maffe made vs lordis and kyngis over all/
Farre and nere every wheare havynge power.
    With honorable tytles they dyd vs call/
Dredynge to offende vs at eny houre.
    Then were we as freshe as the garden flooure.
Vnder favoure of the maffe/
        Nowe deceased/ alas alas.

Amonge all the people we went a fore/
   By pretence of oure fayned holynes.
They reputed vs for hauflfe goddes and more/
   Thorowe the maffes beneficionalnes.
Whiche is nowe tourned to oure hevines.
   Seynge that gone is the maffe/
      Nowe deceased/ alas alas.

The maffe was only oure singuler suffrage/
   To delivre the people from their fynne.
There was no preft in towne nor village/
   But by the maffe his lyvynge did wynne.
Whose superfluite shalbe full thynne.
   Seynge that gone is the maffe/
      Nowe deceased/ alas alas.

O faythfull maffe/ fo constant and true.
   In heven and erth continually.
We nowe thy chyldren shal morne and rue/
   The chaunce of thy dekaye fo fodenly.
Confrayned we are all to wepe and crye.
   Seynge that gone is the maffe/
      Nowe deceased/ alas alas.

By the maffe we had hye authorite/
   In heven and erth takynge oure pleasure.
Kynges and prynces for all their dignite/
   To displeafe vs feared oute of measure.
Alas we have nowe loft oure chefe treasur.
   Seynge that gone is the maffe/
      Nowe deceased/ alas alas.

The maffe made vs fo stonge and stordy/
   That agaynst hell gates we did prevayle.
Delyveringe soules oute of purgatory/
   And sendynge theym to heven with out sayle
Who is he then that wolde nott bewayle.
   Seynge that gone is the maffe/
      Nowe deceased/ alas alas.
Of all maner thynges the comodyte/
   By the maffes healpe only did depende.
From sycknes and pestilent mortalite/
   The socoure of the maffe did vs defende.
All prosperite thatoure lorde did sende.
   Was for favoure of the maffe
Nowe deceased/ alas alas.

The maffe farre excedeth mannis reason/
   Oft tymes of foule wether makynge fayre.
It caufeth frute for to rype in season/
   Puttyenge awaye infeccion of the ayre.
Greate eftates frendshippe stably to repayre.
   Have confirmation by the maffe
Nowe deceased/ alas alas.

The maffe in due tyme procureth rayne/
   Wherby floures and erbes freeshly do sprynge.
   And maffe maketh it for to seace agayne/
When it fo aboundeth to their hyndrynge.
   All maner matrymony and maryinge.
Is solemyysed by the maffe/
   Nowe deceased/ alas alas.

To soudears and men goynge a warre fare/
   The maffe is ever a sure protection.
It preserveth people from wofull care/
   Dryvynge awaye all affliccion.
Alas who can shewe by descricion.
   All the profettis of the maffe/
Nowe deceased alas alas.

O wofull chaunce: most infortunate/
   So fodenly makynge comutation.
Never fence the worlde was fyrfte create/
   Was there a thyngge of foche reputacion.
For in every londe and nacion.
   All goodnes cam by the maffe/
Nowe deceased/ alas alas.
Whatt avayleth nowe to have a shaven hedde/
Or to be appareled with a longe gowne.
Oure anoynted hondes do vs lytle stedde/
Wher as the maffe is thus plucked downe
Vnto oure dishonowre all doeth rebowne.
Seynge that gone is the maffe/
    Nowe deceased/ alas alas.

The gooddes of the churche are taken awaye/
Geuen to povere folkes foffrynge indigence.
The devyne fervyce vtterly doeth decaye/
    With halowed oyle/ salt/ and frankynsfence.
To holy water they have no reverence.
Seynge that gone is the maffe/
    Nowe deceased/ alas alas.

All people because the maffe is departed/
    Seketh nowe/ Ceremonies to confounde.
The aultres of the lorde are subuered/
    With ymages which cost many a pounde.
The temples also are thrown to the grounde
Seynge that gone is the maffe/
    Nowe deceased/ alas alas.

Wherfore nowe of my lamentacion
    To make an ende with oute delaye.
Fare wele O holy confecracion/
    With blyssed sanctus and agnus dei.
No lenger nowe with you we can praye.
Seynge that gone is the maffe/
    Nowe deceased/ alas alas.

A due/ gentle dominus vobiscum/
    With comfortable/ ite missa est.
Requiem eternam/ is nowe vndon/
    By whom we had many a seft.
Requifcat in pace and goode rest.
Seynge that gone is the maffe/
    Nowe deceased/ alas alas.
Here foloweth a brefe Dialoge betwene two prestes servauntes named Watkyne and Leffraye.

**Watkyne**

Effraye/ hardestr thou oure master/
Thus with lamentable maner/
Most pitoully complayne?

**Leffraye**

Herde it catha? yee be th[e]roode/
I praye god turne it unto goode/
That it be not to oure payne.
But is it of a very surety/
As it is spoken in the country/
That the holy maffe is deade.

**Matt.**

Dead? yee Ieffraye by my hande/
And that thou myght well vnderstande/
Hadde thou eny witt in thy heade.
For the soroufull confraynte/
Of oure masters complayne/
Alonely for hys deceace was.
Wherfor lett vs oure counfell take/
What shyfte for vs is best to make/
Seynge that deceassed is the maffe.

**Ref.**

Mary watkyne thou fayest very trothe/
We shall have but a colde brothe/
I feare me shortly after this.
But I praye the tell me nowe playne/
Was he by eny myfchaunce flayne/
Or was it for age that he deade is.

**Mat.**

Naye/ it was not surly for age/
For he was of luftye courage/
Though he had very many yeres.
Alfo he had continued stille/
Yf prestes myght haue had their will/
With the helpe of monkes and fryres.
Butt he was assaunted so fore/
That he coulde refist no more/
And was fayne to geve ouer.
Then cam his aduersaries with myght/
And flewe hym oute of honde quyght/
   As though he had bene a faulse rover.

\textbf{Mat.}  With what wepen did they hym kyll/
Whether with polaxe or with bill?
   A goode felowshippe lightly tell.

\textbf{Mat.}  Naye: with a sharpe two edged sworde/
Which as they faye was goddis worde/
   Drawne oute of the holy gospell.

\textbf{Mat.}  And is goddis worde of foche myght/
That it flewe the maffe downe right/
   Of so auncient continuaunce?
My thynketh it shulde not be true/
Seynge that preftes wolde hym rescue/
   With worldly ryches and tribtaunce.
Monkes/ channons/ all shaven crownes/
Wolde have brought their villagis and tounes/
   With their whole religious rable.
Which van der anticristis raygne/
Are of sectes variable and vayne/
   Forto be reckened in numerable.
Oure master also I dare faye/
With many wother preftes gaye/
   Whom I knowe very well.
Wolde have spent all their goode.
Yee verely their owne hert bloude/
   To helpe maffe agaynft the gospell.

\textbf{Mat.}  Toshe man they did all their best/
Not sparynge to opyn their cheft/
   Gevynge out brybes liberally.
Wherby they had gret confidence/
For to have done moche assistence/
   In ayde of the maffe certaynly.
But it provayled them notheynge/
For goddis worde hath foche workynge/
   That none maye resift contrary.

\textbf{Mat.}  Well/ yet take it for no scorne/
I tell the wheare as I was borne/
   They resift the gospell \textit{openly}. 
And the principall doars be suche/
As nowe a dayes governe the churche/
No stale foles I promes the.
And namly one that is the chefe/
Whiche is not seedd/ so ofte with rost befe/
As with rawe mottene so God helpe me.
Whose mule yt shulde be solde/
So gayly trapped with velvet and golde/
And geven to vs for ooure schar.
I durft ensure the one thynge/
As for a competent lyvynge/
This feven yere we shulde not care.

Mat. Yf he be soche what is his name/
Or of what regarde is his fame?
I beseche the shortly expresse.

Ref. Mary/ some men call hym Carnall/
And some saye he is the devill and all/
Patriarcke of all wickednes.

Mat. Well/ to be brefe with outen glofe/
And not to swarve from ooure purpose/
Take goode heede what I shal faye.
The tyme will come or it be longe/
When thou shalt se their flatly thronge/
With miserable ruyne decaye.

Note wele the ensample of Rome/
To what misery it is come/
Which was their hedde principall.
Goddis worde the grownde of vertue/
They went aboute for to subdued/
Wherby they have gotten a faule.

Ref. Believe me/ thou speakest reasone/
I trowe we shal se a season/
To the confusion of theym all.
But nowe to ooure mater agayne/
I wolde heare meravelously fayne/
In what place the maffe deceafed.

Mat. In Straffbrugh/ that noble towne/
A Cyte of most famous renowne/
Wheare the goffpell is frely preached.
And what dost thou their names call/
Which were counted in especiall/
The aduersaries of the masse?

Truly there where clarkes many one/
And very learned every chone/
Whose names my memory do passe.
Howe be it/ Hadus/ Butzer. and Capito/
Celarius/ Symphorian/ and wother mo/
In dede were reputed the chefe.
Whose lyuynge is fo inculpable/
That their enemies with oute fable/
In theym coulde fynde no reprefe.

What did then the temporalte/
Wolde they all there vnto agre/
With outen eny diffencion?

As for the commens vniuersally/
And a greate parte of the senatory/
Were of the same intencion.
Though a feawe were on the wother fyde/
But they were lyghtly satiffyed/
When they could nott goddis worde denaye

I perceau then manifestly/
The bishhoppe with his whole clargy/
Were absfent and a waye.

They were not absfent I the ensure/
For with the masse they dyd endure/
Whys to speake they had eny breth.
In fomoche that for all this/
The bishhoppe ceaseth not with his/
To revenge the massies death.
He spareth not to course and banne/
Doynge all that ever he canne/
To revoke masse vnto lyfe agayne.
He spendeth many a gulden/
To hange/ morther/ and bren/
The massies aduersaries certayne.

And getteth he any goode therby?
But littell yet I the certefy/
And I trowe lesse he shall have.
Nowe for all his hye magnificence/
They counte hym favynge reuerence/
Not moche better than a knave.

Ref. Q Peace whorfone/ beware of that/
I tell the his skynne is consecrat/
Anoyned with holy oyntmente.

Mat. Q Yee/ so many a knaves fkinne/
Is grefyd with out and with in/
And yett they are not excellente

Ref. Q Cockes bonnes/ this is rancke hereby/
Yf it were knowne: by and by/
Thou shuldest a faggote beare.
To speake so of foche a prelate/
Whiles they are all of the same rate/
For the more parte every wheare.
But to the purpose that we beganne/
What did monkes and fryeres thanne/
When maffe went thus to wracke?

Mat. Q So vttered was their abusione/
That with great confusione/
They were fayne to stande abacke.

Ref. Q Och: I knowe a fryer in a place/
Whom they call father Matthias/
Yf he had bene at this brayde.
He wolde have made foche a noyse/
With his horrible shrill voyce/
Able to have made them afayde.

Mat. Q Toffhe/ there were fryres two or thre/
In fayth as grett panched as he/
With bellies more then a barell.
Which for all their learned strengthe/
Were so confounded there at lengthe/
That they gave over their quarell.

Ref. Q What made Ithon Faber and Emser/
With their ayders Eckyus and Morner/
Did they vnto maffe no focoure?

Mat. Q Yes truly/ with wordes of greate bofte/
They spared not to fende their ofte/
Threatnynge with fearfull terroure.
Howe be it they had foche impediment
That they coulde nott be there present
As thou shalt the case vnderfonde.
Emfer somtyme a reguler chanon
To defende the maffis cannon
Longe before had taken in honde.
Which craftely to vpholde with lyes
So grevously troubled his eyes
And also encombred his brayne.
That there was no remedy
But he was fayne certenly
At home a folke to remayne.
Flatterynge Faber full of dißlayne
Was newe admitted to be chaplayne
Vnto duke Ferdinand by othe.
Wherfore he had ynough of busynes
To dißwade the dukes noblenes
From savouryng the godly trothe.
As for Morner the blinde lawear
And Eckius the frowarde sophistrar
They have afore castynghe wisdome.
That in foche honorable audience
Wheare as wyse clarckes are in presence
They will nott very gladly come.

Ref. ¶ Medled nott Erasmus in this matter
Which so craftely can flatter
With cloked diffimulacion?

Mat. ¶ He was busie to make will free
A thynge nott possiible to be
After wyse clarckis estimacion.
Wherfore he intermitted lytle
As concernyng the maffis tytle
With any maner assercion.
He feareth greatly some men faye
Yf maffe shulde vterley decaye
Leaft he shulde lofe his pension.
Notwithstondynge he hath in his hedde
Soche an opinion of the god of bredde
That he wolde lever dye a marter.
Then ever he wolde be of this consent/
That christ is not theare corporally present/
    In bredd wyne and water.
Alfo he has geven foche a laudacion/
Vnto the ydols of abhominacion/
    In his glowsynge pistles before tyme.
That yf he shulde wother wyfe reclame/
Men wolde impute vnto his blame
    Of vnstable inconstancy the cryme.

Ref. [[ Howe did they then with loyayne/
And with the vniuerfitie of Colayne/
     Made they right noght for maffis parte?]]

Mat. ¶ Yes furly with terrible vociferacion/
They made wonderfull exclamacion/
    The worde of god to subverte.
They sent thether Thomas and Scote/
With wother questionistes god wote.
    Full of crakyng wordes inopinable.
But when it cam to the effecte/
They were fo abaffhed and deiecte/
    That once to hisse they were nott able.

Ref. ¶ It was a thynge playlynly acoreft/
That maffe went thus by the worsft/
    Havynge fo many on his wynge.

Mat. ¶ Goddis worde is fo efficacious/
And of strengthe fo mervelous/
    That agaynst it is no resistynge.

Ref. ¶ Neverthelesse amonge this araye/
Was nott theare one called Coclaye/
    A littell pratyf foolysfhe poade?
But all though his stature be small.
Yett men saye he lacketh no gall/
    More venemous then any toade.

[Should be Mat. ¶ No/for he hadde another occupacyon/

Mat. ¶ Wrytinge to the englyshe nacyon/
    Inuencyones of flatterye.

Ref. ¶ To Englonde? in goode tyme/
I trowe the vrcyyn will clyme/
    To some promocion haftely.
What. Or els truly it shall cost hym a fall/
For he is in fauoure with theym all/
Which haue the gospell in hate.
Continually he doth wryte/
Euer laborynge daye and nyght/
To vpholde antichristles estate.
Of papistes he is the defender/
And of Luther the condemner/
The gospell utterly despysynge.
To forge lyes he has no fahme/
So that they somewhat frame/
With the processe of his writynge.
He wrote of late to Herman Ryncke
Wastynge in vayne paper and yncke/
Pomeranes epyffle to corrupte.
Which by chriisten men requyred/
Accordynge as he was deyred/
Dyd his parte theym to instructe.
No thynge ther in was reprobable/
But all to gadder true and veritable/
With out heresy or eny faulte.
Howe be it this wretch vnshamfaft/
Thorowe malicie was not a gaft/
The trueth with lyes to afialyte.

Ref. If he be as thou sayst he is/
I warant he shall not mis/
Of a benefice and that shortly.
For I ensure the oure Cardinall/
With wother bishops in generall/
Love foche a felowe entierly
But lett this nowe passe and go to/
What is best for oure profitt to do/
Seynge masse hath made his ende?

What. Surely as farre as I can geffe/
We are lyke to be masterlesse/
Yerre it be longe to god me mende.
For as one as the masse is buried/
Oure master shalbe beggered/
Of all his ryche possesion
Then mate I put the out of doute/
It is goode that we loke aboute/
Least we folfe a newe lesson.
Howe be it/ howe longe will it be/
Or ever that we shal fe/
Of this dedde mafe the buriall?

As touchynge that in very dede/
They are nott yett fully agede/
But I suppose shortly they shal/
Some wolde have hym caried to Rome/
For be caufe of all chriſtendome/
It is the principall Ce.
And some wolde have hym to France/
Because of the noble mayntenaunce/
That he had of Parys vniverſite.
Some also perswade in goode erneſt/
That in Englonde it were beſt/
His dedde coors rychly to begraue

Nowe after my folysſhe coniecture/
They coulde nott for his fepulture/
Devſe/ a better place to have.
Also theare is Sayncſe Thomas fchryne/
Of precious ftones and golde fyne/
Wherin the maffe they maye laye.
Wherof the ryches incomprehensible/
As it is spoken by perſones credibile/
Myght an Emperours raunſome paye.
Morover theare is the Cardinall/
Of whoſe pompe to make reheartcall/
It paffeth my capacite.
With flately biffoppes a greate forte/
Which kepe a mervelous porte/
Concernynge worldly royaltie.
Preftes also that are feculer/
With monkes and chanons reguler.
Abownde fo in posſeſſion.
That both in welfare and wede/
With oute doute they farre excede/
The nobles of the region.
Mat.  Yf it be thus as thou dost declare/
      It is best that maie be buried theare/
      With due honorable reverence.

Ref.  Ye but they have a frowarde witt/
      And par cafe they will not admitt/
      But vterly make resitience?

Mat.  Holde thy peace and be content/
      The gospell by a commaundment/
      To do it will strayghtly theym compell.

Ref.  They set not by the gospell a flye/
      Diddest thou not heare whatt villany/
      Th[e]y did vnto the gospell?

Mat.  Why/ did they agaynst hym conspyre?

Ref.  By my trothe they set hym a fyre/
      Openly in London cite.

Mat.  Who caused it so to be done?

Ref.  In sothe the Bisshoppe of London/
      With the Cardinallis authorite.
      Which at Paulis crosse ernestly/
      Denounced it to be herefy/
      That the gospell shuld come to lyght.
      Callynge theym heretikes excercable/
      Whiche caused the gospell venerable/
      To come vnto laye mens fyght.
      He declared there in his furiousnes/
      That he founde erroures more and les/
      Above thre thousande in the translacion.
      Howe be it when all cam to pas/
      I dare saye vnable he was/
      Of one erroure to make probacion.
      Alas he sayde/ masters and frendes/
      Confyder well nowe in youre myndes/
      These heretikis diligently.
      They saye that commen women/
      Shall aforne come vnto heven/
      As those that lyve perfectly.

Mat.  And was that their very sayinge?

Ref.  After this wyfe with outhe saynynge/
      In a certayne prologo they wryte.
That a whoare or an open synner/
By meanes of Crist oure redeemer/
        Whom god to repent doth incyte.
Shall foner come to fuluacion/
By meritis of Christis passion/
        Then an outwarde holy lyver.

**Mat.**

They did there none wother thinge shewe/
Then is rehearsed in mathewe/
        In the one and twenty chapter.

**Ref.**

For all that/ he sayde in his fermone/
Rather then the gospel shulde be comone/
        Bryngyne people into errore
He wolde gladly soffre marterdome/
To vpholde the devyls fredome/
        Of whom he is a confesseoure.

**Matt.**

Why/ makest thou hym a saynt?

**Ref.**

Euen soche a one as paynters do paynt/
        On walls and bordes artificially.
Which with myters/ crosse/ and copes/
Apere lyke gaye bishops and popes/
        In strawnge fassion outwardly.
But they are ydols in effecte/
Mamettis of antichristis secte/
        To blynd folke deceitfully.

**Mat.**

I perceave well nowe that/ honores/
As it is spoken/ mutant mores/
        With soche men most commonly.
But thykeft thou in thy mynde/
That he coulde in his herte fynde/
        In soche a cafe death to souffer/

**Ref.**

Naye/ yt it was a worde of office/
I warante he is nott fo folishe/
        To putt his boddy so in danger.
Nevertheless with tonge and porse/
All though he shulde fare the worse/
        Gladly he will do his dever.
To plucke the worde of god downe
And to exalte the thre folde crowne
        Of antichrist his bever.
Also there is a charge vnder payne/
That no man eny thyng retayne/
Of the gospell newly translate.
For yf they presume the contrary/
They lose their goodes with oute mercy/
And their boddis to be incarcerate.
Morover that no clarcke be so bolde/
Prevy or pearte/ with hym to holde/
Preachynge ought in his favoure.
But contrary their braynes to fett/
Bothe in scoles and in the pulpett/
Hym and all his to dishounoure.
Wherfore it boteth the gospell nothyng
As concernyng the maffis buryinge/
To fende eny precepte thether.
For they had lever by this daye/
Go vnto the devill strayght waye/
Then to obeye hym in eny maner/

Mat. 

This paffeth of all that ever I hearde/
I wonder they were nott a fearde/
Of so notable blasphecy.
Nott with fondynge their interrupcione/
Shall tourne to their destruccione/
At longe runnyngge synally.
For though they caused to be brent/
The outwarde shaddowe or garment/
Of goddis worde so hye of pryce.
Yett the grownde of his maiestye/
Printed in christeen hertes secretly/
They are nott able to preiudyce.
Therfore wether they will or nil/
Yf it be the holy gospels will/
Maffe in Englonde to bury.
Let theym crake vntill they burft/
Doyng their beest and their wurft/
Itt avayleth not a chery.
They are worldly and carnall/
And the gospell is spretuall/
Assifted with angels presence.
If it come vnto that reckenynge/
They will mo. angels with them brynge/
Then shalbe in the gospels assistance.

Have they of angels eny garnyfon/
Ye god knoweth many a legion/
Att all tymes theym to focoure.

Howe do they these angels gett?
By my fayth of povre mens swett/
Which for theym fore do laboure.

Aha/ I wott well what thou meane/
Soche angels are nott worthe a beane/
Yf it come to the poynt once.
But nowe wolde I heare the expresse/
The maner of their holynesse/
Brefly declared att once.

Mary that is done forthe with all/
For they have no holynes attall/
As farre as I sawe yett ever.
Howe be it shortly to discouffe/
Their proude estate so glorious/
I shal here my felse endever.
Fyrst as I sayde there is a Cardinall/
Which is the Ruler principall/
Through the realme in every parte.

Have they not in Englonde a Kynge?
Alas manne/ speake not of that thynge/
For it goeth to my verye harte.
And I shal shewe the a cause whye/
There is no Prynce vnnder the skye/
That to compare with hym is able.
A goodly perfone he is of statue/
Endued with all gyftes of nature/
And of gentylnes incomparable.
In sondrye sciences he is fene/
Havynge a ladye to his Qwene/
Example of womanlye behaweoure.
Nowithstandynge for all this/
By the Cardinall ruled he is/
To the distayninge of his honoure.
Doeth he folowe the Cardinales intente?

Yee/ and that the commones repente/
With many a wepynge teare.

The Cardinall vexeth theym than?
Alas fens Englande yrfšt began/
Was never foche a tyrante theare.
By his pryde and faulce treachery/
Whoardom and budy leachery/
He hath bene fo intollerable.
That povre commens with their wyves/
In maner are weary of their lyves/
To fe the londe fo miserable.
Through all the londe he caufed periury/
And afterwarde toke awaye their money/
Procedyng moſt tyrannously.
The povre people nedy and bare/
His cruell herte wolde not fpere/
Leavynge theym in greate miferie.
Infomoche that for lacke of fode/
Creatures bought with Chriflis blode
Were fayne to dye in petous cas
Also a ryght noble Prince of fame/
Henry a the ducke of buckyngame/
He caufed to deye alas alas.
The goodes that he thus gaddered/
Wretcedly he hath fcaffered/
In caufes nothynge expedient.
To make wyndowes/ walles/ and dores/
And to mayntyne baudes and whores/
A grett parte therof is fpent.

Let all this pas I praye the hertely/
And fhew me fomwhat feriouſly/
Of this fpretuall magnificence.

Fyrſt he hath a tytle of. S. Cecile/
And is a Legate of latere/
A dignitie of hye premynence.
He hath biffhopryckes two or thre/
With the popes full authoritie/
In cafes of dispensacion.

* Should be Edward Stafford, 3rd Duke of Buckingham, beheaded 1581.
Mat. If he maye then with the masse dispence/
Yf he be faulen in the sentence/
    Of the grett excommunication?
Ref. That he maye in all maner cases/
    Howe be it he gueuth nothyng grates
    But fellth all for reddy money.
    Excepte coursfs and blesynges
    With fyght of his golden rynges
    All this he geyth frely.
Mat. If Hath he so large faculte/
    Of the popis benygnte/
    As it is spoken abroade?
Ref. If He ftondeth in the popes roume/
    Havynge of his bulles a grett some/
    I trowe an whoale carte loade.
    Wherwith mens porfes to descharge/
    He extendeth his power more large/
    Then the power of almighty god.
    For whether it be goode or ill/
    His pervers mynde he will fulfill/
    Supplantynge the trueth by falsfhod.
    To gеть hym a synguler name/
    The londe he bryngeth out of frame/
    Agaynft all goddis forbod.
    He tourneth all thynge topfy tervy/
    Not sparyng for eny fymony/
    To fell spretuall gyftes.
    In grauntes of confanguinithe
    To mary with in neare degre/
    He getteth awaye mens thrystes.
    Of seculer folke he can make reguler/
    And agayne of reguler seculer/
    Makyng as he lyft blacke of whyte.
    Open whordom and advoutry/
    He aloweth to be matrimony/
    Though it be never so vnryght.
    Laufull wedlocke to divorce/
    He geveth very lytle force/
    Knowynge no caufe wherfore.
He playeth the devill and his dame/
All people reportinge the same/
Courisse the time that ever he was bore.

Wat. Q It cannot syncke in my mynde/
That the Cardinall is so blynde/
To make eny soche diuorcement.

Ref. Q Though it be nott in thy belefe/
I tell the to putt it in prefe/
He doth all that he can invent.

Wat. Q Bitwixte whom doft thou wene?
Ref. Bitwixte the Kynge and the Quene/
Which have bene longe of one assent.

Wat. Q Some cause then he hath espied/
Which asonder theym to devyde/
Is necessarie and vrgent.

Ref. Q Notheynge but the butcher doth fayne/
That the goode lady is barayne/
Lyke to be past chylde bearynge.

Wat. Q Had the kynge never chylde by her?
Ref. Q No man sawe ever goodlyer/
Then those which she forth did brynge.

Wat. Q Is there eny of theym a lyve?
Ref. Q Ye a Princes/ whom to descryve/
It were herde fo an oratoure.

She is but a chylde of age/
And yett is she both wyse and fage/
Of very beautifull favoure.
Perfectly she doth represent/
The singuler graces excellent/
Bothe of father and mother.

Howe be it all this not regardynge/
The carter of yorcke is meddelynge/
Forto divorce theym a fonder.

Wat. Q Are nott the nobles here with offendred?
Ref. Q Yes/ but it can not be amended/
As longe as he is the ruler.

Wat. Q I thynde the Quene is not faulty/
But hath done ynoough of her party/
Yf it had pleased goddis benificence.
Ref.  
None is faulty but the butcher/
Whom almyghty god doth suffer/
   To scourge the peoples offence.
Vnto god he is so odious/
That nothyng can be prosperous/
   Where as he hath governaunce.
Sens that he cam fyrt forwarde/
All thynges have gone backwarde/
   With moche myschefe and mischaunce.
No yerly purpose he doeth intende/
That euer commeth to a goode ende/
   But damage and tribulacion.

Mat.  
In these parties it is veriyed/
That he hath a college edified/
    Of mervelous foundacion.

Ref.  
Of preuy houfes of baudry/
He hath made a stues openly/
    Endued with large exibicion.

Mat.  
Lycknest thou to whoarmongers/
A colage of clarckes and scolears/
    Enfuyng learned erudicion.

Ref.  
Thou mayst perceave/ by reason/
That vertue shalbe very geason/
    Amonge a forte of ydle lofels.
Which have ryches infinite/
In welth and worldly delyte/
    Geven to pleasure and nothyng eles.

Mat.  
They rede there both greke and ebrue/

Ref.  
I will not saye but it is true/
    That there be men of great science.
Howe be it where pryde is the begynnyng.
The devill is commonely the endynge/
    As we se by experience.
And if thou confyder well/
Even as the towre of Babell/
    Began of a prefompcion.
So this colledge I dare undertake/
Which the Cardinall doth make/
    Shall confunde the region.
What is it to se dogges and cattes/
Gargell heddes and Cardinall hattes/
   Paynted on walles with moche cost.
Which ought of dute to be spent/
Apon povre people indigent/
   For lacke of fode utterly lost.

What.  C  Hath he for foche folke no providence?
Ref.  C  No/ savynge only to rid them hence/
         A proper waye he ymageneth.

What.  C  After what maner porviance?
Ref.  C  Truely leaft they shulde be combrunce/
         A warfare he them fendeth.

What.  C  Many of theym then are slayne?
Ref.  C  They never come home haulfe agayne/
         I maye tell the in goode plyght.
For some be taken presoners/
And some are dedde of the fevers/
   Many of theym losynge their fyght.
Of twenty thoufande fyghtynge men/
Scant returneth home agayne ten/
   In good state and perfect lykyng.
For the more parte made beggers/
And so become robbers and ftelers/
   Wherby they have a shroade endynge.

What.  C  He fareth not the better for warre/
Ref.  C  Yes mary/ it doth hym prefarr/
         To more gaynes than I can rehearce/
For fyrst or the warre do begynne/
They laboure his favoure to wynne/
   Gevyng geystes many and dyvers.
And yt it cannot be so pacifyed/
They brybe hym on the wother fyde/
   At the leaft for to be favoured.
And fynally warre for to ceace/
With rewardes they must hym greace/
   Or els peace cannot be performed.

What.  C  Dothe he practyse foche conveyaunce?
Ref.  C  Ye/ and for that cause in Fraunce/
         This warre tyme he was beloved.
Thou makest hym then a trayter?
I reckon hym a falce fayterer/
Yf the very trueth were proved.
Well lett this pas/ howe dothe he/
In gevynge grauntes of libertie/
And cases that be dispensable?
He followeth the commen pratyse/
Of marchantes in their marchandyse/
To gett worldly goodes movable.
Savynge they take grett laboures/
And he doth all by his factoures/
Restynge in quyet felicite.
He hath falce farises and scrybes/
Gapynge for nothynge but for brybes/
Full of fraudes and perversite.
They are named yet wother wyse/
Trothe/ but they folowe their gyfe/
In wicked operacions.
I put a cafe nowe they be leawde/
As I thyncke they are all be shrewde/
In their administracions.
Shall they to hell for the Cardinall/
Or els thynkest thou that he shall/
Go thether in his owne perfone?
Though he have here foche prerogative/
In all poyntes that be dispensative/
To performe it by commyssion.
Yett in this poynt fekerly/
He must performe it personally/
Withoute eny exempcion.
Yf he be as thou haft here sayde/
I wene the devils will be afayde/
To have hym as a companion.
For what with his execracions/
And with his terrible fulminacions/
He wolde handle theym so.
That for very drede and feare/
All the devils that be theare/
Wilbe glad to let hym go.
Ref. 1 As for that thou mayst be assured,
The devils with coasts are invred,
As authours there of with out fayle.

Wat. 1 What ye will the devils blisse?

Ref. 1 They regarde it no more be gisse,
Then wagynyge of his mules tayle.

Wat. 1 Doth he vfe then on mules to ryde?

Ref. 1 Ye and that with so shamfull pryde,
That to tell it is not possible.
More lyke a god celestiall,
Then eny creature mortall,
With worldly pompe incredible.
Before hym rydeth two prestes stronge,
And they beare two crosse right longe,
Gapynge in every mans face.
After theym folowe two laye men fecular,
And eache of theym holdynge a pillar,
In their hondes/ steade of a mace.
Then foloweth my lorde on his mule,
Trapped with golde vnder her cule,
In every poynst most curioulst.
On eache fyde a pollaxe is borne,
Which in none wother vfe are borne.
Prendyngne some hid mistery.
Then hath he servauntis fyve or fix score,
Some behynde and some before,
A marveluos great company.
Of which/ are lordes and gentlemen,
With many gromes and yemmen,
And also knaves amonge.
Thus dayly he procedeth forthe,
And men must take it at worthe,
Whether he do right or wronge.
A grett carle he is and a fatt,
Wearyngne on his hed a red hatt,
Procured with angels subsidy.
And as they say in tyme of rayne,
Fower of his gentelenen are fayne,
To holde over it a canpopy.
Beside this to tell the more newes/
He hath a payre of costly shewes/
    Which seldom touche any grownde.
They are so goodly and curious/
All of golde and stones precious/
    Costyng many a thousande pownde.

Wat. □ And who did for the shewes paye?
Ref. □ Truly many a ryche abbaye/
    To be easied of his visitacion.

Wat. □ Doth he in his owne perfone visit?
Ref. □ No/ another for hym doth it/
    That can skyll of the occupacion.
A felowe nether wyse nor sadde/
But he was never yett full madde/
    Though he be frantyke and more.
Doctor Alyn he is named/
One that to lye is not ashamed/
    Yf he spye avaungethe thersore.

Wat. □ Are soche with hym in any pryce?
Ref. □ Ye/ for they do all his advyce/
    Whether it be wronge or right.

Wat. □ Hath the Cardinall any gay manision?
Ref. □ Grett palaces with out comparefon/
    Most glorious of outwarde sight.
And with in decked poynent device/
More lyke vnto a paradise/
    Then an erthely habitacion.

Wat. □ He commeth then of some noble stocke?
Ref. □ His father coulde snatche a bullock/
    A butcher by his ocupacion.

Wat. □ Howe cam he vnto his glory?
Ref. □ Playnly by the devils policy/
    As it is every wheare sayde.

Wat. □ Are the states here with all content.
Ref. □ Yf they speake aught they are shent/
    Wherefore I tell the they are a frayde.

Wat. □ What abstinance vseth he to take?
Ref. □ In Lent all fyshhe he doth forfake/
    Fedde with partriges and plovers.
Mat. ¶ He leadeth then a Lutheranys lyfe?

Ref. ¶ O naye/ for he hath no wyfe/
But whoares that be his lovers.

Mat. ¶ Yf he vfe whoares to occupy/
It is grett marvell certaynly/
That he efcape the frenche pockes.

Ref. ¶ He had the pockes with out fayle/
Wherfore people on hym did rayle/
With many obprobrious mockes.

Mat. ¶ He was then abhorred of his prince?

Ref. ¶ By my troth man/ not an ynche/
Still in favoure continually.

Mat. ¶ By the devill then he worketh?

Ref. ¶ Truly so every man iudgeth.
But alas what remedy?

Mat. ¶ Hath he children by his whoares also?

Ref. ¶ Ye and that full prodly they go/
Namly one whom I do knowe.
Which hath of the churches goodes clerly/
More then two thousand pownde yerly/
And yett is not content I trowe.

His name is master Winter/
For whom my lorde his father/
Hathe gotten of the frenche kynges grace.

That when the bishop of Rone/
Out of this lyfe is dedde and gone/
He shall sucede hym in his place.

Mat. ¶ And is his father as redy/
To promoute the noble progeny/
As he is towards his baftardes?

Ref. ¶ He fauoureth lytell noble lynage/
Takynge a waye their heritage/
Rather then to sett them forwardes.

He breaketh mens testamente/
And contrary to their intentes/
At his owne mynde and pleasure.

He wilbe nedes their exsecutours/
Sayinge with the devill all his oures/
Rychely to encreace his treasoure.
Many a goode ladys ioynter/
He engrofeth vp into his cofer/
    Of the which some here to name.
I reckon the Countes of Darby/
With the Countes of Salisbury/
    Also the Duches of Buckyngeame.

\[\text{Mat.}\ C Is the devil foche an whorfone?\]
\[\text{Ref.}\ G Och/ there is nether duke ne barone/\]
    Be they never of so grett power.
    But they are conffrayned to crouche/
    Before this butcherly floutche/
    As it were vnto an Emproure.

\[\text{Mat.}\ C Nowe furly then after my mynde/\]
    They cannot foche another fynde/
    The dedde massis office to solempnife.
\[\text{Ref.}\ C Yf it be his pleasure he maye/\]
    Howe be it he vfeth lytell to praye/
    For it is late or he do ariye.
    Also as farre as I canne muse/
    To do this office he will refufe/
    Dredynge his Pompe therby to lose.

\[\text{Mat.}\ C As for that/ it shal notynge skyl/\]
    Playnly yf it be the gospels will/
    Do it he must and cannot chose.
\[\text{Ref.}\ C Yet it wilbe a parelous busines/\]
    For bisshaps and prestes doultes/
    To ayde hym will nott be flacke.
    Though they loue hym as the devill/
    Yett to do the gospell some evil/
    No diligence in theym shal lacke.

\[\text{Mat.}\ C Have the bisshaps fo grett ryches/\]
\[\text{Ref.}\ C It is not possible to expres/\]
    The treasure of the spretualte.

\[\text{Mat.}\ D What/ are the bisshaps divines?\]
\[\text{Ref.}\ C Ye they can wele skyll of wynes/\]
    Better then of devinite.
    Lawears they are of experience/
    And in caues agaynft conscience/
    They are parfet by pratyfe.
To forge excommunicacions/
For tythes and decimacions/
Is their continuall exercyfe.
As for preachynge they take no care/
They wolde fe a courfe at an hare/
Rather then to make a sermon.
To folowe the chace of wylde dere/
Paffynge the tyme with ioly chere/
Amonge theym all is common.
To playe at the cardes and dyce/
Some of theym are nothynge nyce/
Both at hasard and momchaunce.
They dryncke in gaye golden bolles/
The bloudde of povre simple soules/
Perisshynge for lacke of fustenaunce.
Their hongery cures they never teache/
Nor will foaffe none wother to prache/
But foche as can lye and flatter.
Biddynge the beades after this rate/
Ye shall praye for the goode eftate/
Of my lorde my mafter.
And so redynge a ragge mans roule/
He exhorteth to praye for the soule/
Of this perfone and of that.
Which gave boke/ bell/ or challes/
To the fortheraunce of goddis servys/
Babblynge he wotteth neare what.
Soche preachers be commended/
And the wother are reprehended/
Which preach the gospell purly.
So they fitt apon cousshens fofte/
Their royaltie exalted alofte/
They regarde not goddis worde furly.
They are fo geven to avaryce/
That they ponder no preiudyc/  
Happenynge to the comen weall.
They noryfhe servauntes in ydelves/
Which when they are mafteries/
Are confrayned to begge or steale.
To tell all the abhominacion/
Of their wretched conversion/
   It were both longe and tedious.

(Ex. If the bishops do so abownde/
Howe are secular prestes fownde/
   With persons which be religious?

(Ref. Thynkest that with them it is scant/
Naye naye man/ I the warant/
   They fele no indigent rearage.
For they have goodes innumerable/
And fare moche better at their table/
   Then lorde of worthy parage.
Fortune with prestes runneth on wheles/
So that some have after their heles/
   A scoare of yemen taule and sroute.
Whom forto mayntayne ydely/
They have benefyces very many/
   In the country there aboute.
Wherby they are so proude and vayne/
That the noble men they disdayne/
   With scornfull indignacion.
Though peraventure their fathers/
Were other fowters or cobbleres/
   Of no maner reputacion/
As for religious folke to be brefe/
In all Englonde they have the chefe/
   And most pleasaunt commodittees.
The goodly foyles/ the goodly londes/
Wrongfully they holde in their hondes/
   Endued with many knyghtes fees.
By colour of their faulce prares/
Defrauded are the ryght heyres/
   From their true inheritaunce.
They are the cause of mysery/
Of whordom/ theft/ and beggery/
   To the commen welles hynderaunce.
No frutfull worke they vfe/
All honest labour they refuse/
   Geven wholly to sluggesfnes.
They are nether goftly nor divine/
But lyke to brut beastes and fwyne/
Waltrynge in synfull wretchednes.
I speake this of the posseffioners/
All though the mendicant orders/
Are nothyng leffe abhominable.
Whose lyvyng is with oute laude/
Norisshed in rapyne and fraude/
Grounded on lefyngis detestable.
They are the devils messengers/
And of antichrist the members/
Example of all perversite.
They are ydols of flattery/
And apostels of hypocrify/
Replenisshed with enormite.
Lo/ here I have thus reported/
Howe their lyfe is partly ordred/
And vnder what condicion.

_Mat._
That thou haft I make god a vowe/
Infomoche that I marvaile howe/
Thou knowest their disposicion.
But I praye the/ doft thou iudge/
That they will murmer and grudge/
At the dedde maffis buryinge?

_Ext._
Ye fyr I wis man I am sure/
They will laboure with bufy cure/
His fepulture forbiddynge.
For why their superfluite/
By the maffis liberalite/
Only hath supportacion.

_Mat._
What suppoefth thou of men temporall?

_Ext._
I thynke they wolde holde here with all/
Yf they had due informacion.
Nevertheless at the begynnynge/
dede maffe amonge theym to brynge/
There wilbe some dificulte.
Be caufe of longe continuance.
They have had truist and affiaunce/
Thorowe the maffe same to be.
For these pretes and fryres перфуаде/
That by the masse they shall evade/
Eternall payne and punnyffment.
Whose suffrage doeth theym grette stedde/
Profitable bothe to quicke and dedde/
After their mynde and judgement.

Mat. Q Ye to pretes and fryers miserable/
Doutles the masse is profitable/
And is the mill of their welfare.
But the people without faynynge/
It is playne a fraudful deceaynge/
To make their porse empty and bare.

Ref. Q Nowe truly I trowe as thou doft faye/
Even there goeth the hare quyte awaye/
And all their babelynge is but iyes.
All though there be wother obstacles/
Be caufe of the grett myracles/
Dayly practyfed before our eyes.

Mat. Q Thou never sawest myracle wrought?
Ref. Q I/ no be hym that me bought/
But as the pretes make rehearceall.

Mat. Q Canst thou rehears me nowe one?
Ref. Q No I cannot/ butoure fyr Iohn/
Can/ in his Enghlishhe festivall.

Mat. Q Geve they to foche fables credence?
Ref. Q They have them in more reverence/
Then the gospell a thousand folde.
Also ther is nether whoare nor these/
Nor eny of so wicked mishese/
But by the masse is made bolde.
For yf they heare once a prestis masse/
They tryst furly that daye to passe/
Without all parell or daungeooure.
Crafty forcerers and falce dyce players/
Pickeporfes and prevy conveyers/
By the masse hope to have focoure.
Marchantes passynghe viages on farre/
And soudiars goynge forthe to warre/
By the masse are ofte preserued.
Maffe bryngeth synnors to grace/
And fendas awaye it doeth chace/
   Above all thynges preferred.
Maffe solemnifeth marriage/
And kepeth people from domage/
   Caufyngge also wedder to be fayer.
Maffe maketh tame thynges of wylde/
And helpeth women to be with chylde.
   Thoroowe assistence of the fayer.
Maffe avayleth agaynst sycknes/
A proved remedy for all distres/
   And for thynges that be gone.
Thus to conclude with brevite/
Of the whole churches felicite/
   The maffe is mayntener alone.

What. ¶  The nobles that be wyse and sage/
   I suppose with soche blynde dotage/
      They cannot fo tollisly begyle.

Ref. ¶  Troth it is/ some of theym begynne/
To have lytell confidence there in/
   And lesse woll with in a whyle.
Which of the bishops is perceaved/
Wherfore they have nowe restrayned/
   Vnder the payne of courseyng.
That no laye man do rede or loke/
In eny frutfull englisshe boke/
   Wholy scripture concernyng.
Their frantyke foly is fo pevishe/
That they contempne in Englisshe/
   To have the newe Testament.
But as for tales of Robyn hode/
With wother iestes nether honest nor goode/
   They have none impediment.
Their madde venavery teachynges/
And theyr fantasticall preachynges/
   Amonge simple folke to promote.
For no cost they spare nor fynte/
Openly to put theym in prynte/
   Treadynge scripture vnder their fote.
Also their decrees and decretallis/
With folysh he dreames papisticallis/
They compell people to rede.
Howe be it the confutation/
Of their abominacion/
They will not soffre to procede.

Mat. □ Kepe thou silence and be whyft/
Though with grett crakes they refiift/
For a lytell seison present.
Yett I warrant within shortt space/
Masse will have there his beryinge place/
Acorynge as it is convenient.

Ref. □ So moche the worfe for oure thryfte/
For then there is none wother thryfte/
A newe master we must vs gett.

Mat. □ Allthough masse be dedde and rotten;
A master maye lyghtly be gotten/
Yf we oure mynde to laboure sett.

Ref. □ Ye/ but prestes service is gaye/
For we maye with theim all waye/
In ydELnes have grett respyt.

Mat. □ That for a christen man is nott best/
Borne vnto laboure and not vn to rest/
As the foule is vn to flyght.
But nowe all this matter to spare/
Lett vs oure masters dyner prepare/
For it is hye tyme verely.

Ref. □ A felyship lett vs go a pace/
For he will beshrowe oure face/
Yf he synde not all thynge redy.

Mat. □ Hawe/ I praye the yett abyde/
Sett thy buynes a whyle a syde/
And lett vs have fyrst a fonge.

Ref. □ What woldest thou that I shulde syng syai
Mat. □ Surly some propser conveyed thynge
Not over tedious nor lange.

Ref. □ I trowe thou arte a fyngyng man?
Mat. □ The devil of the whit that I can/
But I love specially foche geare.
Ref. | Will thou have it mery or sadde?
Mat. | I soarce not be it goode or badde/
      | So that I maye some what heare/
Ref. | If thou will thy mynde satifyf/
      | Gett the into some monastery/
      | And be a monge theym in the queare.
Mat. | Do they vse soche ioly fyngynge?
Ref. | It is the crafte of their lyvynge/
      | Wherby they make lusty cheare.
Mat. | But I vnderstonde nott whatt they saye/
Ref. | By my sothe no more do they/
      | I maye shewe the in counfell.
Mat. | Shall I axe the nowe a question?
Ref. | Ye hardely a goddis benefon/
      | And I will not spare the to tell.
Mat. | Ware thou never in religion?
Ref. | Yes so god helpe me and halydom/
      | A dofen yeres continually.
Mat. | Then thou knowest moche vnhappines?
Ref. | A grett deale more then goodnes/
      | I promes the faythfully.
Mat. | Well lett vs differ this till soune/
      | When oure masters diner is done/
      | We will a gayne come hydder.
Ref. | I am content even so to do/
Mat. | Fyrst fyngge a balett/ go to/
      | And then will we to diner.
Ref. | Alas I am marvelously drye/
Mat. | Thou shalt dryncke man by and by/
      | What nedeth the so to lynger?
Ref. | Have at it in the best manner.

| In the ioyfull moneth of ioly Iune/
Walkynge all alone my care to folas.
I herde a voyce with a dolorous tune/
Full pitioufly cryinge/ alas alas.
The worlde is worser then eyvr it was.
Never to depe in miserable decaye/
But it cannot thus endure all waye.
Fyrst to begynyne at the spretualte/
Whose lyvyng he shulde be example of grace.
Indued with parfett workes of charite/
Sekynge goddis honoure in every cace.
The worlde with his vanites they enbrace.
Renyng god al though they faie naye/
But it cannot thus endure all waye.

Of this worlde they have the chese dominion
With slately preeminence temporall.
They preaufme to be hadde in opinion/
Of the people/ as lordes emperiall.
Worshipfull seniours we must them call/
Requyrynge that we shulde to them obeye/
But it cannot thus endure all waye.

The ryches and gooddes of the commen weall/
Hath sett them in their honoure full hye.
They are occaion that theves do steal/
And cause of all mischefe and misery.
The wor[l]dly treasure they consume ydely.
Nothynge regardynge but pastance and playe
But it cannot thus endure all waye.

The laboure of the povre people they devower
And of nobles they wafte the patrimony.
They teache and exhorte men god to honoure
With their temporall sustenance and mony.
They clayme tythes to supparte their foly.
Inventynge many a Faulce offerynge daye/
But it cannot thus endure all waye.

They ought of duty to preache the gospell/
The wordes of life/ so dulcet and sweete.
Howe be it there agaynst chefly they rebell/
Christis doctryne troaden vnder their fete.
They beare vs in honde that it is nott mete.
The gospell to be knowen of people laye/
But it cannot thus endure all waye.
They shulde be meke/ and they ar full of pryde
Voyde of true pacience replete with yre.
Envy they holde/ charite fett a fyde/
Retaynynge for chaftite carnall defyre.
Slouthe and glotteny in their hole empyre.
Hath made temperance and labour to straye
But it cannot thus endure all waye.

Empours and kyngis they trappe in their lure/
Deceavynge theym bey faulce adulacion.
So that ofpromociions they be sure/
Full lytell they ponder their damnacion.
They geve theym no true informacion/
And that evidently parceave they maye/
But it cannot thus endure all waye.

The workes of mercy apon them are spent.
Poure people defraudynge with injury.
They dryncke the bloud of soules innocent/
Simple folke begyllynge outrageously.
Their foule fyldyng harkes to magnyfy.
They wrappe in robes and costly arraye/
But it cannot thus endure all waye.

Goddis commaundmentis they transgresse openly
To his godly love no respecte havyng.
They take his name in vayne with blaffemy/
Holy dayes after their own mynde faynyng.
To honour their parentis they are diidaynynge
More couetous then kytes waytyng apraye.
But it cannot thus endure all waye.

Letcherous luftle leawldly they enbrace/
Forbiddynge wedloke agaynst goddis will.
Their subjectis they oppresse in wretched cace/
Prone vnto morter chriften men to spill.
Sacrilege and simony is their corne mill.
Vfynge falce witnes the trueth to delaye/
But it cannot thus endure all waye.
The sacramentis of christis ordinaunce.
Institute our feble fayth to suftayne.
They haue perverted vnto our hyndraunce.
Enforcynge vs to truft in tryffles vayne.
Wother newe sacrementis falsely they fayne.
Obscuringe godis worde as mocch as they may
But it cannot thus endure all waye.

Christis fredom they have brought in bondage
Of hevenly rightes makyng marchandyse.
In goffly workes they covett avaunlage/
To fede their infaciace covetyse.
Of the damnable maffe they make a sacryfyse
Compellynge men dearly for it to paye/
But it cannot thus endure all waye.

Of hell and heven they make chevesance/
Faynyng as they lyft a purgatory.
Hypocrisy is leader of their daunce/
With wronge extorcion and vsery.
Of Christis worde they make hereby/
Redy and prompte christen men to betraye/
But it cannot thus endure all waye.

Wherfore breffly to fynnyfhe my balade/
O hevenly father/ apon the I call.
Have pyte on man/ whom thou haft made/
To serue the in fredom spretuall.
Rid vs from antichristis bondes so thrall.
Wherwith we are fast bound nyght and daye
That thy name be not blasphemed all waye.

Lo nowe I have done my best/
To satiffy the request/
Accorynge as thou desyredst.

What. I will holde the then no longer/
But loke that thou remember/
To fulfill that thou promysedst.
Here foloweth the Secunde parte.

Ief. Lorde god what goode dayes/
Thes monkes have in abbeyes/
And do nether swett nor swyncke.
Thei live in welthynes and ease/
Havynge what foevery they pleasure/
With delicate meate and dryncke.
Wher with they farce their bellies fo full/
That to all goodnes they are dull/
Makyng mery with gill and Ioan.
They sitt flepyng in a corner/
Or momblyng their pater noster/
Their mynde nothyng ther apon.
Be they never fo stronge or ftarcke/
They will exercysfe no maner warcke/
Nor laboure boddily.

Wat. Arte thou here Ieffray mate?
Ief. Ye/ why commest thou fo late?
I am fayne for the to tary.

Wat. I was troubled with the eftates/
I befhowre all their folishe pates/
For commynge here this daye.

Ief. So mot I the I thought the fame/
Howe be it the fhuarde was to blame/
That he did no better porvaye.

Wat. By thy fayth/ had thou better fare/
In the cloyfter where as thou ware/
Vnder the rule of the manaftery?

Ief. Fare cotha? they eate thery belies full/
Every man as moche as he wull/
And none sayth blacke is his eye?

Wat. What do they for it/ eny thynge?
Ief. Truly nothyng but rede and fynge/
Paffynge the tyme with fporte and playe.
Mat. I That is a lyfe in dede for the nones/
    Thou ware a fole by thyfe ten bones/
        Whan thou camest fro them awaye?

Ref. I O I thyncke my filfe moche fortunate/
    That fro their lyfe I am separete/
        Seynge it is so abominable.

Mat. I What abhominacion is there in?

Ref. I Alas mate all to geder is fynne/
    And wretchednes most miserabell.

Mat. I What a man of religion/
    Is reputed a dedde person/
        To worldly conversacion?

Ref. I It is of a trueth they are dedde/
    For they are in no vse nor stedde/
        To christen mens consolation.
    And as a dedde flynkyng carkace/
        Vnproffitably cloyeth a space/
            Yf it be kepte above grownde.
    So in their lyfe superstitious/
        Of wicked crymes enormous/
            No maner proffitablenes is fownde/

Mat. I Yett their order is very ftrayte?

Ref. I Ye but they vse soche a confayte/
    That they make it easie ynowe.
    More easie by the twenty parte/
    Then to laboure in some arte/
        Or to go with the carte or plowe.

Mat. I They have man the worlde forsaken/
    And a spretuall lyfe taken/
        Confistynde in gostly busynes.

Ref. I What call ye the worlde I praye?

Mat. I Welthy ryches and plefurs gaye/
    And occasions of synfulnes.

Ref. I Then are they in the worlde still/
    For they have all that they will/
        With ryches and posfeffions.
    And as touchyng the realme of vice/
    Pryde/ wrath/ envy/ and avarice/
        With wother synfull transgresions.
In this worlde that we do name.
There is none so farre out of frame/
   And lyve in soche outragioufnes.

Mat. Yett Ieffrye thou erreft so god me save/
   For the fryers no poissefions have/
   But lyve only by pure almes.

Ltt. Fryers? nowe they are worst of all/
   Ruffian wretches and raforcall/
       Lodesmen of all knavisbnes.
   Though they be no poissefioners/
   Yett are they intollerabill beggers/
   Lyvynge on rapyn and diffeyte.
   Worshipfull matrons to begyle/
   Honorable virgins to defyle/
       Continually they do wayte.
   Of honesty they have no regarde:
   To displease god they are not afearde/
       For the valoure of a pynne/
   Of whordom they are the very baudes/
   Fraudulent inventers of fraudes/
       Provocacion vnto synne.
   They are flaunder of vertoufnes/
   Occasion vnto vicioufnes/
       Chickens of the devils broode.
   To the trueth they are adverfaries/
   Diligent imageners of lyes/
       Depravers of those that be goode.
   They are antichristis godfones/
   Promowters of his pardones/
       And proctours of fimony.
   They are brokers heven to fell/
   Fre copyly holders of hell/
       And fe fermers of purgatory.
   Of sathan they are the soudiers/
   And antichriftis owne mariners/
       His shippe forwardes to convey.
   And to conclude seriuously/
   They are the hell howndes veryly/
       Enmies agaynst goddis worde allwaye.
Mat.  Nowe thou art greatly overseene,
    For in places there as I have bene
    They do good I the certifie.
For yt it were not for the fryers/
There wolde not be in seven yeres/
    A sermons in the povere contrey.
And as for their lyvyng truly/
They begge peoples almes purly/
    Takynge toche thynges as they gave.
They have no waft superfluite/
But even their bare necessite/
    Scanty ynough wherby to leve.

Ref.  I mean not that they are all bad/
For I wolde the devyll theym had/
    Then with a fayre deliverance.
But of the gretter parte I thought/
Which I faye are worrse then nought/
    Replete with mischevous vengeance.
Their preachynge is not scrypturte/
But fables of their coniecture/
    And mens ymagnacions.
They brynge in olde wyves tales/
Both of Englonde/ Fraunce/ and Wales/
    Which they call holy narracions.
And to theym scrypturte they apply/
Pervertynge it most shamfully/
    After their owne opinions.
Wherwith the people beynge fedde/
In to manyfolde errours are ledde/
    And wretched superflicions.
Of Christoure mercifull faveoure/
They make a lyude full of terroure/
    Only threatninge our damnacion.
Whose faveoure as they falsly fayne/
We cannot be able to obtayne/
    With oute sayntes mediacion.
They fayre that holy mens suffragges/
Pardons massyes/ and pilgremages/
    For fynnes make satisfacion.
They bid vs in oure workes to truft/
Wherby they faye that we muft/
       Deferve oure faluacion.
Fayth litell or nothyng they repute/
Wherof we beynge defitute/
       Are brought into desperacion.
And as for their lyfe doubtes/
It is the well of ongraciousnes/
       Of inquite the myroure.
The almes that povre solke shulde have/
Wretchedly awaye they do crave/
       To lyve ydely withoute laboure.
Dissaytes continually they do mufe/
And crafty falshod dayly they vse/
       With simple solke gretyly dissembleryne.
They feare lytell whom they offende/
Acustumed to rappe and rende?
       All that commeth in their fingrynge.
Their misereable disposicion/
Causeth fryste and sedicion/
       In all places where as they dwell.
There is none vn happines done/
In eny chriten regione/
       But a fryer is of the counsell.
Though they faye that their order/
Is to have no thynge in proper/
       But to vse all thynges in commone.
Yett ther is no commenalte/
Which hath so gret parcialite/
       As their misereable religione.
For where as the heddes principall/
Whom maister docters they call/
       Lyve in welthy aboundance.
The wother are povre and nedy/
Leadynge their lyves in penury/
       Scant havynge their sustenance.
Of their brothers vexacion/
They have no compassion/
       Despyfynge those that be in sicknes.
Agaynst all order of charite/
They desdayne forto have pete/
Apon theym that are in desfres.
To shewe all their vnhappines/
So abominable and shameles/
It wer ouer tedious and longe.

Mat. ¶ Thou haft sayde ynoough all redy/
    They cannot be moche more wors lyghtly/
    Yf the divell be not theym amonget.

Ref. ¶ As for that thou nedest not feare/
    The devill with theym is familiare/
    All waye bothe at bed and at borde.

Mat. ¶ The observauntes are not so disposed?

Ref. ¶ Wilt thou have their lyfe disclofed/
    Brefly rehearsed at a worde?

Mat. ¶ Nowe mate I praye the hartely/

Ref. ¶ So god helpe me of all hypocryfy/
    They are the very foundacion.

Mat. ¶ Peace man/ what speakeft thou?
    I perceave well thou erreft nowe/
    With wordes of diffamacion.

Ref. ¶ Why thynkeft thou that I do erre?

Mat. ¶ Because the worlde doth theym preferre/
    For their wholy conversacion.

Ref. ¶ Ye so were the scrybes and pharifays/
    Through their falke hypocryfy ways/
    Amonge the Iues in reputacion.
    Nevertheless in inwarde maners/
    They were worse then open synners/
    Whom our lorde also did course.

Mat. ¶ Makest of theym soche comparifon?

Ref. ¶ Ye savynge after my opinyon/
    The observantis are farre worse.

Mat. ¶ It is not possible to be so/
    For they shewe ther as they go/
    Of simplenes gret aperaunce.

Ref. ¶ Ye so dothe the foxe wother whyle/
    All though he canne many a wyle/
    Pretende a simple countenaunce
Thou dost wrongfully furmyse.

Naye I tell the it is their gyse/
To have two faces in a hoode.

What dost thou meane therby?

That they are dissemblers vnieurfully/
And seawe or none of them be goode.

They use no whordom nor robbery/
Nor take mens goodes wrongfully/
As far as I can heare or se?

Open advoutrers they are none/
Yet are they not virgens every chone/
All though they professe chastite.

They have pollucions detetable/
And in warde brennyngis intollerable/
Of the fleshly concupiscence.

Ye and wother whyles advoutry/
With wother meanes of letchery/
Cloaked under a fayned pretence.

Wich to overcome certaynly/
They use not the right remedy/
Of oure lوردis institucion.

Gevinage hede to fpretes of erroors/
And doctryne of divlysse doctours/
Which do make prohibicion.

And as touchynge theft to be playne/
They are the gretest theves that raygne/
In all the worlde nowe a dayes

For all wother theves commonly/
Of them which have abundantly/
And of ryche folke take their prayes.

But the observauntis no people do spare
Makyng their quest every wheare/
With most importunate cravynge.

To begge of the pover and nedy/
They are as dogges most greedy/
And wolves incessantly ragynge.

Yet they never handell money?

No for that is a subtill policy/
To vpholde their madde disgyynge.
For when antichrift sathans foune/
To stablysfye his realme had begoune/
   Temporall honoure despyfynge.
To have all in his dominion/
He made made many a religion/
   With outwarde holynes aperynge.
Which into sectes innumerabler/
Wer divided with oute fable/
   The worlde in care forto brynge.
By their coloured devociion/
To the people they gave a mocion/
   Their favoure craftly purchafynge.
And so by their contrivynge caft/
The[y] gott clene a waye at the laft/
   Their chefe possefions temporally.
Wherby laye people opressed fore/
Scant coulde they geve eny more/
   Concernynge londes and patrimony.
Then cam the fower orders of fryers/
Which are the subfanciall pillers/
   Of antichriftis mayntenaunce.
So holy theym selues they did make/
That all possefions they did forfake/
   Wilfull poverty to inhance.
To live by almes they did pretend/
And receaved all that god did fende/
   Sheawynge tokens of perfection.
Wherfore the people did theym honoure/
With gretter love and faveoure/
   Thos that had possefion.
Except livedod and londes only/
They receaved all that cam frely/
   Whether it wer mony or ware.
Howe be it they did multiply/
In all provinces to innumerably/
   Through the worlde in every quartear.
That the people wexed very/
Seynge they coulde not kepe a peny/
   But the fryers wolde bege it awaye.
At the last cam the observauntis/ Of antichrist the trusty servauntis/  
   To brynge the worlde in more dekaye.  
And leaff they shulde feme chargeable/  
They fownde a newe waye deceitable/  
   To begylde bothe yonge and olde.  
They were of soche superficione/  
That in proper or in commone/  
They wolde nothyng kep nor holde.  
Of their nedes havynge the vfe/  
To handle money they dyd refuse/  
Faynyng the aufterite of pennaunce.  
Wherby with defyrous affecte/  
The people had a grett respecte/  
Vnto their paynted observaunce.  
In somoche that though their londes/  
Was geven clene oute of their hondes/  
By meanes of the possessioners.  
And also most greveously opprest/  
With the dayly cravynge and quest/  
Of the vnfaciate fryer beggers.  
Yet the observauntis femed fo parfyt/  
That to healpe theym they iudged yt/  
   With oute charge a thynge charitable.  
Wherfore all the wother sectes/  
In maner reputed abiectes/  
The observauntis were honorable.  
Apon whom the workes of mercy/  
Were bestowed continually/  
   With superfluos abundaunce.  
And fo vnder a leawde colore/  
In ydnelnes they did devoure/  
The povre peoplis sustenaunce.  
They have increaced fo their nomber/  
That all the worlde they do encomber/  
With intollerable oppension.  
They are more noyous agret deale/  
In hyndraunce of the commen wealle/  
   Above eny wother faccion.
For where as the people afore/
Wer halfe beggered and more/
By the wother orders afore fayde.
They robbed the worlde vterly/
Caufenge it with extreme beggery/
In grett ruyne to be dekayde.

Mat. Thou speakest against conscience/
For we perceau by experience/
What a godly lyfe they leade.
They flye diligently all exceffe/
Livynge in povertie and scafnes/
With smale dryncke and browne bready.

Ref. Thynkest thou they live in penury?
Mat. Or els they are hipocrites verily/
Of shamfull dissimulacion.

Ref. Saye that hardly once agayne/
For they leade a lyfe to be playne/
Full of worldly delectacion/
Fyrst they have besie and mutten/
Of the chefe that maye be gotten/
With bred and dryncke of the best.
And that morover so largely/
That to farce and stufie their belly/
They take more then they can deieft.
They have sauces with every dishe/
Whither that it be flesehe or fyffhe/
Or els they wilnot be content.
To eate bred that is browne or fiale/
Ether to dryncke thynne byere or ale/
They count it not convenient.
And many tymes they have daynties/
Sent from dyvers lordees and ladys/
Their wholy suffrages to procure.

Mat. Yet they nether bake nor brewe.
Ref. No for all laboure they excheewe/
I the faythfully ensure.
Mat. Howe have they their meate rost or bake?
Ref. Wother men for theym the payne take/
Whom fpretuall fathers they call.
Mat. And have they no fpretuall mothers?
Ref. Yes with many sisters and brothers/
And also daughters fpretuall.
Mat. Howe come they to kynred so nye/
Ref. Because they cane flatter and lye/
Makynge beleve the cowe is wode.
Mat. They cannot lye though they wolde/
For they will nether silver nor golde/
Nor covet eny mans goode.
Ref. Trowest thou they covyt nothyngse/
Where as they come a beggyng/
To the housse of a povre man?
Which hath both wyfe and children/
And is not able to fynde them/
Doynge the best that ever he can.
Yet he must vnto the fryers geve/
All though he shulde his housholde greve/
Havynge nought theym felves to eate.
Mat. O they have then the gretter mede.
Ref. Ye god geve theym evill to spede/
That do pover creatures so entreate.
For they shulde their livynge gett/
With boddelly laboure and fswett/
Wherby they myght healpe wother.
Mat. So they do healpe them fpretually.
Ref. Soche fpretualnes I defye/
When pover people dye for honger.
Mat. Men faye they are goode to the pover/
And geve every daye at their doer/
Grett almes and refreSSFhynge.
Ref. They geve almes/ but howe?
When they have eaten ynowe/
Their gredy paunches replenifshynge.
Then garnered they vp their levettis/
Not the best morfels but gobbettis/
Which vnto pover people they deale.
Mat. Then are they lyke with oute doule/
Vnto certayne theves devote/
Which though they vse to steale.
Yet they are liberall and fre/
Yf eny pover creature they se/
To geve hym parte of their stolen geare.

Ref.  Ife Noewe truly their disposition/
Is not vnlyke of condicion/
Savynge in this poynte they differ. 
That where as theves liberally/
Geve their goods gotten wrongfully/
To the pover with true affection.
They geve no thyng in very trothe/
But scrapes which they wolde be lothe/
To vse agayne in their refecion.

Mat.  Ife Pover folke yet commend theym gretly.
Ref.  Ife But yf they knewe as moche as I/
They wolde rather on theym complayne.

Mat.  Ife Howe do they pover people offende ?
Ref.  Ife By caufe in ydnelnes they spedne/
Which vnto theym shulde pertayne.

Mat.  Ife They are not ydell I dare faye/
Whylis they rede/ fyng/ and praye
Continually every houre.
Ref.  Ife I call it ydnelnes vnproffetabled/
Which in no caste is confortable/
To the necessite of oure neigboure.

Mat.  Ife Well yett the apostle doth wryte/
A iust mans prayer doth proffyte/
And is very efficacious.
Ref.  Ife Are they iust in thy reputacion?

Mat.  Ife After their owne afirmacion/
Truly they are iust and rightous.
Ref.  Ife Then it is an evident token/
That they are of whom it is spoken/
Væ vobis qui iustificatis vos ipfos.

Mat.  Ife What doft thou by these wordes note ?
Ref.  Ife That vnder neath a fryers cote/
Moche hipocrisy they glofe.

Mat.  Ife Reputeft thou it hypocryfe/
That they vse to go to holyly/
In cutt shues with out eny hofe?
Ref.  Be it hipocrify or no/
         To mangill their good shues fo/
         Me thynketh it but folishnes.
Mat.  They cutt but the upper ledder/
Ref.  No for it is moche easier/
     Then to cut the soles doulees.
Mat.  They do it for pennaunce fake/
Ref.  For all that gret shifte they make/
     To avoyde all corporall sofferaunce.
Mta.  They shewe signes of penaunce outwardly.
Ref.  Ye but they fynde soche a remedy/
     That they fele lytell gretaunce.
     For in coventis whereas they are/
     Thycke mantels of fryfe they weare/
     With sockes to kepe their fete warme
     Then have they fyre at their pleasure/
     And to fit therby at their leayfure/
     No man sayinge theym eny harme.
     And when they walke their stacions/
     They seke gentilmens habitacions/
     Where as they fare deliciously.
     For be there never so grett prease/
     They are set vp at the by dease/
     Taken lyke lوردes honorably.
     They have also to washe their fete/
     Water made hott with erbes swete/
     And a goode fyer in their chamber.
     Then have they bred/ ale/ and wyne/
     With a ryche bed of downe fyne/
     Decked after the best maner.
     And paraventure the goode father/
     Hath in his fleve a bladder/
     Full of gynger/ nutmegges or graynes.
     Which to make the drinkeky myghtye/
     He putteth therin a quantite/
     To confort and warme his veynes.
Mat.  They fynd not this whersoever they come?
Ref.  Syr I wis it is their custome/
     In gentilmens places commonly.
Yet when they go on farre iorney/
They cannot espye oute all wyys/
Gentilmens houes so redely.

Mary before their departynge/
They have by mouthe or wrytynge/
The names of places where they dwell.

Some tyme they sayle yet I judge?
Then do they mormor and grudge/
Lyke yonge devils of hell.

They want soche thynges in their cloyster?
Concernyng the fare of their froyter/
I did tell the a fore partly.

But then they have gest chambers/
Which are ordened for strangers/
And for fathers to make mery.
There have they ale/ wyne/ and byre/
And in winter tyme a goode fyre/
With gaye conceytes made wother.

What is their communicacion?
By my sothe murmuracion/
One backbytynge another.

They have nothynges to murmur fore.
I tell the they murmur more/
Then eny perfons that I knowe.
Full of envious suspcion/
Overwhelmed with ambicion/
Though their vocacion be lowe.
With all diligence they laboure/
To obtayne noble mens favoure/
And to be ladys confessours.
In soche matters dayly they bofte/
Who with grett estates maye do moste/
Reckenyng theym selve wyfe seniours.

Do they desyre to be conversant/
In courtes of vertue so scant/
Intangled with all vngracioufnes?

They are content to be partners/
With all vngracious lyvers/
Yf so be they geve theym almes.
Mat. If I put case they geve nothyng?
Ref. Then whether he be lorde or kynge/
They will his maners deprave.
Howe be it though they be advoutrers/
Extronioners/ or whormongers/
Yf to be their frendes they witfave.
Then with grett commendacion/
In their flatteryng predicacion/
They will their actes magnify.
Wherfore whoares/ theves/ and bawdes/
And all foche as live by frawdes/
To their order have fanyfe.

Mat. Howe do they which are true preachers?
Ref. They are charged in their chapters/
Vnder their prelatis frayte precepte.
That agaynft their goode fownders/
Benefacters/ and frendly doers/
No enormites they detecte.

Mat. Yf they fett men thus to scole/
I trowe they make many a fole/
Of ladys and gentill wemen.
Ref. Shall I shewe the howe they do?
Mat. Nowe foroure lordeis sake go to/
To tell the caft of this wholy men.
Ref. Fyrst it is their custome ever/
To go/ two and two to gether/
Excepte a grett impediment.
And so to my ladys chamber/
Formost pricketh in the elder/
Which of them is most auncient.
As sone as my lady he dothe fe/
With a countenaunce of gravite/
He faluteth her noblenes.
My lady then of his commynge/
Afectously reioyynge/
Welcometh hym with gladnes.
The father then with his glofynge stytle/
After that he hath preached a whyle/
With babblynge adulacion.
My lady with many a good morowe/
Begynneth her tale to folowe/
    Speakynge after this fassion.
O father ye do great penance/
To wynne eternall inheritaunce/
    Throw prayer/ fast/ and watchynge.
Ye vs e forto fweare no othes/
Lyinge evermore in youre clothes/
    Nether shetes nor shurtes wearynge.
Ambicion ye sett a fyde/
Flyinge worldly pompe and pryde/
    Whiche with vs is dayly in vre.
Happy are ye and fortunate/
To live info parset a state/
    Where to be saved ye are sure.
Yf it were not for youre wholes/
This worlde full of viciounnes/
    Had bene destroyed longe or this.
Howe be it/ ye do pacify/
The rigoure of god almighty/
    Towardis vs that live a mis.
The father then with wordes of comforste/
Begynneth my lady to exhorte/
    Saynge thus/ o good madame.
Your ladyshippe nedeth not to care/
For we praye dayly for youre welfare/
    Or els we were gretly to blame.
Wholy. S. Fraunces do you mede/
Many a pover fryer ye do fede/
    Of youre bounteous charite.
Wherfore ye were made fister/
In the last generall chapter/
    Of our whole confraternite.
By meanes wherof ye are partetaker/
Of our watchynge/ fast/ and prayer/
    Remembrynge you in our memento.
There is no daye that commeth to passe/
But ye have parte of many a masse/
    Prefervynge you from carfull wo.
Wholy. S. Fraunces alfo hym selve/
Which is above the apostles twelve/
Nexte vnto Christ in authorite.
Shalbe your perpetuall defence/
Agaynst fycknes and pestilence/
Souckerynge you in aduersite.
And for a sure aprobacion/
He bryngeth forth a narracion/
De libro conformitatum.
Howe. S. Francies their advoury/
Once in the yere entreth purgatory/
When that his felt daye doth come.
And from thens he taketh oute/
Those which to hym were devoute/
Or to his order charitable.
Thus my lady not very wyfe/
Is brought in to foles parodyfe/
Thorowe their wordes difceavable.

Mat. Ḟ Hath Christ amonge them no place?
Ref. Ḟ Christ cathe? in no maner cace/
     He is rather to their damage.
     Be caufe thorowe his passion/
     For vs he made satissacion/
     Withoute eny mans suffrage.
     Whose doctryne yf they did observe/
     Playnly for honger they shulde sterve/
     Excepte they wolde to laboure fall.

Mat. Ḟ Howe conclude they then at the ende?
Ref. Ḟ My lady must to their covent sende/
     Her blyffynge with a trentall.

Mat. Ḟ What is the trentall/ in paper ?
Ref. Ḟ Or els in goode golde or silver/
     To make them a recreacion.

Mat. Ḟ They will not for all Englonde/
     Handill money with their bare honde/
     As I have had informacion.
Ref. Ḟ Yett in golden cuppes to dryncke/
     And to touche wemen I thyncke/
     No grett parell they do adverte.
And though some of them never dare
Touche any coyne with hondes bare
Yett they touche it with their hertt.
They have also withouten lefynghe
Money in wother mens kepynghe
Redy at their commaundment.
Which by the wryttynghe of a bill
In whatte foever vses they will
Dayly is bestowed and spent.
In any covent where they be
Very feawe of them thou shalt se
But have a frende temporally.
To whom for every trystfull vayne
That commeth once into their brayne
Yf by wrytynghe they signify.
Though it cost a noble or twayne
By and by they shall it attayne
Not foarfynge what is layde oute.
Which truly yf they shulde purchase
With labour and swett of their face
They wolde wotherwyse loke aboute.

Mat. Yf it be as thou dost expresse
Playnly their rule they do transgresse
Retaynynghe in commen or in proper.

Ref. They have the popis declaracion
Makynge therof a mitigacion
In most favorable maner.
Vnder whose divlysshe proteccion
They have put them in subieccion
As children of iniquite.
Wherfore he taketh to his person
The name of their dominion
To vse it gevynge libertie.
They have scant as moche as a louffe
Nether clothes/ churche/ nor houffe
But the pope there of is awner.

Mat. Why afsrybe they it to the pope?

Ref. By cause with soche craft they hope
To begylde people seculer.
For where as they live welthly/
And have all thyngis abundantly/
Acordyne to their apetyte.
Yet vnder foche falce pretence/
They fayne to soffe indigence/
Contempnynge all worldly deyte.
The pope also for this intent/
Because to his errours they consent/
Alowynge his abhominacions.
Graunteth to their avauntages/
Many bulles and previlages/
With wretched confirmacions.
Whose favoure to recompence/
Agaynft all goode conscience/
They preache as moche as they maye.
That the people with reverence/
Continue still in obedience/
Of the popis rule nyght and daye.
Though his workes be contrary/
They fayre that he is goddis vicary/
And of Chriff the leffennaunte.
Makynge of a fende/ an angell/
Chriff/ of antichrist rebell/
A faynt/ of the devils servaunte.

Mat. ¶ I supposed with out dissemblyngge/
That they vfed in their preachynge/
All ways to sheawe the verite.
Seynge amonge the stales royall/
They were reputed substanciall/
With oute eny parcialite.
They vfed to go in pover wede/
Exhortynge both in worde and dede/
Vnto the ioye celestiall.
As though they had no erthely love/
But only to the lyfe above/
Defpyyne the ioyes of this lyfe mortall.

Ref. ¶ The wholynes that they did sheawe/
Principally did over throwe/
The fayth of all christenuome.
For they were confederate/
With antichrist so inveterate/
   Called the Pope of Rome.
Whose lawes to fett in renowne/
Chri$tis doctryne they plucked downe/
   Pervertynge all wholy scripture.
And yet so perfett they did apere/
That grett mens confession to here/
   In every place they had the cure.
They pretended soche parfetnes/
That simple people more and les/
   Vnto their wordes gave credence.
Whatsoever fables they did tell/
They were taken as the gospell/
   Approved with commen sentence.
Wherfore by their seduccion/
They have bene the destruccion/
   Of all true christen libertie.
They make cruelties of mercy/
Perfeccion of hipocrify/
   And of fredeome captivite.
Of counterfeyted sim[u]lacion/
They ymagen mortificacion/
   Turnynge fayth to infidelite.
Ydelnes they name contempacion/
Faynynge zele of murmuracion/
   Emmies to charitable amite.

Mat. I marvayle moche and wonder/
That they shulde have eny anger/
   Or eny envious debate.
Seynge from worldly royalte/
And promocions of dignite/
   They are willingly private.

Ref. Though they have no worldly honours/
Yet nether kynges ne emperours/
   Nor wother states of the temperalte/
Have soche stryfe in their provision/
As obseruantes in their religion/
   With dely hatred and enmyte.
To be made confeffors/ and preachers/
Wardens/ discretes/ and ministers/
And wother offices of prelacy.
With grevous malice and rancour/
One agaynst a nother dothe murmour/
   Full of craft and inconstancy.
They have nether drede nor shame/
Their faultles brethren to defame/
   Havynge none occasion why.
Yonge men agaynst their superiours/
And prelates agaynst their inferiours/
   One at another hath envy.
In chapters and visitaciones/
They vs e wronge accusations/
   With many flanderous injurys
They execute sharpe correccions/
To ponymhe the transgressions/
   Of their fantastycke ceremonyes.
God and his lawes they omit/
Aplyinge their malicious witt/
   To kepe mans invencions.
They are patrons of ydolatry/
Promouters vnto herify/
   And bryngers vp of dissencions.

Mat.  C Nowe by the fayth of my body/
The observauntis are not so holy/
   As they do outwardly feame.

Ref.  C Yf thou knewe manystantly/
What a lyse they occupy/
   Thou woldest marvayle I deme.

Mat.  C I have hearde ynough and to moche/
Yf theyr conversacion be foche/
   It is pite that they are souffered.
But nowe touchyng the maners/
Of these religious possessioners/
   I wolde heare somewhat more vttered.

Ref.  C I tolde the in the begynnynge/
Howe their wicked lyvyng /
   Is gretly abhominable.
Marcke their lyfe intentifely/
And thou shalte not therin espie/
   Eny thynge that is commendable.

Mat.  Ð What sayst thou then of their vowes?
    Wherby theym selves they spowe/
       To god/ by a certayne promes.

Ref.  Ð Surly in it Christ they forake/
     And them selves wholy they betake/
        To live in the devils ferves.

Mat.  Ð Why/ they profeffe chastite/
     Obedience/ and wilfull povertie/
        Which allmyghty god doth approbate.

Ref.  Ð Ye for all that I promes the/
     They kepe none of all the thre/
        With mundane affections intricate.

Mat.  Ð All worldlynnes they do renounce/

Ref.  Ð Though with wordes they so pronounce/
    Their hertes do not consent/

Mat.  Ð They observe strauly obedience/

Ref.  Ð Ye but favyngue reverence/
    Nothyng after Christis intent.
     For after goddis commandementis/
        They shulde obey their parentis/
           Honorynge them as is their duty.
     Not with standynghe they are so mad/
        Their fathers and mothers are glad/
           To honoure themy reverently.
     And where as holy scripture wolde/
        That vnto all powers we shulde/
           Obey as to goddis ordenaunce.
     They are vnder no power at all/
        Nether spretuall nor temporall/
           To the commen weallis fortheraunce.

Mat.  Ð They obey vnto their prelate/
     At all seassons yerly and late/
        His precept accomplisfhynge.

Ref.  Ð I will not denye they do obey/
    Vnto the ruler of their abbey.
       A carle of their owne chofynge.
Yet is it in superstitiousnes/
With outen eny profitablenes/
    Of their neighbours conforte.
They serve theym selves and no mo/
Carynge litell howe the worlde go/
    So that they have pleasure and sporte.
And contrary the seculers/
Are ynder temporall rulers/
    With their children and wyves.
At all seasons prest and redy/
To put theym selves in iepardy/
    Aventurynge bothe goodes and lyves.
To serve the kynge in warre and peace/
They putt theym selves alwaye in preace/
    The defence of the realme afferntyng.
Where as the religious sectes/
Unto no lawes are subjectes/
    Obeyinge nether god nor kynge.
Yf the kynge will their service vfe/
Forthwith they laye for an excufe/
    That they must do goddis busines.
And yf in it they be found negligent/
They faye the kynge is impediment/
    Because they must do hym serves.
And yf the kynge shaltheym compell/
Then obstymatly they do rebell/
    Fleinge to the popis mayntenaunce.
Of whom they obtayne exemptions/
From all the iurisdiccons/
    Of temporall governaunce.

Mat.  Q Of the pope with out grett expens/
They can obtayne no foche defens.
    As men faye which do it knowe.

Ref.  Q Yet are they so farre out of tune/
That they do their goodes so confume/
    Rather then in goode vses to bestowe.

Mat.  Q I perceave by this with out fayle/
Their obedience doth not provayle/
    But what fayft thou to their povert?
Ref.  
What nede I therof to speake/  
Consideringe they do it breake/  
Endued with ryche felicite.

Mat.  
Do they foche lyvelod possesse?

Ref.  
They have in maner the ryches/  
Of every londe and nacion.  
Namly in Englonde region/  
They excede in possesion/  
And lordly dominacion.

The blacke order hath more alone/  
Then all the nobles every chone/  
As touchynge their patrimony.

Thou woldest furly marvell/  
To se their fare and apparell/  
In all poyntes superflu[o]uly.

There be monkes of foche flatlynes.  
That scant will soffer at their mesure/  
A lorde of bludde with theym to fitt.

Whose prowde service to beholde/  
In plate of silver and golde/  
It passeth a mans wit.

Knyghtes and squyers honorable/  
Are fayne to servie at their table/  
As vnto Dukes excellent.

Divers of theym have the degre/  
Of worthy Erles in dignite/  
And are lordes of the parlament.

Mat.  
They descende of famous progeny?

Ref.  
Ye beggers fones most commonly/  
Their fathers scant worth a groate.

Commynge fyrt to the abby gate/  
A beggynge with a scalled pate/  
Havynge nether goode shurt nor coate.

Which as fone as he is ones clad/  
For a gentleman he is had/  
Though he be but a starcke knawe.

Mat.  
Soche poverete is plente/  
For by it avoydynge scacite/  
All welthynes they have.
It is truly their fijthynge nett/
Pover mens goodes awaye to gett/
   To satif[y]fy their gluttenny.
It is the goulfe of devoracion/
And fountayne of desolacion.
   To all people generally.
Wherof in wholy fcripture/
Is written a notable figure/
   Shewed in the boke of Daniell.
Howe the prestes of Babilone/
With falshod acordynge in one/
   Had an ydole called Bell.
Outwardly made all of bras/
And inwardly of erth it was/
   Havyng a reseyte fo devised.
That the ydole femed to devowere
An. C. shepe with wyne and flower/
   Dayly vnto it facryfised.
Which the prestes with their whores/
Thorowe crafty contrived dores/
   Entreinge in the nyght secretly.
And thare makynge recreacion/
They confumed the oblacion/
   Oppresseyng the people grevously.
Which femed fo straunge a thynge/
That bothe the people and the kynge/
   Reputed it a grett miracle.
Vntill Daniel at the laft/
Perceavynge their disceavable caft/
   Agaynft it made an obstacle.
He vtttered to their confusion/
The execrable illusion/
   Wherwith the folke they fore noyed.
Causeyng by his policy/
That this ydole vttterly/
   Was brokne and destroyed.

Wherto doft thou this compare?
Of religious perfons to declare/
The intollerable enormite.
For as the pretles with their ydoll/
The pover people did pill and poll/
   By their dislaytfull fultelte.
So the children of perdition/
Named men of religion/
   With their wilfull povertie.
The wyde worlde forto begger.
Daye and nyght they indever/
   Blyndyne the peoples simplicite.

Mat. I marvayle men make no restraynt/
Thei dislaytfulnes to attaynt/
   Whyls it is open and aperte.

Ref. Daniel is not yett come/
Which shall obtayne the roume/
   Their fraudfull wayes to subuerte.

Mat. When shalbe then his comynge?

Ref. I ensure the or longe runnyng/
   For he begynneth to drawe nere.

Mat. Well then/ this matter to remitt/
I wolde very fayne a lytell fitt/
   Of their chaflite to heare.

Ref. To tell the of their chaflite/
It lyeth not in my capacite/
   The shamfullnes therof to compyre.

Mat. Men faye they live bilsedly/
With out acte of matrimony/
   Enfuynge verteous exercyfe.

Ref. Their cloyfters are the devils m[e]wes
Farre worse then eny fl[e]wes/
   Or commen places of whordom.
They are the dens of baudines/
And fornaces of all letcherousnes/
   Lyke vnto Gomer and Sodom.
Yonge laddes and babes innocent/
They brynge in by their intyfment/
   To their lawde congregacion.
Whom they receave to proffesion/
Before that they have discracion/
   To their eternall damnacion.
For when they fele by experience/
The brynynyge of the concupiscence/
  Pryckynge their hertes with love.
Confyderynge also their bondage/
Howe they can vs no mariadge/
  As a chrieten man doth behove.
Then to quenche their apetytes/
They are fayne to be sodomytes/
  Abusynge theym felves vnnaturally.
And so from hope of salvacion/
They fall into desperacion/
  Ordrynge their lyves most shamfully.

Mat. † I will not say the contrary/
But amonge a grett company/
  One or two soche thou mayft synde.

Ref. † Make the company grett or small/
A monge a thousand synde thou shal/
  Scant one chaft of boddy and mynde

Mat. † They faye yet with bolde audacite/
That it resteth in mans faculte/
  Yf he will/ to live chaftly.

Ref. † Then make they Christ a lyer/
Callynge it a gyfte singuler/
  Not geven to every boddy.
Paul also in his epistle/
Vnto Timothe his disciple/
  Writynge by fprete of prophecy.
Nameth it a dyvlyshhe doctrayne.
Which agaynft scripture divine/
  Forbideth folke to mary.

Morover the storys not faynynge/
The lives of olde fathers conteynyng/
  Geve recorde to the fame.
Which endued with godly science/
Exercyngyne continuall abstinence.
  The lustes of the fleishhe to tame.
Yet feawe or none had the grace/
With all their laboure to purchace/
  The singuler gyfte of chaftite.
Howe shuld they then live chast/  
That of gostlynes have no tase/  
   Geven holy to carnalite.  
Which as wolves and bely beastes/  
Eatynge and drynkyng in their feastes/  
   The bloudde of the pover commenalte/  
They hate foche as are studious/  
Abhorryng thos that are verteous/  
   As a toade/ or poysonde serpente.  
With oute knowledge as affes brute/  
Of all goode manners destitute/  
   Braynles and insipient.

**Wat.**  
I fe then he were a very chylde/  
Which wolde eny mo abbeyes bylde/  
   Yf the goodes shuld be so yll spent.

**Ref.**  
I t were fare better, I suppose/  
To plucke downe a grett forte of thoshe/  
Which are all redy of costly bildynge/  

**Wat.**  
Oure lorde forbid/ that were pete/  
For they kepe hospitalite/  
   Waye farynge people hARBorynge.  
Husbande men and labourers/  
With all commen artificers/  
   They cause to have grett ernyng.  
Their townes and villages/  
With out exaccions or pillages/  
   Vnder theym have moche wynnyng.  
They kepe also many servauntes/  
Retaynyng fersers and tennauntes/  
   Which by theym have therlyvyng.

**Ref.**  
Hospitall abbeyes thou fyndest but feawe/  
All though some of thym for a sheawe/  
   To blyndfelde the peoples fyght.  
Paraventure will not denaye/  
Yf a gentle man come that waye/  
   To geve hym lodgyng for a nyght.  
But yf pover men thyther reforte/  
They shall have full lytell comforte/  
   Nether meate/ dryncke/ ne lodgyng.
Savynge wother whyles perhapys/
They gett a feawe broken scrapis
Of these cormorantis leyynge.

Mat. Well yett their fare confyderynge/
It is I wis no male thynge/
That they leave dayly at their borde.

Ref. Ye but thorowe falsce lorchers/
And vnthrystf abbey lobbers/
To povere folcke lytell they a forde.
For the best meate awaye they carve/
Which for their harlottis must serve/
With wother frendes of there kynne.
Then proll the servynge officers/
With the yemen that be wayters/
So that their levettis are but thynne.
And where as thou makest relacion/
That men of fondry ocupacion/
By theym are sett vnto laboure.
It is aboute foche follyshnes/
Concernynge no proffytablenes/
Vnto their neigbours suffoure.
In byldynge of chambers curious/
Churches/ and housses/ superfluous/
To no purpose expedient.
So that they maye satiffy/
Their inordinate fantasy/
They care for no detryment.
Set dyce and cardye players a fyde/
And thorowe out the worlde fo wyde/
They waste their goode most in vayne.
Their pryde maketh many a begger/
Feawe or none sarynge the better/
Except an ydell lavel or twayne.
Their townes somtyme of renowne/
Leawedly they caufe to faule downe/
The honoure of the londe to marre/
They sue their subiettis at the lawe/
Whom they make nott worth a strawe/
Raynynge theym gittles at the barre.
And that I me nowe reporte/
To their lordships a grett forte/
    With whom they had controversys.
Namly/ Saynt Edmonds bery/
With dyvers wother a grett many/
    Vnder the holde of monasterys.
Furthermore theare as I did wone/
All husbande men they have vndone/
    Destroyinge the londe miserably.

**Wat.** ː To prove that it wer very harde
**Ref.** ː Take hede howe farmers go backwarde/
    And thou shalt fe it with thyne ey.
For the londes welth pryncipally/
Stondeth in exercyfe of husbandry/
    By encreace of catell and tillynge.
Which as longe as it doth prosper/
The realme goeth backwarde never/
    In flabill felicite perferyngne.
The abbeys then full of covetyse/
Whom posseffions could not fuffyse/
    Ever more and more encroachynge.
After they had spoyled gentill men/
They vndermyned husbande men/
    In this manner theym robbynge.
Wheare a farme for xx. li. was fett/
Vnder. xxx. they wolde not it lett/
    Raysynge it vp on fo hye a some.
That many a gooide husholder/
Constrayned to geve his farme over/
    To extreme beggary did come.

**Wat.** ː I have hearde laye of myne elders/
That in Englonde many fermoers/
    Kept gaye housholdes in tymes passed.
**Ref.** ː Ye that they did with liberalite/
Sheawynge to povre people charite/
    But nowe all together is daffhed.
Of rych farme places and halles/
Thou seist nothyng but bare walles/
    The roses fallen to the grownde/
To tourne fayre houfes into pasture/
They do their diligent cure/
The commen well to confownde.

Mat.  Howe have the abbeys their payment?
Ref.  A newe waye they do invent/
      Lettynge a dofen farmes vnder one.
Which one or two ryche francklyngis/
Occupyinge a dofen mens lyvyngis/
      Take all in their owne hondes a lone.

Mat.  The wother in paiynge their rent/
      Be lycklyhod were negligent/
      And wolde not do their duty.
Ref.  They payde their duty and more/
      But their farmes are heythed so fore/
      That they are brought vnto beggery.

Mat.  Have the francklyngis therby no gayne?
Ref.  Yes/ but fyrst they have moche payne/
      Yer they can gett it substanially.
      Payinge more for the entrynge in/
      Then they shalbe able to wynne/
      A goode whyle after certaynly.
      For to gett the abbottis confent/
      Vnder the seale of the covent/
      It is a thynge very costly.
      Where of the charges to recover/
      Left they shulde them selve enpover/
      And be brought into decaye.
      Pover cilly shepperdis they gett/
      Whome into their farmes they fett/
      Lyvynge on mylke/ whyg/ and whey/

Mat.  Mercyfull lorde/ who hearde ever tell/
      Religious folke to be fo cruell/
      Supplantynge the temporalte.
Ref.  Thou knowest nott watkyn felowe/
      Howe they have brought to forowe/
      In lykwyfe the spretualte.

Mat.  By what manner cavallacion?
Ref.  Surly through improperacion.
      Of inumerable benefices.
Mat.  Do they benefices improperate?
Ref.  Ye and that many a curate.
      Dayly coursfe their cruell bellies.
Mat.  They eate nether churche ne steple.
Ref.  No but they robbe the pover people/
      Devowrynge their subsance.
Mat.  Yf they do spretually sowe/
      They maye well temporally mowe/
      After the apostles ordenaunce.
Ref.  To the they have it better cheape/
      For they temporall goodes reape/
      And sowe nothynge spretually.
      Their parisshons they sheare and clippe/
      But they never open their lippe/
      To geve them eny fode goftly.
Mat.  Happely they do it in prevete.
Ref.  So god healpe me it maye well be/
      Vnder some secre clauffure.
      For it is furly so invisible/
      That I trowe it is not possible/
      To be fene of eny creature.
Mat.  What requyre they of benefices?
Ref.  No thynge but to have the fleces/
      And avauntages carnally.
Mat.  I perceave not well thy meanynge.
Ref.  They are redyer to take vp tythynge/
      Then to preache to theym frutfully.
Mat.  Is there eny grett differynge/
      Bitwene theft and tythe gaderynge/
      After the practysfe that we fe?
Ref.  Very litell/ all thynge reckened/
      Savynge that theves are corrected/
      And tythe gaderers go scott fre.
Mat.  Have they no circumspeccion/
      With diligent affeccion/
      For their paresshes to provyde?
Ref.  They sett in folyfhe dotardes/
      More mete forto be bearwardes/
      Then chriften mens foules to gyde.
And even as they do by farmage/
Brynge the londe into a rearage/
   Contempnynge the statute temporall.
In lyke maner by their rapyne/
They have brought into ruyn/
   The order ecclesiasticall.

Mat. ọ It apereth they are past grace.
Ref. ọ They are the divels fornace/
   Oven infernall vnfaciable.

Mat. ọ If these monkes are so noyous/
Bothe fraudulent and covetous/
   To what ves are they profitable?
Ref. ọ Nowe by the death that I shall deye/
Of all people vnder neth the skye/
   The worlde maye theym beft spare.
Nether to the godly deite/
Nor yet to mans vtile/
   In eny case profitable they are.
And not only vnnesessary/
But moreover cleene contrary/
   Defraudynge that to theym is due.
For though their lyfe so vicius/
To goddis lawes is injurious/
   Confowndynge the waye of vertue.
Yet are they more presompteous/
Sayinge their workes meritorious/
   Healpe synners to be goddis heyres.
Wherby Christs bloud they defpyfe/
As though it coulde not suffyfe/
   With out their damnable prayres.
And wheare as they shulde be prest/
At all seasons doynge their beft/
   The commen well to mayntayne.
Their bellies are so full of greace/
That nether in warre nor peace/
   They cane do eny healpe certayne.
Yet their fyndyngis they expende/
Which shulde the londe defende/
   Devowrynge many a knyghtes fe.
They are nether goftly/ ner worldly/
Rather divlyfhe then godly/
   With out eny goode properte.

Mat.  Yf they be foche ydell raveners/
They are lyke to the grett coursers/.
   Which noble men in flables kepe
For they are cherefed all waye/
With freffhe litter and goode haye.
   Doynge right noght but eate and flepe.

Ref.  There is in theym grett diverfite/
For yf it come to extremite/
   They save their masters from yvill.
Where as these miserable byrbers/
Brynge their fownders and healpers/
   The strayght waye to the devill.

Mat.  Are they lyke to wolves ravenous?
Ref.  A grett deale more outrageous/
   Farre excedyng their rapacitie.
For though they be cruell of kynde/
Yett they leave their skynnes be hynde/
   As a mendes for their crueltie
But this mischevous mounckry/
Though they robbe every country/
   Whyls they be here a lyve.
Yet can they not be so pleased/
But after that they be deceaced/
   Leaft eny by theym shuld thrive.
They cary into their sepulture/
   Their dayly clothyng and veiture/
   Buried in their churlyfhe habyte.

Mat.  Have they on their botes also?
Ref.  Ye by my trothe even redy to go/
   To the devill withouten repyte.

Mat.  There is some mistery pondered/
That they vse so to be buried/
   In their habyte and clothyng.
Ref.  No dout it is a mistery/
By coniectours manifeftly/
   Their wretched lyfe betokenynge.
For as in this lyfe they denyde/
Their christen neighbours to ayde/
Lyvynge here vvcheritably.
So by their death and latter ende/
In their buriall they pretend/
Not to be of Christis company.

**Wat.** To whom then do they pertain?
**Ref.** To the devill their suerayne/
Which hath them all in his bonde.

**Wat.** Beware thou be not to bolde/
For thy lyfe were bought and solde/
Yf thou spake this in Englonde.

**Ref.** They maye well bothe ban and cours/
But they cannot do moche wors/
Then they did to Hun the marchaunt.

**Wat.** Did they any grevaunce to hym?
**Ref.** Out of this lyfe they did hym trymme/
Because he was goddis servaunte.

**Wat.** He did some faulte gretly notory /
**Ref.** No thynge but for a mortuary/
The prestes agaynst hym did aryfe.
No maner faulte in hym was fownde/
Yet was he hanged/ brent/ and drownde.
His goodes takyn vp for a pryfe.
As an herityke they hym toke/
Because he had many a boke/
In englysshe/ of holy scripture.
Also he worshipped no ymages/
And wolde not go on pilgermages/
Vlyngne none others to periure.

**Wat.** Are the prelatis so mad frantycke/
To judge soche a man an heritycke/
Shewynge tokens of fydelite?

**Ref.** They regarde their worldly proffett/
Wynnynghe therby many a forsett/
Whiche moveth them to crudelit.
Mens goodes wrongfully to ceafe/
They make heritykis whom they please/
By faulce relacion of Someners.
Have they none wother intelleccion?

Yes also by their confeffion/
Which they tell in prettes eares.

Dare they confeffions to bewraye?
Confessions catha? ye by my faye/
They kepe no secretnes att all.
Though noble men have doctours/
To be their private confeffours/
Yet they have one that is generall.

Befyde those which are perticuler?
Ye/and that hath brought some to care/
Of whom I coulde make rehearceall.

His name wolde I very fayne here.
It is the englifhe Lucifer/
Motherwyfe called the Cardinall.
In all the londe there is no wyght/
Nether lorde baron/ nor knyght/
To whom he hath eny hatred.
But ether by fower speche or fwete/
Of their confeffours he will wete/
Howe they have theym selves behaved.
What they faye/ it is accepted/
In no poynte to be obiected/
Though they be as falce as Iudas.

What authorite do they allege?
It is their churches previlege/
Falcely to fayne that never was.

Soche confeffours are vniuft.
Yett nedes do it they mufet/
Yf they will to honoure ascende.

Promocions are of the Kyngis gyft?
For all that he maketh fochfe shyft/
That in his pleasure they depende.
Though they have the kyngis patent/
Except they have alfo his affent/
It tourneth to none avauntage.
His power he doth fo extende/
That the kyngis letters to rende/
He will not forbeare in his rage.
This is a grett presumpcion /
For a villayne bocher's sonne /
    His authorite fo to avaunce.
But it is more to be marveyled /
That noble men wilbe confessed /
    To these kaytives of miscreaunce.

O/ the grett whore of Babilon /
With her deadly cuppe of poyson /
    Hath brought theym to dronkenship.
That paynted bordes and ded flockis /
Carved ydoles in stones and blockis /
    Above allmyghty god they worship.

Hath Englon'd foche stacions /
Of devoute peregrinacions /
    As are in Fraunce and Italy?
Seke oute londes every chone /
And thou shalt fynde none fo prone /
    As Englonde/ to this ydolatry.
Of wholy Roodes/ there is foche a fight /
That bitwene this and mydnyght/
    I coulde not make explication.
Then have they ladies as many /
Some of grace and some of mercy /
    With divers of lamentacion.
Morover paynted flockis and stones /
With shrines/ full of rotten bones /
    To the whiche they make oblacion.

What are they after thy supposyng?  
Stronge theves with outen gloyng /
    And authours of prevaricacion.
Take hede thou do not blaspheme.
After their workes I theym esteme /
    Both to man and god oure creatoure.
Where as is no god but one.
We ought to worship hym alone /
    And no falce goddes to adoure.
Whyche of his honoure is defrauded /
By these ydoles faultely lauded /
    With sacrifice and adoracion.
Man in lyke maner they robbe/
Causynge povere folke to sygh and sobbe/
Takyng awaye their sustentacion.

WAT. C The goodes that to them are offred/
Are they not to pover people proffered/
Their necessites to relefe?

REF. C It is wasted in ryetous revell/
Amonge many an ydell lavell/
To noryfsh she morther and mischefe.

WAT. C I heare faye that befydes London/
There is oure lady of Wilfdon/
Which doth grett myrales dayly.

REF. C As for whordom/ and letchefouhnes/
She is the chefe lady maftres/
Commen paramoure of baundry.
Many men as it is knowen/
Repe mo children then their owne/
By her myrales promosion.
Wyves to deceave their husbandes/
Make to her many errandes/
Vnder colore of devocioun.

WAT. C Doft thou oure lady so backbyte?

REF. C No but I have the flockes in despyte/
Wherby they dishonoure her.
In scripture it is written/
And of oure lorde forbidden/
To be a falce ydolater.

WAT. C Whyls thou dost fo farre procede/
Howe is it then in thy crede/
Of Saynt Thomas of Cantourbury?

REF. C I beleve/ and also I truft/
Yf that he were in this lyfe iust/
And of ouxe lordes vocacion.
That his soule hath fruicioun/
Perpetually with out intermiffion/
Of eternall consofacion.

WAT. C Ye but I meane of his body/
Shryned in the monastry/
With golde and stones precious.
Also the grett myracles wrought
And howe of people he is sought
   With offerynges and gyftes fomptious.

As for that ye we geve credence
To oure faveoure Christis sentence
   The Euangelistes bearynge recorde.
Many shall do thynges straunge
   Wherby they will boldly chalange
To worcke in the name of oure lorde.
And yet Christ in theym hath no parte
But worcke theym by the devils arte
   Vfurpynge an angels lykenes.
Which doth hym silfe fo transpofe
   Fraudulently to begyle thofe
   That contempne goddis rightoufnes.

Nevertheless as clarkes defyne
   Workynge of myracles is a signe
   That vnfo god they are acceptabule.

Shall we to men credence geve
   Or ought we the gospell to believe
   Whose verite is impermutable?
I dare faye/ and abyde therby
   That Saynt Thomas of Caunterbury/
   With wother Sayntis canonyfes.
Yf their paynted efficacite
   Is but as it femeth to be.
   Of god they are despyfed.
For though they heale lame and blynde
   With men (as they faye) out of mynde
   Healpynge diseases corporall.
Yet desroye they out of hande
   For every one of theym a thowfande
   Concernyng their soules spretuall.
And where as Christ doth requyre
   That of god we shulde desyre
   All oure neceffite and nede.
To theym we make peticion
   Agaynst goddis prohibicion
   To wicked doctours gevynge hede.
Mat. C Well yet I ensure the Ieffraye/
The gospell for theym they laye/
   Growndyne on it their argument.

Ref. C Naye watkyn that is a starcke lye.

Wat. C Howe shall we then the troth trye/
     By some probacion evident?

Ref. C Mary take goddis wholy wrytynge/
     Nether addynge nor diminyffynge/
     But even playnly after the letter.

Wat. C They saye scripture is so diffufe/
     That laye people on it to mufe/
     Shulde be never the better.

It is no medlynge for foles/
But for foche as have bene at scoles/
     As doctours that be graduate.

Ref. C Wenefi thou that Peter the fishehr/
     Vnderfode not scripture clearlyer/
     Then the pharisaiyes obstinate?

Who did so wilfully resift/
Agaynft the receavynge of Chrif/
     As they which were learned?

Wat. C No wonder/ for they knewe hym not.

Ref. C No more do oure doctours god wot/
     In eny poynte to be discerned.

Wat. C Of Chrif yetthey make mencion.

Ref. C Ye for be cause their pension/
     With benefices maye be endued.
But in their lyfe and behaveoure/
They despyfe Chrif ourse faveoure/
     Labourynge his worde to exclude.

Wat. C Canst thou prove this in deede?

Ref. C Whosoever will the gospell rede/
     To prove it shal neade no testes.

Wat. C Peraventure they wolde have it hid/
     Wherfore to rede it they forbid/
     Left men shulde knowe their wickednes.

Ref. C Had thou studied an whoale yere/
     Thou couldeft not have gone no nere/
     To hit their crafty fultelines.
For yf the gospell were offered/
Of laye people frely to be red/
   In their owne moders langage.
They shulde se at their fyngers endes/
The abominacions of these fyndes/
   With the abusion of pilgremage.
Also to perceave every whitt/
What it is Sayntis forto viiit/
   With nobles/ brouches/ and rynges.

Wat. Doft thou this custume reprehende?
Ref. I thyncke no goode man will commend
   Soche superstitious offerynge.
Wherof thre poynris I will move/
By the whyche I shal playnly prove/
   That it is a thynge vngoodly.
Fyrst a povere man of farre dwellynge/
For his wyfe and chyldeyns laburynge/
   To kepe and fynde theym honestly.
Peraventure for somye fikkynes/
Or for a vowe of folisshnes/
   To accomplisse Satans institute.
Taketh on hym a fynre viage/
To some Sayntes shrynge or ymage/
   Leavynge his housholde destitute.
Which often tymes do mis cary.
The meane while that he doth tary/
   Bestowynge his laboure in vayne.
And to goddis commaundment neglecte/
For smale tryfles of none effecte/
   They put theym selues vnto payne.
Secondarily/ what pevisshnes/
Is it to honoure with ryches/
   Of deade sayntis the bodies?
Seynge that whyls they here lyved/
From ryches they were deprive
   As we rede in their storyes/
Thirdly/ it is no Christen touche/
To se many a golden ouche/
   With rynges and ftones preciously.
To make deade fayntes forto fhyne/
Where pover folke for honger pyne/
    Dyinge with out healpe petiously.
And yf with all possibilite/
Oure chriften neigbours poverte/
    Duly to ayde we are bownde.
Why do Sayntes it then transgresse/
In whom charitable perfetnes/
    In especial shulde redownde?
Saynt John to Chrif to amiable/
Sayth/ excepte we be charitable/
    Lovynge eache wother fraternally.
It boteth not Chrif to professe/
For why/ we wander in darcknes/
    With out light erroniously.
For howe can he have charite/
That feith his neigbours necessite/
    And refuseth hym to socoure?

\textit{Mat.} I I marvayle not by hym that me made/
Yf they be with golde and stones so lade/
    Though they cannot their neigbours fe.
But nowe to speake ernestly/
Have their soules celeftially/
    In foche offerynge es ny delyte?

\textit{Ref.} It is to theym grett despleasure/
Abhorrynge it out of measure/
    As a thyng done in their despyte.

\textit{Mat.} What were beft then to be done?
\textit{Ref.} To breake theym in peces a none/
    A monge povre folke to be destributed.

\textit{Mat.} Haw/ to do that dede who durft/
Seynge that he shulde be a courft/
    And as an herityke reputed.
\textit{Ref.} Let theym with furioufnes fwell/
Courfynge with boke/ bell/ and candell/
    Whys they have breath for to speake.
Yet had we the Kynges licence/
We wolde with outen diffyndence/
    Their golden fhtynes in peces breake.
Mat.  What shulde we do with their ryches?
Ref.  Geve it to pover men in almes,
      To whom of dute it doth longe.
Mat.  The Sayntes then wolde be angry,
      Yf that we shulde be so hardy/
      Vnlaufully to do theym wronge.
      For some men have it aßayde/
      Whom sayntes have shrewedly arayde/
      In revengynge their injury.
      So that by an whole nyghtes spacie/
      They were fayne to kepe one place/
      The dores flondynge open apertly.
Ref.  And what was their fynall chaunce/
Mat.  By my sothe in an hangynge daunce/
      Their neckis in a corde to preve.
Ref.  Vf the Sayntes eny men to kyll?
Mat.  No but they make theym flonde stille/
      Vntill they be taken of the Schere.
      Then are the[e]lyke and semblable/
      Vntooure bishops venerable/
      Which fayre we will not morther.
      But they put men in scoche favegarde/
      That with in a whyle afterwarde/
      They be sure to go no further.
Ref.  Are not scoche sayntis reprehensible?
Mat.  Ye for they shulde be invincible/
      Of charitable dileccion.
      For if they will eny man noye/
      Ether eny body to destroye/
      They are not of Christiis eleccion.
      Whiche after Lukis evangelion/
      Sayde to the[e]apostels Iames and Iohn.
      Nescitis cuius spiritus estis.
      The sonne of man hidder cam/
      Not forto destroye eny man/
      But to savor that perished is.
      Wherfore let theym do wonders/
      By the divels their founders/
      To leade men in blynde cecite.
Yet never thelesse thou and I/
Wolde put oure selves in ieopardy/
Agaynst all their malignite.
To take awaye their ouches/
Golden ryngis and brouches/
Geynge it vnto the poore.

Mat. C Thou excepti. S. Chutbert of Duram/
With oure lady of Walsyngam/
Also oure lady of the Moore.

Ref. C God beynge oure direccion/
We wolde make none excepcion/
Agaynst the devils enchauntmentis.
To do their best/ let theym not spare/
For we wolde make theym full bare/
Of their precious ornamentis.

Mat. C Ooure honeste then destayned/
Surely we shulde be proclaymed/
For outragious heretykis.

Ref. C Why more we then the Cardinall?
Mat. C He attempteth nothyng at all/
Soche maters in his bishhopryckis.

Ref. C I am sere thou haft hearde spoken/
What monaisteries he hath broken/
With out their fownders confentis.
He subverteth churches/ and chappells/
Takynge a waye bokis and bells
With chalefces/ and vestmentis.
He plucketh downe the costly leades
That it maye rayne on sayntis heades/
Not sparynge god nor oure ladye.
Where as they red servyce divyne/
There is growntynge of piggis and fwyne/
With lowynge of oxen and kye.
The aultres of their celebracios/
Are made searches for henns and capons/
De fo lynge theym with their durt.
And though it be never so prophane/
He is counted a goode chritiiane/
No man doynge hym eny hurtt.
Mat. A conscience ye it be fothe/
That the Cardinall so dothe/
I wonder that he is not apeached.

Ref. O/ churche men are wyly foxes/
More crafty then jugglers boxes/
To play ligier du mayne teached.
Yt is not for nought they fayne/
That the two fwardes to theym pertayne/
Both spretuall/ and temporall.
Wherwith they playe on both bondes/
Moist tyrannously in their bondes/
Holdynge the worlde noniverfall.
Agaynst god they are so ftobourne/
That scripture they toffe and tourne/
After their owne ymagination.
Yf they faye the mone is belewe/
We musst beleve that it is true/
Admittynga their interpretacion.

Mat. Art thou not a frayde to presume/
Agaynst the Cardinall's fume/
Seynge they wilbe all on his fyde?

Ref. No I do rather gretly reioyce/
That of a lytell wormes voyce/
Goddis iudgement maye be veryfyed.
Agaynst foch a wicked brothell/
Which sayth/ vnder his girthell/
He holdeth Kynges and Princes.
To whom for a falutacion/
I will rehearse a brese oracion/
dedicate vnto his statlynnes.

Mat. Nowe gentell mate I the praye.

Ref. Have at it then with out delaye/
Contempnyng his maliciousnes.

O miserable monstre/ most malicious/
Father of perverste/ patrone of hell.
O terrible Tyrant/ to god and man odious/
Advocate of antichrist/ to Christ rebell.
To the I speake o caytife Cardinall so cruell.
Caufles chargynge by thy courfed commandment
To brenne goddis worde the whylly teftament.

Goddis worde/ grownd of all vertue and grace
The fructeous fode/ of oure faythfull truft.
Thou haft condemnped in moft carfull cace/
Throwe furious foly/ falce and vnuiuft.
O fearce Pharao/ folower of fleeshly luft.
What moved thy mynde by malyce to consent/
To brenne goddis worde/ the whylly teftament.

The tenoure of thy tyranny paffeth my brayne
In every poyn evidentely to endyght.
Nero nor herod/ wer never fo noyus certayne
All though of goddis lawis they had lytel lyght
Shame it is to speake howe agaynft ryght.
Thy hatfull hert hath caufed to be brent/
Goddis true worde/ the whylly teftament.

O perverse pefte patriarke of pryde/
Mortherer with out mercy moft execrable.
O beastly brothell/ of baudry the bryde/
Darlynge of the devill/ greetly detestable.
Alas/ what wretch wolde be fo venegable?
At eny time to attempte foche impediment/
To brenne goddis worde the whylly teftament.

God of his goodenes/ grudged not to dye/
Man to delyver from deadly damnacion.
Whose will is that we shulde knowe perfetly
What he here hath done for oure saluacion.
O cruell kayface/ full of crafty conspiracion.
Howe durft thou geve then falce judgement
To brenne goddis worde/ the whylly teftament.

Thy leawednes of lyvynge is loth to heare/
Chriftis golpell to come vnto cleare light.
Howe be it surly it is fo sprede farre and neare
That forto let it thou hastle lytell myght.
God hath opened our derecke dimed fyght.
Truly to perceave thy tyrannous intent/
To brenne goddis worde the wholy testament.

Agaynst thynne ampcion all people do crye/
Pompoufly spendinge the sustenaunce of the pore
Thy haulte honoure hyly to magnify/
Maketh/theves/traytours/and many a whore
Wo worth the wretche of wickednes the dore
Forger of our dayly damage and detriment
To brenne goddis worde the wholy testament.

O paynted paftoure/of Satan the Prophet/
Ragynge course/wrapped in a wolues skynne
O butcherly bishop/to be a ruler vnmete/
Maker of misery/occasion of synne.
God graunt the grace nowe to begynne.
Of thy dampnable dedes to be penitent/
Brennyng goddis worde/the wholy testament.

Mat. No more for our lordis passion/
    Thou rayleaff now of a fassion/
      With rebukis most despitous/
No man shall these wordes advert/
But will judge theym of an hert/
      To procede/most contumelious.

Ref. Though popishe curres here at do barcke
    Yet thou mayft therin well marche/
      The will of god accomplished.
The Cardinall thus to rewarde/
Which with oute eny godly regarde/
    Desdagneth the trothe to be puplissed.
Therfore as he did the trueth condempne/
So god wil hym and all his contempne/
    With the swearde of punnyfishment.

Mat. They had fyrft some provocacion?
Ref. None wother then the translacion/
    Of the englyshe newe testament.
Wherin the authours with mecknes/
Vtterly avoydylge conviciousfnes/
Demened theym fo difcretly.
That with all their invencion/
They coulde fynde no reprehencion/
Resiftynge goddis worde wilfully.

Mat.  Howe had the gospell fyrf entraunce/
Into Englonde fo farre of distaunce/
Where to rede hym/ no man maye?

Ref.  Gode chriften men with pure affecte/
Of god singulerly therto electe/
With cost did hym thether conveye.
Which/ even as Chrift was betrayed/
So with hym the clargy played/
Thorowe trayterous prodicion.

Mat.  Who played the parte of Iudas?

Ref.  The wholly bishhop of Saynct Asfe/
A pofte of Satans iurisdiccion.
Whom they call Doctour fandiffhe/
Wone that is nether feshe nor fishe/
At all tymes a commen lyer.
He is a bablynge Questionift/
And a meravelous grett fophift/
Som tymes a lowly graye fryer.
Of ftoomake he is fearce and bolde/
In braulynge wordes a very scolde/
Menglynge vennem with sugre.
He defpyfeth the trueth of god/
Takynge parte rather with falfehod/
Forfo obtayne worldly lucre.
In carde playinge he is a goode greke/
And can skyll of poft and glyeke/
Also a payre of dyce to trolle.
For whordom and fornicacions/
He maketh many visitacions/
His Dioces to pil and polle.
Though he be a fhowte divyne/
Yett a pref to kepe a concubyne/
He there admitteth wittyngly.
So they paye their yearly tributis/
Vnto his dyvllishe subfitituis/
  Officical/ or commissary.
To rehearse all his lyvynge/
God geve it yvell chevynge/
  Or els some amendment shortly.

Mat.  Howe did he the gospell betraye?
Ref.  As fone as ever he hearde faye/
      That the gospell cam to Englonde.
      Immediatly he did hym trappe/
      And to the man in the red cappe/
      He brought hym with stronge honde/
      Before whose prowde consfistory/
      Bryngyne in falce testimony/
      The gospell he did theare accuse.

Mat. He did mo perones represfent/
Then Iudas the traytour malivolent/
      Whiche betrayed Chrif to the Iues.

Ref. Thou mayft fe of theym in one manne/
Herod/ Pilat/ Cayphas/ and Anne/
      With their propertis severall.
      And in another manifesfley/
      Iudas full of conspiracy/
      With the sectes pharisiacall.
      They are a grett deale more mutable/
      Then Proteus of forme so variable/
      Which coulde hym filfe fo disfyfe.
      They canne represfent apes/ and beares/
      Lyons/ and asses with longe eares/
      Even as they lift to divyfe.
      But nowe of stondishe accumfacion/
      Brefly to make declaracion/
      Thus to the Cardinall he spake.
      Pleaseth youre honourable grace/
Here is chuansed a pitious cace/
      And to the churche a grett lacke.
      The gospell in our Englishe tonge/
      Of laye men to be red and fonge/
      Is nowe hidder come to remayne.
Which many heretykis shall make/
Except your grace some waye take/
By your authority hym to restrayn.
For truly it is no handlynge/
For laye peoples vnderflontynge/
With the gospell to be bury.
Which many wone interprisynge/
Into heresy it did brynge/
Disdaynynge the church vunreverently.

Mat. God he these sayngis are sopofigical/
I wolde heare the fence mifical/
Of these wordes right interpreted.

It. In faith with out simulacion/
This is the right significacion/
Of his meanynge to be expressed.
O Cardinall so glorious/
Thou arte Capitayne over vs/
Antichristis chefe member.
Of all our detestations/
And sinnfull prevarications/
Thou alone/ arte the defender.
Wherfore healpe nowe or els never/
For we are vndone for ever/
Yf the gospell abroade be spred.
For then with in a whyle after/
Every plowe manne and carter/
Shall se what a lyfe we have led.
Howe we have this five hundred yeres/
Roffled theym amonge the byres/
Of desperate infidelite.
And howe we have the worlde brought/
Vnto beggery worsie then nought/
Through ourse chargeable vanite.
Which knownes/ we shalbe abhorred/
Reddi to be knocked in the forhed/
Oure welth taken awaye clene.
Therfore Tyrant playe nowe thy parte/
Seynge with the devill thou are/
Gretter then eny manne hath bene.
Put the gospel a waye quyght,
That he come not to laye mens fight,
    Forto knowe goddis commaundementis.
And then we that are the remmenaunt/
Shall diligently be attendaunt/
    To blynde theym withoure commentis.
Yf they have once inhibicion/
In no maner of condicion/
    To rede goddis worde and his lawes.
For vs doctours of theology/
It shalbe but a smale mastery/
    To make theym foles and dawes.
Loke what thou doft by tyrannys/
We will alowe it by sophiftry/
    Agaynft these worldly villaynes.

**Mat.**  
Nawe truly this is the meanynge/
Howe foever be the speakynge/
    Of these spretyual lordaynes.

**Mat.**  
But what sayde the Cardinall here at?

**Ref.**  
He spake the wordes of Pilat/
    Sayinge/ I fynde no fault therin.
Howe be it/ the bishops assembled/
Amonge theym he examened/
    What was best to determyne?
Then anfwered bishoph Cayphas/
That agrett parte better it was/
    The gospell to be condemyned.
Left their vices manyfolde/
Shulde be knownen of yonge and olde/
    Their estate to be contempned.
The Cardinall then incontinent/
Agaynft the gospell gave iudgement/
    Sayinge/ to brenne he desvered.
Wherto all the bishoppis cryed/
Anfwerynge/ it cannot be denied/
    He is worthy fo to be servied.

**Mat.**  
Yf they playe thus their vages/
They shall not escape the plagyes/
    Which to theym of Rome happened.
At whose scourge so marvelous/
They wolde ye they were gracious/
Gladly to be admonished.
To whom goddis worde in purite/
Was yrst shewed in humilitie/
Accordlynge to the veritable fence.
Howe be it they wolde not it receave/
But frawardly with fwearde and gleave/
They expulsed it from thence.
Unto tyranny they did leane/
Wherfore god vlyng another meane/
To brynge theym unto repentaunce.
He stered yp some mens spryte/
Which their fautes did endyte/
Of their mischefe makynge vtraunce.
Yet wolde not they amende/
But moare wilfully did deffende.
Their evil lyfe agaynst goddis worde.
Therfore as mislyvers obstinate/
They were destroyed nowe of late/
With pestilence and dent of fworde.

Ref. Thou hast rehearced thre poynitis/
Which will make all prestes ioyntis/
For feare to trymeble and shake.
Seynge that the yrst is past/
And the seconde commeth in faft/
Their hypocrisy to awake.
And ye they will not be refrayned/
The fworde of vengeaunce vnfayned/
On their frawardnes will light.

Wlat. Well/ let vs by no persuation/
Geve no foche occasion/
Causynge chrisiten men to fyght.

Ref. No man will have that fupsicion/
But take it for an admonicion/
Their unhappye lyfe to repent.
For we shewe as they shall fynde/
Ye god inpyre not their mynde/
To laboure for amendment.
Which by scripture to verify/
Let them rede the prophet Jeremy/
   In the chapter/ fower and twente.
  Howe be it I will me hens hye/
  Wheare as the Cardinals furye/
     With his treazure shall not gett me.

Mat.  I Is this prowde Cardinal rycher/
      Then Christ or goode saynct Peter/
      In whose roume he doth succede?

Ref.  I The bosses of hys mulis brydles/
      Myght bye Christ and his disciples/
      As farre as I coulde ever rede.

Mat.  I Whether canst thou then flye awaye?

Ref.  I To Constantinoble in Turkeye/
      Amonge hethen my lyfe to leade.

Mat.  I Yf thou wilt then live christenly/
      Thou must vfe thy filfe prevely/
          Or eys surely thou arte but deade.

Ref.  I I shall have theare as gret libertie/
      As in wother placis of christente/
          The trueth of Christ to professe.
      For he that will the trueth declare/
      I dare faye moche better he weare/
          To be with them in hethennesse.

Mat.  I Though thou go never so farre hence/
      Yet with most terrible sentence/
          To course the they will not mysse.

Ref.  I I ponder very lytell their courses/
      For to god I faye with humblenes/
          They shall course/ and thou shalt blyffe.

Mat.  I In their courses/ is their no parell?

Ref.  I No for they do it in the quarell/
      Of their god which is their belly.

Mat.  I What mischevous god is that?

Ref.  I Wone that hath eaten vp the fatt/
      Of englondis wealth so mery.

Mat.  I I will gett me then into Wales/
      To dwell amonge hilles and dales/
          With folke that be simple and rude.
I Come not there I counsell the.
    For the prestes/ their simplicite/
    Thorowe craftynes do so delude.
    That whosoever is so hardy/
    To speake agaynst prestes knavery/
    For an herityke they hym take.
    Of whose miserable calamite/
    Vnder the spretuall captuuite/
    I will here after a processe make.

Mat. Then will I go into the realme/
    Of the plenteous londe of beame/
    In the Cite of Prage to dwell.

I Of two thyngis I will the warne/
    Whiche thou must parsetly learne/
    Yf thou wilt folowe my counsell.
    Fyrst beware in especiall/
    Of the outwarde man exteriaill/
    Though he shewe a fayre aperauence.
    Many shall come in a lambis skynne/
    Which are ravishyng wolues with in/
    Ennemys to Christs ordinaunce.
    The seconde is/ yf eny reply/
    Bryngynge in reaons obstinatyly/
    Agaynft that which femeth to be trewe.
    Take no graduate for an authoure/
    But remitt goode master doctoure/
    To the olde testament or newe.
    And yf he will beare the in honde/
    That thou canst not it vnderstonde/
    Be cause of the difficulte.
    Axe hym howe thou arte able/
    To vnderstonde a fayned fable.
    Of more crafty subtillite?

Mat. I se thou knowest their secretnes/

I Ye I coulde in their very lycknes/
    Declare them yf I had refpyte.

Mat. Well I will departe/ adue/

I Nowe I befeche oure lorde Iesu/
    To be thy gyde daye and nyght.
Christ goddis sonne/borne of a mayden poore/
For to save mankynd/from heven descended.
Pope Clemente. the sonne of an whoore/
To destroye man/from hell hath ascended.

In whom is evidently comprehended.
The perfect meknes of our saveoure Christ/
And tyrannye of the murtherer Antichrist.
A Proper Dyaloge, &c.
A compendious olde Treatyse, &c.

INTRODUCTION.

T occurred to Lord Arthur Hervey—then Archdeacon of Sudbury, now the Bishop of Bath and Wells—while he was preparing a lecture, in the autumn of 1661, on the ‘Dissolution of the Monasteries,’ to be delivered in the ensuing October at Bury St. Edmunds, to look among the old books in his library at Ickworth, for anything that might bear upon the subject of his lecture. In so doing, he stumbled upon a small volume of tracts, in old binding, with the top of the back torn off; which proved to contain in all nine tracts; three without titlepages, and the last one torn off in the middle.

2. On the first page are the names of THO. HERVEY: THO. and ISABELLA HERVEY: and WILL. HERVEY. The Marquis of Bristol informed the great English-Bible scholar of our day, Mr. Francis Fry, F.S.A., of Coatham Tower, Bristol—through whose facsimile of this text we came to know of this Dyaloge, &c.—that, “This Thomas was the Father of John Hervey, First Earl of Bristol, and his wife was Isabella, daughter of Sir Humphrey May; his Father was Sir William Hervey of Ickworth, born 1585, died 1660. His Brother William was born in 1618, and died at Cambridge in 1642. Several of the Books now in the Library at Ickworth unquestionably belonged to Sir William. In a copy of Camden’s Britannia, edit. 1610, is the signature of William Hervye or Hervey, apparently by the same hand as that in this volume, with the year 1634, entered as that in which the purchase was made for 40s., and when William the son, would have been only sixteen years of age.” It seems therefore indubitable that these tracts had been in the possession of the family, for more than two centuries.

3. The value of the find may be illustrated in two ways.

Lord A. Hervey having, with a public spirit deserving of all praise, thought it right to offer the collection, in July 1665, to the Trustees of the British Museum; they gladly paid him £120 for the same; so it is preserved in that vast Treasure-House of books, accessible to all who can value it. There is also no doubt, now that the singularity of its contents is better known, but that a like collection would realize two or three times the above sum, should one ever be brought to the hammer.

Again. If Lord Harvey had been alive between the years 1530 and 1546, and had such a collection been found in his possession, any day during that time; he would have been instantly
hailed to prison: to have passed nights of weariness, fastened in the stocks, his feet higher than his head; and to have undergone wearier days of badgering, cajoling, browbeating, and accu-
tation before the Bishop or Commiffary of his diocese. He would have been degraded, as was another priest, the Benedictine monk of Bury St. Edmunds, Richard Bayfield; for the selfsame offence of poifling, reading, &c., thefe identical tracts, and others like them. He hardly might have escaped some fuch extra-judicial lynch justice as Stokeley, the Bishop of London, offered to that fame Bayfield on the day of his degradation and death, the 27th November 1531, when the brutal bishop,—as if the surrender of life itself were not a sufficient expiation for having, reading, and circulating thefe identical and other like tracts,—fmete Bayfield, who was kneeling on the top altar step, in the high choir of old St. Pauls, with his crofier-staff on the breast, and knocked him down the altar steps, fo that he brake his head and swooned. Finally, his Lordship might, like that martyr, have been led to the stake, at or near Newgate, and there meekly offering his life, would have pafed in a chariot of fire out of this world of trouble up to the blifs of heaven. Such suffering in this life, and glory in that to come, would his Lord-
ship's adhesion to the doctrine of thefe tracts have enured to him; had he lived when they were firft secretly printed and circulated.

4. For the collection comprifes some of the rankest Lollard and Proteftant tracts of the time. We are able to identify every one of them, and three of them are apparently unique copies. Noticing them as they stand in the book, they are as follows:

(1.) Title-page torn off. [Sir Francis Bgods A Treatise concerning 
impropriations of benefices, printed by T. Godfrey, without date, but about 1534. We have largely quoted from this work in our Reprint of Thomas Levers Sermons.]

(2.) Title-page torn off. [Simon Fish's translation 'out of the Dutch,' of The Summe of Scripture, referred to by John Fox in Actes and Monu-
mentes, f. 987, Ed. 1576.] This work has hitherto been quite lost. It was in the preparation of this Reprint that we identified the text with the title. The work consists of a considerable body of doctrine, and was therefore specially and repeatedly forbidden by the ecclesiastical authorities. No colophon. Possibly printed abroad. Is in a small Roman letter, and one of the earliest of this class of books in that fount of type.

(3.) Title-page torn off. [A Treatise declarving and shewing that Pycures and other Images which were wont to be worshipped, are in no wyse to be suffered, &c.] Printed by William Marshall in 1600, at London. No date.

(4.) The praier and complaynte of the ploweman unto Christe: written not longe after the yere of our Lord 1200. To the Christian reader is dated 'The last daye of February, Anno 1531.'

The following passage in this address is of importance:—"Even as the old pharisees with the bishops and presters presoned and persecuted Christe and his Apostles/that at the rightous bloode maye fall on their heedes that hath ben shed from the bloode of Steuen the first martyr to the
Introduction.

blade of that innocent man of God Thomas hitton whom william werham byschop of Canturbury and Iohn fyscher byschop of Rochester mortheied at maydeston in kente the last yere for the same truth. . . . . . .

(6) A proper dialoge, &c. see p. 129. No other copy now known. Mr. F. Fry published a facsimile edition of it in 1863.

(7) The Testament of master William Tracie esquier expounded both by William Tyndall and Iohn Frith. Wherin they shal percewe with what charitie ye channceler of worcester [Worcester] Burned when he toke vp the deed carkas and made ashes of hit after hit was buried. M.D.xxxv.

(8) An confortable exhortation: of oure moost holy Christen faith and her frutes. Written (unto the Christen bretherne in Scotlande) after the poore [i.e. pure] wordes of God. At Pariahe M.d.xxxv. [By J. Johnson.] The Col. "[At Pariahe/ by me Peter Congeth. A.M.D.xxxv. xx Januarij."

(8) The prophete Ionas, with an introduction before teachings to understonde him and the right use also of all the scripture, &c. By William Tyndale. The introduction is preserved in Fox's edition of Tyndale's works, of 1573: but even he had not met with Tyndale's text of Jonah. Like Nos. (2) and (6) this is a complete recovery of a perfectly lost book. Mr. F. Fry issued a facsimile edition of it in 1863.

(9) The letters which John Ashwell, Friour of Newhnam Abbey beside Bedforde, sente secretly to the Bishop of Lyncombe, in the yeare of our lord M.D.xxxvii. Where in the sayde friour accuseth George Ioye that tyne beinge felowe of Peter college in Cambridge, of fouer opinions: with the answer of the sayde George on to the same opinions. Imperfect. [Col. in other existing copies is, At Strasburse. to Daye of June. (year not stated.)]

5. The succeeding Texts may be regarded as Lollard Treatises in a Protestant setting. One of the hardeft affections that the early Reformers had to face was the accusation that the Reforma
tion was a 'new-fangled heresy.' Cochlaus and others vaunted that antiquity was on their side; until time and reseach put their boasting out of court. It came at length to be understood how much light of knowledge and wisdom had gone out in the dark ages; which however it was not impossible to rekindle for the future use and benefit of man. In this way our first English Reformers brought forth these Lollard treatises; and were well satisfied if they could prove an antiquity of a century for any of their Complaints.

6. Tyndale was at Marburg in 1530, printing The Pratyse of Prelates. He was doubtles the centre of a small knot of English fellow-labourers, one of whom put forth, on his own account, this Dyaloge, &c. It might have been friar Jerome Barlow. There is much similarity in the style of the verse with that of Rede me and be not wroth; but this Complaint has not the grasf, virility, and strenege of that Invective. If Bayfield's account of Roy to Sir T. More, in November 1531, be correct, Roy was probably not in Germany at this time: for the Dyaloge was certainly written after the meeting of parliament, 3 Nov. 1529, to the fitting of which there is allusion at p. 144, and consequently after the fall of Wolsey had become known at Mar-

7. The Protestant setting supplied by the Englishman at Mar-
Comparison consists of all the verse, 'Unto the reader' at p. 170, and nearly all the side notes.

The A.B.C. to the spirituall must be distinguished from The A.B.C. agenst the Clergye prohibited at Paul's Crofs on Advent Sunday, 3d Dec. 1531. For in the examination of Bayfield in the previous month of November he acknowledged to have imported, among other books from the Continent, the two following distinctly quoted works.


A Dialogue betwixt the Gentleman and the Ploughman.

Thorpe is the famous Lollard William of Thorpe, the date of whose Examination is 4 Aug. 1407, and of whose Testament is Sept. 1460. He could not have told the Clergy that they were 'lyke to haue a fall'; but in the time of the Reformation that would be true.

8. The two Lollard texts may have been sent out as 'female stickes' from England, in answer to Roy's Invitation at p. 25. The dates assigned to them should be taken with caution. There is nothing in the fragment of the first to test the date; but the latter treatise is clearly not much earlier than 1450, A.D., see p. 178.

The drift of the Dyaloge is properly described in the title. The history of the persecution of the Lollards by the clergy in the reigns of Henry IV. and V., in return for the support they gave to the house of Lancaster referred to in it, is historically true. The Clergy encouraging Henry V. to foreign war, in order to prevent reformation at home, is represented by Shakespeare in his Henry V. While their vast possessions in land alone in England, was computed, in the time of Rapin, to equal in value, at twenty years' purchase, the enormous sum of £30,503,400.

In the glorious sunlight of truth which we now enjoy we can hardly realize the gloom and despairing darkness in the midst of which men underwent hazard of all things that they might have the law of their belief allowed in their native speech. If we knew more of the Lollard literature, we should think more of them, and their magnificent fight, 'faithful unto death.' The priests presumptuously claimed to keep the lips of knowledge. They did possess almost all branches of science and secular knowledge at that time, so that every such 'lettre' as these, was a revolt of man's best nature from all that would tend to keep it in a perpetual darkness, ignorance, and error. In considering Lollardism, it must never be forgotten that, for the most part, it was a struggle at the greatest disadvantage, of a true desire after holiness fed and strengthened by God's Word, against the learning and culture of the time. Our blessed Lord himself rejoiced that in a like case, it pleased the Father to hide His truth from the wise and prudent, and to reveal it unto babes.
A proper dyalo-
ge/betwene a Gentillman and a Husbandman/
cehe complayne to other thes mis-
rable calamite/through the am-
bicion of the clerge.

An A. B. C. to the spiritualte.
Awake ye gostely persones/ awake/ awake
Bothe preste/ pope/ bishoppe & Cardinall.
Consider wisely/ what wayes that ye take
Daungerously beynge lyke to have a fall.
Every where/ the mischefe of you all.
Ferre and nere/ breaketh oure very fast
Godde will nedes be revenged at the last.
Howe longe haue ye the worlde captuyed
In fore bondage/ of mennes tradiciones?
Kynges and Emperoures/ ye haue depryued
Lewedly vntyrnyng/ their chefe possestiones.
Muche misery ye make/ in all regiones.
Dowe your fraudes/almoiste at the latter cast
Of godde sore to be revenged at the last.
Poore people to oppresse/ ye haue no shame
Mweakynge for feare of your doubble tyranny.
Rightfull justice ye haue put out of frame
Sekynge the lust of youre godde/ the belly.
Therfore I dare you boldly certifye.
Very litle though ye be therof a gaff
Yet god will be revenged at the last.
O Christen reder/ from rashnes refraine
Of haftye judgement/ and lyght sentence.
though sum recken it frowardnes of brayne
Thus to detecte ye clergyes inconuenience.
Vnto chriftes wordes geue/ thou aduerence
Which faieth nothinge to be done so secretly
But it shal be knowne manifestly.

Where as men discerne no grefe of darcknes
Full litle is defyrred the confortable lyght
The daye is restrayned to shewe his clerenes
Tyll the clowdes be expelle of the night
As longe as we perceyue not wronge from right
Nether holynes from false hypocriye
The truthe can not be knowne manifestly.

Curfed they are/ as Efaye doth expresse
Which presume the euyll for good to commende
Sayenge that fwete is foure/ and light darcknes
As nowe in the clergye/ we may perpende.
Whos disguysed madnes in the later ende
As feynt Paule to Timothe did prophefye
Shall be knowne to all men manifestly.
Example of twayne he dothe there recyte
Whos names were called Iannes and Iambres
Which by enchauntment/ through deuels might
Strongely resifted the prophete Moyfes
Doynge lyke merueyles and wonderfulnes
So that none could the very truth espype
Tyll their Iugglynge was knownen manifelyt

Christe/ like wife/ with his predicacion
The phariseyes shewynge outwarde holynes
Was a counted of small reputacion
Vycs cloked vnder shyne of vertuoufnes.
Vntill at the laft their furiousnes
Accusyng the woman taken in aduoutery
They fawe their fautes detecte manifelyt.

Their vycses opened/ they could not abyde
Shame drevynge them to confusyon
Which afore season through pope holy pryde
They bolystred out vnder abusyon
It is the practysfe of their collusyon.
Zele of rightuousnes to fayne outwardly
Tyll their fautes be detecte manifelyt/

Which in oure clerge is evidently fene
Fayned godlynes falsly pretendynge
Wherby moft PART OF PEOPLE do wene
That they feke goddes honour in all thinke
How be it/ men shuld fe that their fekynge
Is to confounde christes gospell vterly
Were their fautes detecte manifelyt.
What greater despyte can they ymagine/
Agaynst god his hye honour to deface
Than to vfurpe on them his power diuine
Abhominably fittinge in holy place?
Which hath continued longe tyme and space
And shal with outrageous blasphemy
Till their fautes be detecte manifestly.

Scripture vnto them was first proveryd
Mekely without any prouocacion.
Which to receyue when it was offeryd
They refused with indignacion.
Wherfore touchinge their reformacion.
Litle truft is to be had certaynly
Tyll their fautes be detecte manifestly.

Thus to conclude/ o chriften reder
Vnto pacience/ I the exhorte.
Aduertefynge/ howe and in what maner
Chrifte rebuked this pharisyacall forte.
Whom as Mathew in the. xxiiij. doth reporte.
With fearefull sentence he cursed ernestly
Their wicked fautes detectynge manifestly.

Phil. est opertum quod non reeletur.
Mtay. x.
Here foloweth the Dialoge/ the Gentillman beginninge first his complaynte.

Gentillman.

With foroufull harte/ maye I complayne Concerninge the chaunce/ of my misery Although parauenture it is but vayne Trueth oporeffydy/ with open tyranny. My enheritaunce and patrimony. Agaynst right/ from me they kepe awaye Which saye/ for my frendes soules they praye.

Myne aunceteres of worthy progeny With rentes and lyuelood largely endued Mayntayned their eftates honorably Aydyng the poore/ indigence to exclude. Tyll at the laft/ the clergy to them fued. Pretendinge godlynes/ vnder a fals waye Sayenge they wold for their soules praye.

Stoutely they alleged before their fyght Howe after this lyfe is a purgatory. Wherin their soules both daye and night Shuld be tormented with out memory Excepte of their subjentaunce transitory. Vnto their feactes/ they wold some what paye Sayenge that they wold for their soules praye.

They bare them in hande that they had myght Synners to bynde and loose at their owne pleisure Takynge vpon them to leade thym a right Vnto ioye/ that euer shuld endure. Of popes pardones they boosted the treasure. Chalengyne of heuene and hell the kaye Sayenge/ that they wold for their soules praye.

To truft wife or childern/ they did diiswade Eyther any frendes or perfones temporall. Affermynge/ that oure loue shuld a way vade
Without any memory of them at all
Onely to hope in their factes spirituall.
They entyced/ with persuasiones gaye
Sayenge that they wold for their soules praye.

Thus with wylines and argumentes vayne
Myne aunceters brought in to perplexite
Partely thorough feare of eternall payne
And partely for desyre of felicite.
They consented makynge no difficulte
To graunte their requestes without delaye
Sayenge that they wold for their soules praye

Their chese lordshippes and londes principall
With commodytes of their posseffyon
Vnto the clergye they gauke forthe with all
Dytheretinge their right successefyon.
Which to receiue without excepcion
The couetous clergye made no denay
Sayenge that they wold for their soules praye

By the meanes wherof/ I and suche other
Suffrynge the extremyte of indigence
Are occasioned to theft or mourder
Fallynge in to moche inconuenience.
Because the clergye agaynst conscience
Deuoureth oure possessiones nighte and daye
Sayeng yat for oure frendes soules they praye.

I haue wife and childern vpoun my hande
Wantinge substaunce/ their lifes to sustayne
Wherfore to the clergye that haue my lande
Sometyme I come and pitiously complayne
Whos flatelines/ to helpe me hauyng diidayne
Withoute any conforte to me they faye
That for my frendes soules they dayly praye.

Shuld I and my houshold for houngre dye
They wold not an halfe peny with vs parte
So that they lyue in welth the aboundantly
Full litle they regarde oure wooffull smerte.
To waste oure goodes they nothinge aduerte
In vicious luftes and pompous araye
Sayenge yat for our frendes foules they praye.

They take vpon them apostles auctorite
But they folowe nothinge their profession
Often tymes they preache of chrisites pouer
towe be it towarde it they haue no affeccion.
Yf fo be they pleate ones in possession
Harde it is to get ought fro them awaye
Sayenge/ that for our frendes foules they praye.

Thus must we beare their oppression
While to complayne there is no remedye
The worlde they haue brought in subiection
Vnder their ambitious tyranny.
No respecte they haue to the mysery
Of vs poore gentillmen that be laye
Sayenge that for our frendes foules they praye.

Alas/ is it not a myferable case?
To fe ydle persones voyde of pyte
Occupyenge the landes before oure face
Which shuld pertayne vnto us of dueete.
They haue riceste/ and we calamyte
Their honour encreaced/ oubles must dekaye
Sayenge that for our frendes foules they praye.

The husbandman.

Syr/ god geue you good morowe
I perceiue the caufe of youre forowe
And most lamentable calamyte.
Is for the oppression intollerable
Of thes monstres fo vncharitable
Whom men call the spiritualte.
Trouthe it is/ ye poore gentillmen are
By their craffynes made nedy and bare
Your landes with holdinge by violence
How be it we husbandmen every where
Are nowe in worsfe condicion ferre
As it may be marked by experience.

Gentillman.

In worsfe caas? nay/ that can not be so
For loke ouer the hoole worlde to and fro
Namely here in oure owne region.
And thou shalt fynde that in their handes
Remayneth the chefe lordeshippes and landes
Of poore gentillmens posseffion.
They haue oure aunceters lyuelood and rentes
Their principall fearmes and teneamentes
With temporall fredomes and libertees.
They haue gotten vnto their kingdomes
Many noble baronries and erldomes
With esquyres landes and knightes fees.

Husbandman.

Notwithstandinge yet they saye precyfely
That your Aunceters gauie to them freely
Soche worldly dominion and lyuelood.

Gentillman.

Freely quod a? nay/ that is but sayned
For they ware certeynyly therto confreynd
By their couetous diſceite and falsfode

Husbandman.

Howe dyd they youre aunceteres compell?

Gentillman.

Mary in threatnyng the paynes of hell
And sharpe punishment of purgatorye.
Wher to brenne/ they made them beleue
Exepte they wolde vnto them geue
Parte of their substauence and patrimony.
Husbandman.

But howe wold they deluyer them fro thence?

Gentilman.

As they saide by their prayers assistence
Which with boostyng wordes they dyd a lowe

Husbandman.

Prayer? god geue her ashamefull represe
For it is the moost briberynge these.
  That euer was/ I make god a vowe.
For by her the clerge without dowte
Robbeth the hole contreye rounde aboute
  Bothe commones and estates none excepte.
I wote they haue prayed so longe all redy
That they haue brought the lande to beggerie
  And all thryftynes clene awaye swepte.
What foeuer we get with sweate and labour
That prolle they awaye with their prayour
Sayenge they praye foroure foules allwaye
But is their prayer not more avaylynge
To the deade foules/ than to the lyuynge
  So is it not worthe a rotten aye.

Gentilman.

To the foules departed it is not profitable
For whye/ thos that are in case damnable
  No assistence of prayour can attayne.
And as for purgatory ther is none
Allthough there be clerkes many one
  Which to seke it take moche payne.

Husbandman.

Than I wold their prayenge were at an ende
For yf they praye longe thus so god me mende
  They shall make ye lande worse than nought.
But nowe I will rehearce feriously
Howe we husbande men full pituoulsly
Unto miserable wretchednes are brought.
Fyrst whan englonde was in his flores
Ordred by the temporall gouernoures
Knowenge no spirituall iuridificacion.
Than was ther in eche state and degre
Haboundance and plentuous prosperite
Peaceable welthe without affliction.
Noblenes of blood/ was had in price
Vertuousnes avaunced/ hated was yerce
Princes obeyd/ with due reverence.
Artificers and men of ocupacion
Quietly wanne their sustentacion
Without any grefe of nedy indulgence.
We husband men lyke wise prosperously
Occupyenge the feates of husbandry
Hyerd fearmes of pryte competente.
Wherby oure lyuinge honestly we wanne
And had enough to paye euer manne
Helpinge other that were indigent.
Tyll at the last the rauenous clergye
Through their craftynes and hypocryse
Gate to theym worldly dominacion.
Than were we overcharged very fore
Oure fearmes set vp dayly more and more
With flamefull prye in soche a fasshyon.
That we paye more nowe by halfe the fume
Than a foreyymes we dyd of custome
Holdinge ought of their possession.
Befyde this/ other contentes of brybery
As payenge of tythes/ open and preuy
And for herynge of confession.
Also prestes dueties and clerkes wages
Byenge of perdones and freres quarterages
With chirches and aultares reparacion.
All oure charges can not be nombred
Wherewith we are greatly acombred
Ouer whelmyd with desfolacion.
We tourmoyle oure selfes nyght and daye
And are fayne to dryncke whygge and whaye
    For to maynteyne the clargyes facciones

Gentillman.

This were a great shame to be knownen
Seynge halfe the realme is their owne
    That they charge you with foche exaccions.
Me thincketh so to do is no small cryme
For they kepte as good houses a foretyne
    Whiles theyr fearme hyers was serre lefel.

Husbandman.

Ye/ more plentuous houses a great deale
How be yt in hyndrynge the comoneweale
    They vfe alfo this practyfe douteles.
Where as poore husband men afore seaxon
Accordinge vnto equite and reafon
    House or lande to fearme dyd desyre.
Without any difficulte they might it get
And yet no hygher price was ther vp fett
    Than good conscience did require.
But nowe their ambicieux suttlete
Maketh one fearme of two or thre
    Ye sone tyme they bringe. vi. to one.
Which to gentillmen they let in farmage
Or elles to ryche marchauntes for avauntage
    To the vndoynge of husbandmen ech one.
Wherby the comones sufferinge damage
The hole lande is brought in to rerage
    As by experience ye may well see.
Thus is the wealth of village and towne
With the fame of honorable renowne
    Fallen in to myferable pouerte.
Plentuous housholdes hereby ar dekayde
Relefe of poore people is awaye strayde
    Allmes exyled with hospitalyte.
By soche meanes/ all thinge waxeth dere
Complaynte of subiectes cryenge ferre and nere
Oppresed with greuous calamyte.

Gentillman.
Truely thou shewest the very abuse
Neuertheless concernynge oure excuse
Why we gentillmen fearmes occupye.
The principall occasion is onely this
That oure patrimony geuen awaye is
Vnto thes wolfes of the clergye.
By whos oppression we are so beggeryd
That necessite hath vs compellyd
With fearmes soche shyft to make.
For as ye husbandmen can well vnderstande
Touchinge expences and charges of the lande
They disdayne any parte with vs to take.

Husbandman.
Ye by seynote Marye/ I you warrante
In soche cafes/ their ayde is very scant
Makinge curtefyte to do any gooede.
Let the realme go what way it wull
They hauyen eafe/ and their belyes full
Regarde litle the comone weale by the rode
Yf princes demaunde their succour or ayde
This answere of them is comonly saide
We are pore bedemen of youre grace.
We praye for your disceaced auncetryes
For whom we synge masses and dirigees
To succour their soules in nedefull cafe.

Gentillman.
Oh/ they afoorde prayers good cheape
Sayenge rather many masses by heape
Than to geue a poore man his dyner.
Wherfore as thou saydest/ fo god helpe me
I se of their prayenge no comodyte
Nether avauntage in any maner.
For whye with in thes. iiiij. hundred yere
Thoroughoute christendom was not a freer
Of thes/ whom we mendicantes call.
And fyth that tyme dyuers facciones
Of collegianes/ monkes and chanones
Haue spreid this region ouer all.
Alfo of prestes/ were not the tenthe parte
Which as they faye/ haue none other arte
But for vs worldly people to praye.
And yet the worlde is nowe farre worsfe
As every man felyth in his poorse
Than it was at that tyme I dare faye.
Wherfore the trueth openly to betryde
I wolde they shulde laye their prayenge a fyde
And geue theym selfes to labour bodely.

C Husbandman.

It were harde to bringe theym therto
Vtterly refusynge any labour to do
Because they are people gostely.

C Gentillman.

Were not the apostles gostely also?

C Husbandman.

Yes fyr/ but it is so longe ago
That their lyuynge is oute of memorye.

C Gentillman.

We fynde it well in the newe testament.

C Husbandman.

The clargye faye/ it is not conuenyent
For layemen therwith to be bufye.
Gentillman.
Woteft thou wherfore they do that?

Husbandman.
In sayth sryr I coniecture some what
And I supposhe I do not moche erre.
Might men the scripture in Enlyshe rede
We seculler people shuld than fe in dede
What Christ and the apostles lyues were.
Which I doubt nothinge are contrarye
Vnto the lyuynge of oure clargye
Geuyn to pompous ydlenes euyry where.
Whos abhomination ones knownen
Their pryde shuld be fone ouer throwen
And fewe wold their statelynes for bear.

Gentylman.
Thou hytteft the nayle vpon the heed
For that is the thinge that they dreed
Least scripture shuld come vnto light.
God commaundyd man in the begynnynge
With sweat of voyfage to wynne his luyngge
As Moses in his fyrst boke dothe wryte.
And as Marccke sayeth in the vi. chapter
Christe here vpon erthe was a carpenter
Not dyfdayninge an occupacion.
Alfo the disciples vniuerfally
With their handes laboured bufylly
Exchewynge ydle conuerfacion.

Husbandman.
Oure clargye lyue nothynge after their rate

Gentillman.
No/ they feke ydelly to auauance their eftate
And to be had in reputacyon.
Husbandman.

Are they worldly or gostely to faye the trothe?

Gentylman.

So god helpe me I trowe none of bothe
   As it apperyth by their fasshion.
For in matters of worldly busynes
The clergeye haue moche more entresse
   Than temporall men I enquire the.
The landes of lordees and dukes to posseffe
Thei abashe not a whit the seculernes
   Chalengyenge tytles of worldly honour
But is the realme in any necesyte
Where as they shuld condescend of duete
To stonde by their prince with succour
Than to be of the world they denye
Sayenge that their helpe is spirittually
   From the worlde makinge a separacion.

Husbandman.

Whiles they vfe foche craftynes to contruye
The temporalte ought them to depreye
   Of their worldly dominacyon.
And even as they faye that they are gostely
So without any assistence worldly
   To lyue gostely they shuld haue no let.

Gentylman.

That were an expedyent medicyne
Accordingie vnto faynt Paules doctrine
   Qui non laborat/non manducet.
Nowithstanding their power is so stronge
That whether they do ryght or wronge
   They haue their owne will without fayle.
Their enormytees fo ferre out breaketh
That all the worlde agaynst them speaketh
   But alas man what dothe it avayle?
C Husbandman.
The remedy that I can ymagyne
Were beft that we together determyne
To get vs to london incontinent.
Where as it is here for a furete tolde
The kinge with his nobles dothe holde
A generall counfell or parlament.

C Gentillman.
What woldeft thou that we shuld do there?

C Husbandman.
The contraynte of ounce myferye to declare
Vnder a meke forme of lamentacion.

C Gentillman.
So shuld we be sure of foche anwveres
As were made vnto the poore beggers
For their pituous supplicacyon.
Against whom ye clergyes refons nought worthe
The foules of purgatory they brought for the
The beggers complaynte to discomfytte.
Wherfore against ounce peticion I the tell
They wold bringe out all the deuells in hell
For to do vs some shamefull despyte.

C Husbandman.
And was ther none other waye at all
But the foules of purgatory to call
In ayde and assistance of the clergy.

C Gentillman.
It was the suerest waye by feyn I hone
For had they to playne scripture gone
I wouffe they hadde be taken tardye.
The beggers complaynte was so grounded
That the clargye hadde be confounded
Had they not to purgatory hafted.
Husbandman.
Where sayd they purgatorye shuld be?

Gentleman.
By scripture they shewed no certente
Albeit with flowte wordes they it faced.
Euen like vnto the man/ which went
A certeyne straunge ylone to inuent
But whan he sawe/ he could it not fynde.
Leaft his wit and travaile shuld feme in vayne
Reporte of other men he beganne to sayne
The sympticite of rude people to blynde.
But touchinge oure communicacion
Ther is a nother consideracion
Which sonevhoat more troubleth my mynde.
Thou knowest that in the parlament
The chefe of ye clergye are resident
In a maruelous great multitude.
Whos fearce displeasure is so terible
That I judge it were not possible
Any cause against them to conclude.
As for this ones we shal be herde
And great men I tell the[y] are a ferde
With them to haue any doynge.
Whosoeuer will agaynst them contende
Shall be fure of a mischefe in the ende
Is he gentellman lorde or kynge.
And that vnto kynge Iohn I me reporte
With other princes and lordes a great forte
Whom the cronycles expresse by name.
Whiles they were a lyue they did them trouble
And after their deathe with cruelnes double
They ceased not their honour to diffame.
Dyd not they so longe streue and wrastle
Against the good knight fryr Ihon oldecastle
Other wise called lorde of Cobham.
That from hyghe herefye vnto treafone
They brought him to fynall destruction
   With other many a noble man.
Moreouer at faynt Edmundes bury some faye
That the famous prince duke Humfray
   By them of his lyfe was abreviata.
Sythe that tyme I could recken mo
Whom they caused to be dispatched so
   Parauenture some of no lowe estate.

The husbandman.

Their tyranny is great without fayle
Neuerthelesse ye wold them assayle
   With argumentes of the holy gospell.
They shuld not be ones able to resist
For the wordes of our sauiour christe
   Shuld stappe them were they neuer so fell.
Who in the. xxiiij. chapter of faynt Luke
To their great confusyon and rebuke
   Forbydeth secular ambicion.
Wherin he himselfse example gaue
Contempnynge worldly honour to haue
   Of this world claymynge no kingdome.
Also when his discipes forthe he fent
He commanded them to be content
   With foode and apparayle necessary.
Wherto saint Paules doctrine accordinge
Saieth: hauynge meate drinke and clothinge
   We shuld no thinge couet supefluously.

The gentillman.

Ye the holy gospell allege we shuld
As stronge heretikes take vs they would
   Vnto their churche disobiedient.
For why they haue commanded straytely
That none vnder great payne be so hardye
   To haue in englishe the testament.
Which as thou knowest at London
The bishop making the sermon
With shamefull blasphemy was burnt.

CHUSBONDEMAN.

Alas that cruelte goeth to my hert
Wherfore I feare me we shall all smert
At lengthe with bitter punishment.

CH GENTILMAN.

Undoubtedly it is greatly to be fearyd
Least the hole region shalbe playyd
For their outrageous blasphemy.
In kynge Henryes dayes of that name ye lyft
The cleryge their pride aboue to lyft
Persecuted christen brothers haynously.
The gospell of Christ a fyde to cast
Which at that tyme prospered fast.
With all their puyfaunce they dyd conspyre.
Everywhere they threw theym in presones
In sharpe gayles/ and horrible doungeones
Cauynghe many to be brent in fyre.
Their furious malice never stentyd
Tyll they had the light oute quenchyd
Of the gospell and holy scripture.
Wherof all bokes that they could get
They caused on a fayre fyre to be set
To expell goddes worde doynghe their cure.
But consyder what ther of did chaunce
Moste terrible plages of fearfull vengeaunce
And endles sorowe to oure nacion.
For within shorte season after they lost
Which many a mans lyfe did cost
In fraunce their dominacoin.
Amonge them selues moste hatefull mourdre
Many stronge batayles/ one after a nother
With great effusyon of engliishe bloode.
Frende against frende/ brother against brother.
Every man at variance with other
The realme longe season in myschefe stode

 Husbandman.
This is nowe a dayes clene oute of mynde

 Gentillman.
I praye god/ hereafter we do not fynde
The same vengeaunce for like offence
For as it is in the byble playnely red
God left neuer lande yet vnpunished
Which agaynft his worde made resistence.

 Husbandman.
Well fyr/ yyfscripture ye forthe bringe
I beseeche you/ what is their answeringe
Are they fo bolde goddes worde to denye?

 Gentillman.
Naye but after their ymaginacion
They make there of an interpretacion
Vnto the texte clene contrary
They allege the popes auctorite
Customes of auncyent antiquite
With diuers counseiles approbacion.
Alfo the holynes of religious fathers
With the bloode sheadinge of marters
For their churches prefervacion.
Befyde that contynuance of yeres
Myracles of bishoppes/ monkes and freres
Whom for special patrones they holde.
And fyndally to make a conclusion
In fortefyenge their abusion
Other practyfes they vfe manyfolde.
They reforte to lordes and greate estates
With whom they are dayly checke mates
Ye to faye the trouthe their foueraynes.
Where amoung other communicacion
They admoniſhe them with protestacion
To beware of thes heretikes Lutheranes.
Whom they faye is a fecte newe fangled
With execrable hereſyes entangled
Sekinge the chirches perdicion.
Which oure fore fathers as wife as we
Were contente with humble simplicitie
To honour/ obeyng their tuycion.
Alfo none presumed till nowe a late
Against the clergy to beare any hate
Or grudged at their posſeſsion.

Husbandman.

By feynt mary fyr/ that is a starcke lye
I can thewe you a worcke by and by
Againſt that poynlte makinge objected.
Which of warantyſe I dare be bolde
That it is aboue an hundred yere old
As the englishe felfe dothe teſtíſyre.
Wherin the auctour with argumentes
Speaketh against the lordſhippes and rentes
Of the clergy poſſedſed wrongfully.

Gentillman.

Is it fo olde as thou doeft here expreffé
Reprouynge their pompous lordlynes
So is it than no newe found hereſy.

Husbandman.

No/ but alas/ halfe the boke we want
Hauynge no more left than a remenant
From the begynnynge of the. vi. chapter verely.

Gentillman.

As for that it maketh no matter
Begynne hardly at the fixte chapter
Redyng to the ende seriosly.
For though old writinge a pere to be rude
Yet notwithstanding they do include
The pithe of a matter most fructuously.

Husbandman.

To rede it I shall be diligent
Though the style be nothinge eloquent
With ornate speache set out curiously.

Here foloweth an olde treatysse made aboute the tyme of kynges By
charde the seconde.

Here as the clergy perceyue that lordlynes and worldly dominion can not be borne out by scripture/ then flie they to argumentes of mennes persuasion sayenge after ther maner Seynt Huge and Seynt Swithe were thus lordes/ and in this they enfued Christes lyuyng and his doctrine/ therfore we may be laufully thus lordes. But I wote well that Gabriel shall blowe his horne or they haue proued the minor. That is/ that thes sayntes or patrones in this fued the doctrine or the lyfe of Iefu Christ. And of this thou mayst fe that foch argumentes that ar not clothed with Christes lyuyng or his teachinge/ be right nought worth the all though the clerkes blynde with them moch folke in ye world. But here haue I no leuyer to tell though I coulde/ what cheffesance and costes the churche maketh and what werres they hold to contynue this fymony and thereby fo vnavisely brought in to ye chirche. And yet they feke all the wayes therto that they can. Ye in fo moch that they go openly armeid in to the felde to kyll christen men/ for to get and holde foche lord-
shippe. And notwithstandyng feynt Peter was so pore that he had nether golde nor syluer as he faieth in the Actes of the apostles. And his other worldly good he left when he beganne to sue Christe. And as towchynge the tylte of worldly lawe that he had to soch worldly goodes he made neuer cleyme ne neuer rescuyed after any worldly lordshippe. And yet they call all their hole kingdom feynt Peters grounde or lordshippe. And therefor feynt Bernarde writeth to Eugenie ye pope Libro. ij fayenge. Yf thou wilt be a lorde seke by a nother waye to attayne it but not by thys apostles ryght For he may not geue the that he had not that he had he gaue the which was busynes vpon chirches. Whether he gaue lordshippe or no here what he faieth. Be ye not lorde in the clergy but be ye made i. Petri. forme and example off Chriftes flocke. And leaft ye trowe thys be not fayde of trothe take kepe what Chrifte faieth in ye gospell. The kinges of hethen haue lordshippe vpon theym forsothe ye not fo. Se howe playnly lordshippe is forboden to all apostles for yf thou be a lorde howe dareft thou take vpon the apostleshyp or yf thou be a bysshoppe howe dareft thou take vpon the lordship Pleylnly thou art forboden bothe. And yf thou wylt haue bothe to gether thou shalt lefe bothe and be of the nomber of whych god pleineth by the prophete Osee fayenge. They reyngnyd but not by me fayeth god. And yf we holde that that is forboden here we that is boden of Chryste. He that is greatest of you se yat he be made as younger in symplenes and he that is a fore goere loke he be as a ferruant. Thys is ye forme of apostles lyfe lordshypes forboden and feruys is boden thys fayeth faynt Bernerde there. And therfor no man may put a nother grounde befydes yat that is put whych is Chrifte Iefu.

But yet I wote well that clarkes and relygyous folcke that loue vnkyndly these lordlynes wyll glofe here and
faye/ yat they occupye not soche lordsyteppes in proper as secular lorde doo/ but in comone/ lyke as the apostles and perfyte people dyde in the beginnynge of Christes chirche as wryteth Saynt Luke in the fourthe chaptre of the Actes of the apostles/ the whyche had all thynges in comone/ lyke as soche clarke and religyous faye they haue nowe. In tokeninge wherof no man sayde of any thinge at that tyme/ thys ys myne/ fo oure clarke and namely religyous people when they will speake in termes of their religyon. A pryuate person wyll not faye this or thys is myne/ but in perfone of all his brethreyn he wyll faye/ this is ours. And ouver thys they faye more fytellly that they occupye not this by tyle of secular lordsyteppe/ but by tyle of perpetuall allmes. But what ouver thys people faye here/ we mote take hede to the rule of prefe that fayleth not. The whiche rule Christte teacheth vs in the gospell in dyuers places/ where he fayeth/ beleue ye the workes. For why by their workes ye shal know them. And thys rule is wonder nedefull to a man that hath a do with any man of the Pharyseys condycyon. For as Christte fayeth Math. xxiii. They faye but they do not. And fo as Christtes workes bere witnesse of hym as he hym selve fayeth/ and sheweth what he was and howe he lyued/ fo the dedes and manner of luyinge/ or the thynge in it selve bearyth wytnesse wythout fayle howe it ftondyth among them in thys poynte. And yf we take hede thus by thys rule we shal fe at oure eye howe the clargye fayeth other wyfe then it is in dede. For in some place in pryuate parfone/ and in some place in comone or parfone aggregate/ whiche is all one as sayntt Auftyne fayeth vppon the pshalter/ ye clargy occupyeth the secular lordsyteppe secularly/ and ye so in propere. For in the same maner wyfe as ye Barone/ or the knyghte occupyeth and gouernyth hys baronrye or hys knyghtes fe/ fo after the amortefyenenge occupyeth ye clarcke/ ye Monke/ or Chanon/ the
College or Conuente/ the same lordshippe and gouerneth it by ye same lawes in iudgement and punishinge as perfonnyngge and hangynge with foche other worldly tormentynge the which some tyme belongyd to the secular arme of the chirche. Ye oft tymes we may se howe they busye theym selves to be kinges in their owne/ and reioyce them full moche in that ciuilyte or secularite yf they may get it. And this is an evidence that they wold gladly be kynges of all the realme or the world. For where their londes and secular mennes fraunchysse ar to gether they striue who shall haue the galowes/ or qther maner tourmentes for felaunes. They kepe also vnder bondage their tenauntes and their yslue with their londes. And this is the moste ciuilite or secular lordshyppinge that any kyng or lorde hath on his tenauntes And therfore we maye se howe they cleyme in their goodes a maner of proper posseffyon contrarye to the comonnynge of the comone goodes in tyne of the perfyte men in the begynnynge of Cristes chirche. And so what so euer the cleryg fayeth the dede sheweth well that they haue not their goodes in comone lyke as Criste with his apostles and perfyte men had in the begynnynge of cristes chirche. For in holdynge or hauynge of their goodes/ is propeerte of posseffyon and secular lordshyppinge. The which flondith not with ye plente of cristes perfeccyon in preffes as it fueth of this processe and of that/ that is declared before. And as for that o ther glofe that clerkes haue here/ where they faye that they holde thes lordshyppes by tytle of perpetuall almes. Almes

But here ye shall vnderstande that mercy or almes is a will of releeuinge of some wretche oute of his myfese as Lyncolnienfis fayeth in the begynnynge of his dictis. So that yf a man shuld effec- Dicte. in tually do almesse he must loke to whom he shulde do almesse to/ were in myfese and had nede to be releuyd. In tokeninge wherof/ chirft onely assigneth almesse to thos/ in whom he marketh myfese. And so here of
this it will sue/ that yf a man will releue one wretche
and make a nother or mo/ he dothe none almesse/ but
rather maketh myfeafe. And moche more he dothe
none almesse yf be make riche thos persone that haue
no nede. For as moche as they be sufficient to
theym selfes/ this hath no coloure of almesse. For this
may be better called a woodnes or a waftynge of
goddes goodes. And ouer this yf a man take thos
goodes/ the which god in the best wyfe enen and with
oute erroures hath assygned to the state of secular
lordes/ and geue thos goodes to another people that
hath no nede of theym/ ye to yat which people foche
goodes are forfendid. This shuld be called no almesse/
but perueringe of goddes ordinaunce/ and the destruc-
tion of the state of secular lordes ye which god hath ap-
proved in his chirche. For as faynt Paule sayeth.
ij. Cori. viij. Almesse dede shuld be ruled so ye it were
releuinge to thos yat receiue it. And moch rather it
shuld not be vndoynge of thos that do it. And ther-
fore Chrift teachith in the gospell to do almes of tho
things that be needeles or superfluite.

Quod superest
date eleemosi-
nam. Luce.
xiiij. And in this dede a man shuld haue re-
garde to the nede of him that he doth
almes to and to the charge of his owne house. What
almes was it then I praye you/ to vndo the state of
the Emperoure/ and to make the clarkes riche with
his lordshippes/ namely syth Chrift conffirmyd to ye
Emperour his state/ with tho things that longe theerto/
notwithstanding at that tyme the emperoure was
hethen. And he hath forfendyd expressly hys clergy in
worde and in example foche lordshypppe. And as thy
was no allmes/ so we mote faye of other kynges/ dukes
and erles/ barones and knyghtes that are vndone
hereby/ and the clerkes made ryche and worldly lordes
with theyr goodes. And though it had be so yat the
clergy myght hane occupyed thus worldly lordshypppe/
and also though it hadde be no destruccion nor ap-
peyrynge of any other state/ yet it hadde be no allmes
for to geue to theym soche goodes/ wherfor it may be
ryghtfully sayde. No man may put a nother grounded
beydes that is put/ which is Christe Iesu.

Here we may fe by the grounded of ye gospel and
by the ordynance of christe/ that the cleryge was
sufficently puruen for lyuelood. For god is so per-
fyte in all his werckynge/ yat he may ordeyne no flate
in hys chirche but yf he ordeyne sufficient lyuelood to
the same flate. And this is open in goddes lawe who
so takyth hede/ and that vnnder every lawe of god/ as
vnnder ye lawe of innocencye and of kynde/ vnnder ye
lawe geuen by Moyfes and also vnnder ye lawe geuen by
christe. In ye tyme of the flate of innocencye we
knowe well by beleue yat god hadde so ordeyned for
man kynde that it shuld haue hadde lyuelood ynoonh
withoute any tedious labour And of ye lawe of kynde/
christ speakyth in ye gospell sayenge thus Matt. vii
All thynges yat ye wyll yat other men do to you/ do ye
to theym. And yf thys lawe hadde be kepe ther
shuld no man haue bene myscheuously nedy. And in
the tyme of ye lawe geuen by Moyfes/ god made a full
and a sufficient ordynance for all hys people howe
and wher by they shuld lyue. For he dealyd ye londe
amonge the laye people and he assigne ye fyrf frutes
and tythes to ye preffes and deakenes. And all though
yat he wold yat ther shuld be all waye poore men in ye
lande of yfraell/ yet he made an ordin-
Deute. xv.
aunce agaynst myscheuous nede. And comandyd all
the people that ther shuld be in no wyfe a nedye man
and a begger amonge them as it is wrytten. And so
in thys lawe he ordeyned sufficiently ynough for hys
people. And in ye tyme of the newe lawe christe
affigned ye seculer lordshyppes to temporall lordes as
it is taught before/ And alowed ye comontse her
lyuelood gotten by true marchaundysfe and husboundrye
and other craftys. And in [no] worde and enfaemple
he taught hys preffes to be proctoures for nedye
people and poore at ye ryche men/ and specefyed thes
poore/ and taught howe they that were myghty/ shuld make a purueaunce for foche poore folke yat they were not constrayned by nede for to begge/ as great clerkes marcke vpon thes wordes of ye gospell where chryste Luce. xiiij. fayeth thus. Whan thou makest thy feast/ yat is of allmes/ call poore people/ feble/ lame and blynde He fayeth not lett foche poore men call vpon ye/ but call thou vpon theym meanynge in yat/ that thou shuldest make a purueaunce for foche people/ yat they be not myscheouously fauty. And for ye clergy he ordeined sufficently/ teching theym in worde and ensample howe they shuld holde theym appayde with lyuelood and hylynge mynforted to theym/ for theyr true laboure in the gospell as it is written before. Of thys than thou mayst fe howe god in all hys lawes hath sufficiently ordeyned for all ye fates that be founded and approuyd And howe it is agaynste ye goodnes and wyfdom of god/ to ordeyne any fiate/ but yf he ordeyned sufficent lyuelood therto. Syth than thys ordenaunce of god was sufficent as well for the clergye as for other men it semeth a foule presumpcion to brynge in a newe and a contrarye ordenaunce of lyuelood for clerckes vpon the ordenaunce yat Criste hath made for theym before. Of ye whiche ordynaunce/ the clergye full many yeres after the begynnynge of Chrystes chyrche/ when it was beft gouernyd/ held theym well a payde. For thys meaneth that Chrystes ordenaunce was insufficient/ and worthy to be vndone And yf we take good hede/ they hadde no more nede to pleyne theym of thys ordynaunce/ than hadde the other two fates of hys chyrche/ which vnto this daye holde theym a payde with thys ordynaunce of chryft/ were it fully kepte. And more sekirnes and enfuraunce maye no man make of any thinge than chryft hath of hys lyuelood to the clergye For chryft not onely affermyth to ye people ye he wyll not fayle theym in lyuelood and hylinge/ but also prouyth thys by argumentes yat may not be afoyled/ So yat they be true
feruauntes to him. For Chryste meanyth thus in his arguynge there. Syth god fayleth not bryddes and lyles and graffe that groweth in ye felde/ nether he-then men. Howe moche rather shall he not fayle hys true feruauntes? And fo this purneance of perpetuall almes yat oure clerkes speake of/ meanyth faute of beleue and despeyre of the gracious gouernaunce of god. Syth than as it is fayde before/ it is no allmes to releue one wretche and to make another or moo/ and to make theim ryche wyth temporall lordshippe/the whiche bene forfendyd to foche people and namely yf foche almes geuynge be destroyenge or appeyringe of any estate approuyd by God in his chirche/ it will fuy that the endowynge of ye clargye with worldly lordshippe/ ought not to be called allmesse/ but rather all a mysfie/ or wasfyng of goddes goodes or destroyenge of his ordinaunce/ for as moche as the clargye was sufficienly ordeyned by Chripte. For why/ this almes that clerckes speake of here/ made many wretches and it was geuen to theym that had no nede. And thus it is empeyringe not only of one estate of ye chyrche/ but of all thre of the which I spake in ye begynynge. And fo this almes geuyng hath made all oure realme nedy/ ye and as I suppose full nygh all christendom full poore and nedy and mischiefous ouer that it shulde haue bene yf the clargye had held theym a payde with criftes ordinaunce. But nowe thourough this perpetuall all a mysfie/ that the clarkes call almes/ criftes ordinaunce ys vndon in some landes holly and in Englonde for ye more party and it is lykely to be all vndon in proceffe of tyme. For by a mortefyenge of lordshippes/ ye lorde be vndon in great party. And many noble men becaufe they lacke their owne parte through solifhe gifte of their aunceters be full nedy. Forthowermore it may be vnderstonde of this proceffe/ yat withdrawyng of this lordshippes from ye clargye and reforinge againe of them to the states yat god hath assigned them to/ shuld not be called robbery of holy
chirche as oure clerkes faye/ but rather rightwise
refistitucion of good wrongfully and theesly withhold.
And ther fore ther maye none othe or vowe binde any
man to maytayne this thefte and defruction of goddes
ordinannce/ and this great harmynge of Christes
chirche. As ye vowe of Iepte shuld not haue bounde
him to kill and sacrifise his owne daughter. Ne the
othe of Herode shuld not haue bounde him to kill
innocent Iohn. But as Iepte shuld a broken his othe
or vowe and haue offered a nother thinge that had
bene pleasyng to god and accordinge with his lawe:
As saynt Austyne sayeth vpon the same storie. So
Herode shuld haue broken his othe and a faued inno-
cent blood and fore a repentedy him for his vnavyfed
swerynge. And so shuld lorde noe a dayes
breake theyr othes that they haue unavyfely and
without counseyle of holy scripture sworne to maynte-
aine this theefte/ ye herefy and fymony as it is
proued before/ the which oure clerkes call perpetuall
almes And not fue theire solifche dedes and othes yat
they haue made to maynteyne this mischeuous peruer-
tinge of christes ordinaunce. For as the state of the
clergye hath no power or leaue/ to make the people
or lorde to fynne deadly or to destroye gods ordi-
naunce in his chirche. So they haue no
leaue or power of god to counceile or to
constrayne in any case the lorde or ye people to
fwere for to maynteyne this endowenge of ye clerkes
and religious folke/ which is full great theste herefy and
fymony/ and wouneder harmefull to christes chirche as
it is shewed in this proceffe and in other writen before.
But the lorde specially shuld se here/ what were
pleasyng not to these clerkes/but to god/ and that shuld
they do. For her to they be bounde by vertue of their
office vppe peye of dampancion. And there may no
no man dispence with them of yat bound of stondinge her
state. For no man shuld put a nother grounde beydes
that/ yat is put which is christ Iefu.
And therfore men deme it a great fynne to geue londe entayled by mennes lawe from ye parfome or kynred that it is entayled to/ ye although it be so that the parfome or kynred that foche lande is geuen to be nedye and haue leaue by goddes lawe to occupye foche maner londe or lordshippe. And this is demyd full great fynne among the people not onely to the geuer but also to the taker. For both they do dampnable wronge to him that it is entayled to/ as the people demyth ye although it be geuen for good and true seruyce that the receuyer hath done to the geuer before/ er elles by waye of almes of releuynge of the per[.]one or kinred that it is geuen to. How moche rather than I praye you without comparison is it a greater fynne/ as well to the receuyers as to the geuers/ to take the lordeshippes/ the whiche god that hath full lordshippe vpon all the world hath geuen by perpetuall lawe or right to the state of secular lordes/ or geue this from the state to the whiche god entayled this lordshippe to a nother straunge people off a nother lyne/ the which hadde never neade/ ne leaue of god to occupye it. And yf priests cleyme tythes because god graunted them to ye kynred of leuy/ yet ther argument is voide. For chrifte came of the lynage of Iuda/ to whiche lyne was no tythes graunted and fo as men suppose this entayle was not confermyd by chrifte and his apostles to the priests in the newe lawe.

For Gregory the tenthe ordeyned first tythes to be payed to curates only. And yet they cleyme fo ferforthe tythes that no man maye lawefullly withholde them or ministre them saue they. Ne they maye be turned or geuen to any other state or kynred saue onely to theyn. Although men wolde do that vnder coloure or by tytle off perpetuall almes. For this shulde be demyd of the clergye a dampnable fynne and destroyenge of holy chirche and sacrilege. How moche rather is it then an hydeous and dampnable fynne/ to
geue or to take awaye the secular lordshippes from the state of secular lordes/ the whiche god had geuen and entayled to them by the same lawe and right/ by the whiche he hadde geuen the tithes to the priestes in the olde lawe. And this entayle was neuer interrup't nor broken vnto christeymes tyme and his holy apolstles. And than they confirmed this entayle by lawe so strenge to the secular parte yat no man (saue Antichriste and his discipes) may openly impungne this entayle as it is shewed before. And so as no man shulde presume to withdwre withholde or turne the tithes from the state of presthod/ as they faye/ so moche rather shuld no man presume by geuynge or takinge to aliene ye temperall lordshippes from the state of secular lordes. And thus clerkes haue not so moche colour to faye yat the lordes and the laye people robbe them for as moch as they take their temperalities in to ye handes of ye clergy hath neuer the leffe malice in it felse. For as moche as it is done by simulacion of holynes/ ye whiche is double Gene. iiij wickednes. For thus Lucifer robbed Adam both of goodes of fortune/ of kinde and yet dothe the chirche of thses thre maner goodes. For right as lucifer dyd this harme to Adam and Eue vnder colour of loue and frendshippe and helpinge of them: so do nowe his angells/ thofe ypocrites that tranfigure them selfes into angells of light/ and deceye ye people by false belefte of heuently helpe yat they will procure to theym for their goodes as they faye/ and yf a bishhope and his college or an abbate and his conuent maye not aliene fro them any of ye temperalities yat thei haue/ nor geue to their founder any of thos possesions that he hath geuen them/ what neede that euer he haue/ bounde onely by a posityfe lawe or a tradicion that they them felse haue made. And yf any foch lord shippes be withdrawn/ aliened/ or taken fro them by rechelesnes of their predeceffoure/ they ought on all wise/ ye to the death the laboure to get ye possesstones in
to their hondes agayne as they faye. Howe moche more than shuld not a secular lorde or a laye aliene fro him and his yffue or fro the state of secular lordes/ ye secular lordshippes the whiche god hath lymyted to that state/ fyth he is bounde by the lawe of kynde to ordreyne for his children. And ouer this he is bounde by godes lawe to fusteyne the state of secular lordes/ the whiche is auctorifyed in the chirche and his apostles. Of this proceffe than yf a man take hede he shall perceyue the falsenes of this glose/ whan oure clerkes and religious folke faye that they hold these lordshippes onely by title of perpetuall allmes. For certis fyth these tythes and offerynges the which as I suppose counteruayle the secular lordes rentes of the realme or elles paste as it is full lykely/ for though they beleffe in one chirche they paste in a nother and be sufficient for all the priestes in chriftendome yf they were even dealed. Than it were no nede to amorteyfe secular lordshippes to the state of the clergye. The which amortefyenge is vndoyng of lordes/ apoftasye of the clergye. And yf this amortefyenge were not nedefull/ then were it no allmes as it is declared. And ouer the tythes and offerynges that be nowe off certeynte/ the clerckes haue many great and small perquysytis/ the whiche smacke of symonye and extor- cion. As the fyrrt frutes of vacante benefyces/ prouynge of testamentes and money for halowenge of chapelles/ chirches/ chauncelles/ and other orna- mentes of the chirche/ and for sacryng of ordres/ and full many mo that for multitude may not well be numbred. For well nigh all there bleffynge be set to fale and to prijs/in to chryftenynge and confirmacion. Wherfore I may nowe faye as I sayde at the begynn- inge. No man may put a nother grounde befydes that/ that is put/ the whiche is Chrifte Iefu. The which grounde of lyuynge chrifte grauntes to kepe that we maye escape the euerlaftinge peynes of hell.

A M E N.
The husbandman.

Loo/ nowe by this treatyfe may ye well se
That aforetyme against the spirittuale
Men dyd invey/ shewing their vyces.
Also here after this auctour dothe tell
What great Ieoparde it is and perell
For priesstes to be in secular offices.
Ye/ and to lorde which against right
Suffre them therein or therto excyte
Prouynge it by their owne doctours and lawes

Gentillman.

I befeche the rede forthe the proceffe
That the people may se their vnhappennesse
Which make all the world foles and dawes.

Seynt Cipriane fayeth yat by the counceile of
hist. xxi. [LJ.] bishops ther is made a statute/ that all
iiij. ca. Cipriane yat bene charged with priesthode and or-
deyned in ye feryys of clerkes/ shuld not serue but to
the aultere and to miniftre ye sacramentes/ to preache
gods worde/ and to take hede to prayers and oryfones.
It is for fothe written. No man bering his knighthode
to god: entryketh him with secular nedes. The
which oure bishops andoure predecessours beholdinge
religiously and puruynge holfomy/ deme that whofo-
euer taketh miniftres of ye chirche/ from spirittuell
office to secular/ that ther be none offrynge done for
him/ ne any sacrifice holowed for his sepulture. For
they deserue not to be named before ye aultere of god
in ye prayer off priesstes/ the whiche will clepe awaye
priesstes and miniftres of ye chirche from ye aulter.
Thus fayeth seynt Cipriane. Here men maye se how
perelous it is to ye kyng and secular lorde to with-
holde any priesst of chrifte in secular busynes. This is
proued thus. For euer secular lorde by the lawe of
the gosspell is gods bayly. But yf any bayly hyred a worckman with his lorde good and put him to his owne feroys/ he must be vntrew to his owne lorde. Right so is any secular lorde to oure lorde Chrift Iesu/ but yf he amend hym/ that taketh a prieste and putteth him in his secular office breakinge the heel of his lorde god that commaundeth/ thou shalt coueyet none other mannes servauntes. And he withdraweth hym fro the feroys of god and fro the kepinge of chrisiten mennes soules/ ye which he hath taken charge of/ for which soules oure lorde Iesu Chriftes toke flesche and bloude and suffered harde dethe/ and shedde his owne harte bloode. This parelous doynge of secular lordes is bothe against goddes lawe and mannes. It is ageinft gods lawe for as feynt Paule iij. Th. iij. faieth. No man yat is a perftyte knight of god/ as every prieste shuld be by his ordre/ entromedleth him with worldly deades and busynes. And for this ende that he may so please ye lorde to whose servuyce he hathe put him felse/ and that is good. For soche worldly busynes in clerkes is against their ordre. And theryfore ye apostles said as it is written in Acto. vi ye dedes of ye apostles/ it is not euen/ vs to leue ye worde of god and ministre to boordes of poore folke. And yf it was vnequitte as the apostles faide in their comone decree/ them for to leue ye preaching of goddes worde/ and ministre to the boordes of poore folke: Howe moche more vnequitte and wronge to god and man it is/ preastes to leue contemplacion/ studye/ prayer and preaching of goddes wor[d]and ministringe to poore folke for the servyce of a secular lorde? It is also agaynst the Popes lawe/ for he speaketh to a bishhoppe and byddeth hym that he warne preastes and clerkes/ that they be not occupied in secular offices ne procurators of secular lordes deades and her goddes. And yf preastes and clerkes be so bolde to occupye them in foche busynes and if they fall after by losse of lordes goddes/ then sayeth the lawe it is not worthy
yet they be holpen and focoured of holy chirche/fythe through them holy chirche is fclaundred. And saynct Gregorye wrote to the defensoure of Rome in this maner. It is tolde to vs that oure moftre reuerente brother Basyle ye bysshoppe is occupiied in secular causes and kepith vnprofitable moote halles. Which thinge makyth him foule and destroyeth ye reuerence of presthod/ therfore anone as thou haft receiuied this mandement/ compelle him with sharppe execucion to turne agayne. So yat it be not lefull to ye by no ex- cufacion to tarye fyue dayes/ left in any maner thou suffre hym any longer to tarye there in/ thou be culpable with hym agaynst vs. And so bysshoppes and other preftes be bounde to teache and reforme lorde/ to withdraye theym fro this synne and sharpe to reproue preftes and curates vnder them yat they occupye no secular office. This is proued thus by ye Ezechie. xxxiiij. holy prophet Ezechiel fayenge. Yf ye wayte or ye watcheman se enemies come/ and yf ye people be not warned and kepe not them felues but enemies come and ffe ye people/ then sayeth god that ye people is taken in their wickednes. And of ye wayte yat shulde have blowne his horne god will axe accountes and reckeninge of the bloode and of the deathe of ye people. But nowe to gostely vnderstand- inge/ eueri bysshoppe shulde be a wayte or a watche man/ to tell and warne before to all ye people by his good luyinge and teachinge ye perell of synne/ and this is ye reafon why bysshoppes and other prelates and preftes shuld not be occupiied with worldly deades and causes. For foche occupacions and charges make preftes slepinge and flomobringe in synne. And ther- fore it is great perell to make ouer them gostly waytes and watchemen/ as bissoppes/ parfones/ vicaries/ yat ben slepers in lufes of ye fleeth and in flomebernes and blinded with pouder of couteyle of worldly deades yat they nether can ne maye kepe them selfes ne no nother man. For of this perell and foche other/ a
prelate that hath witte and cunninge shuld sharplye
reprowe and warne all maner men to the shedinge of
his oune bloode as chriſt did. And yf he so leaue and
blame not them he affentyth to their trespases and
fynnethe deadly. For as fayeth Malach. Prestes
lippes kepe cunninge and the people shall Mala. lj
aske the lawe of god of his mouth/ for he is the Angell
of god/ yf he kepe well the ordre and degre of preſt-
hood. And therfor it is not lefull to any man to drawe
to feculer offices and busynes ye messangeres of chriſte/
that hath fo vtterly forſendyd thym both in worde
and dede feculer offices in preſthood. &c.

[Husbandman.
Syr howe lyke ye nowe this olde tratyte
Yf so be noble men wold it aduertyfe
Puttyngē a parte pryuate afeccion.
Shuld they not perceyue here euydentely
That the cleryge dothe theym great inuiy
Retaynyngē thus temporall poffesfyon?

[ Gentylman.
Nowe I promyse the after my judgement
I haue not hard of foche an olde fragment
Better groundyd on reaſon with scripture.
Yf foche auncyent thynges myght come to lyght
That noble men hadde ones of theym a fyght
The world yet wolde chaunge perauenture
For here agaynst the cleryge can not bercke
Sayenge as they do/ thys is a newe wercke
Of heretykes contruyed lately.
And by thys tratyte it apperyth playne
That before oure dayes men did compleyne
Agaynst elerkes ambycyon fo stately.
○ Husbandman.

Concernynge thyse treatyse and lyke matters
I haue hard faye of my forefathers
   Howe in kyng e henry the v. raygne.
What tyme as ye dyd specyfye
The clergye persecutyd the gospell fiercely
   Caufynge moche chryften people to be flayne
The kyng at the last hauynge informacyon
Thourough seryous confyderacyon
   Of foche proper matters as thyse is,
Beganne to note the clergyes tyranny
And what temporal tees they dyd occupye
   Their spirituall state ferre a myse.
Wherfore he determyned certyelynly
To depreue them temporally
   Of all theyr worldly gouveurnace.
Whos pretence/ as fone as they percyued
Amonge them selues they Imagyned
   To get the kyng e ouer in to fraunce.
That whyles he conqueryd ther his ryght
In englond do what they lyft they myght
   Theyr froward tyranny to fulfyll.
Which counsell/ thus brought to passe
The kyng e ouer after so bufyed waffe
   That he could not performe hyse sayde wyll.

○ Gentyllman.

So moote I the/ it was happye for the kyng
That by foche a coloure they could hym bryng
   From medlynge with that case any more.
For hadde he it ones ernestly begonne.
They had put hym to a confusyoun
   Euene as they dyd other kynges before.

○ Husbandman.

What supposse ye they wold haue done?
Gentilman.

Mary, first with a faire interdycion
To course the lande as blacke as pytche.
Than to inhybt fayenge and syngynge
Of mattyns mass/e and belles ryngynge
With christen buryall of poore and ryche.
Befyde that precheres euery where
Shuld haue brought men in soche fere
By their threatnynge exclamacyon.
That their malicyous partye to take
Subgettes shuld their prynce forlacke
Contrarye to goddes ordynacyon.
Euene as they dyd in hygh Germany
To the Emperour lewes of Bauerye
Whom Pope Ihone sough to confounde
And so dyd the clergy as I ynderstande
Vnto kynge Ihon here in Englande
To kynge Steuen and henry the secounde.

Husbandman.

They faye kynge Ihone was poysoned
Because an halfe peny lofe of breed
He fayde he wold make worth e. xij. pence.

Gentilman.

Tishe that is a cast of their comon gyfe
Soche infamy of prynces to deuyse
To cloke their oune tyrannous vyolence.
For hadde not kynge Ihon gone aboute
From their temporaltees to put theym owt
He hadde bene longe after a lyues man.
But murder they neuer fo shamefully
They can geue it a cloke full craftely
Sayenge nobis non licet occidere quenquam.
Whan they brennyd the newe testament
They pretendyd a zeale very fervent
To maynteyne onely goddes honour.
Which they sayde with protestacyon
Was obscured by translacyon
   In englyshe caufynge moche errour.
But the trueth playnly to be sayde
Thys was the cause why they were a frayde
   Leaft laye men shuld knowe theyr iniquite,
Which through goddes worde is so vttred
That it were not possyble to be suffred
   Yf to rede scripture men had lyberty.
Also after the same maner a saffhyon
Subtelly to colour theyr abhomynacyon
   They destroyed chronicles not longe a gone.
Which for certeye poynetes vnreuerently
Soundynge agaynst the kynges aunctetrye
   As they faye/ were brennt euerchone.
But for all that/ they shulde haue been spared
From burnynge: had they not so declared
   The cleryges abhomynable excesse.

C Husbandman.
I suppose then/ that they vse the same wayes
In burnynge of heretykes nowe a dayes
   Whom they pursue with great furyouines.

C Gentilman.
No fayle/ they perfwade temporall menne
Thes heretykes (as they faye) to brenne
   Leaft other good christians they shuld infecte
But ye cause why they wolde haue theim rydde
Is onely that theyr vnhappynes nowe hydde
   They dreeede leaft they shuld openly detecte

C Husbandman.
By my trouthe it is nothinge vnlickly.
For let one lyue neuer fo wyckedly
   In abhominable scandalifacion.
As longe as he will their church obaye
Not refusynge his tithes duely to paye
They shall make of him no accusations.
Howbeyt let him ones begynne to pynche
Or withdrawe their tithinge an ynche
For an heretike they will him ascite.
Wherfore I wonder moche of the temporalte
That in performynge the clargyes cruelte
To burne foche parfones they haue delyte.

C Gentillman.
It is no merueil yf thou marccke well
The clargye sayenge yat it is goddes quarrell
Their mischeuous murdre to execute.

C Husbandman.
So they are not a knownen by their wyll
That it is their cause chriifen men to kyll
But the faute vnto other they impute.

C Gentyllman.
Touchinge that/ another tyme at lesuer
I shal sheue the more of their maner
But nowe I can not tary verely.

C Husbandman.
Well syr/ yf ye may no longer abyde
Oure lorde be your continuall gyde
Grauntinge ye trouth to be knownen openly.
A compendious
olde treatysse/shewynge/howe that we
ought to haue the scripture in
Englysshe.

The excusacyon of ye treatysse

Though I am olde/clothed in barbarous wede
Nothyng garnished with gaye eloquency
Yet I tell the trouth/yl ye lyft to take hede
Agaynst theyr frowarde/furious frenesy
Which reckon it for a great heresy
And vnto laye people grievous outrage
To haue goddes worde in their natyfe langage

Enemyes I shall haue/many a shoren crowne
With forked cappes and gaye croofys of golde
Which to maynteyne ther ambitious renowne
Are glad laye people in ignorace to holde
Yet to shewe the verite/one maye be bolde
All though it be a prouerbe daylye spoken
Who that tellyth trouth/his head shalbe broken.

Unto the Reader.

G

Race and peace: not that ye worlde geuyth/
but from god the father and oure sauioure Iesu
Christ with increase of the holy spryt be with
the and all that thurfte ye truthe. Amen.
fynderynge ye malsiciousnes of oure prelatz and theyr adherentes whiche so furiously barke a geynft ye worde of God/ and specially the new testament translatyd and set forth by Master William Tyndale/ which they falsely pretende to be sore corrupte. That ye may knowe yat yt is only the inwarde malyce whiche they haue ever had ageynft the worde of God. I haue here put in prynte a tretyse wrytten aboute ye yere of oure lorde a thousande foure hundredy. By which thou shalt playnly perceyue/ yat they wolde yet neuer from the begynnynge admytte any translacion to ye laye people/ so yat it is not ye corrupte translacion yat they withstonde. For yf that were true the ydle bellyes wold haue had leyfer Inough to put forth a nother well translatyd. But yt is theyr owne myfcheuous lyuynge yat mouith them accordyng as Christe sayd. Thonn. iiiij. Evry man that workyth euyll hatyth ye lyght/ ner comyth to ye lyght left hys workes shulde be reproued. &c. Thus mayft thou se that bycause their workes are nought and not bycause yt is euyll translatyd/ they so furiously refyste the worde of god whiche is the trew lyght. For yet was ther neuer none translatyd but other with falshed or tyranny they put yt downe. Wherfore I exhorte the redens not to confycre and note ye wordes but the matter. And praye to god to sende ye rulers hartes to ynderstonde ye trewth and further ye fame and the god of all confortethe with the AMEN

Thys treatyse more than an. C. yere olde
Declareth howe owre prelatis do ferre a myffe
Which of frowarde presumpcion are so bolde
To forbode the worde of god in englishe
For as the prophete faieth blessed he is
That exerciseth him felse diligently
Psall. i
In scripture night and daye continually.
Or to make vpon antichrist I take figure of king Antioche of whome gods lawe speaketh in ye boke of Machabeijs/ for righte as kinge Antioche came in the ende wellnygh of ye olde lawe/ and bren the bokes of gods lawe/ and compelled ye people to do maumentry. So now Antichrist ye kinge off clergy that lyuen worfe then hethen prestes/ brenneth nowe nygh the[e]nde of ye new lawe th[e]euangely of Christe that is nyghe ye ende of ye world/ to deceuy wellnygh all the worlde/ and to proue ye seruauntes of god. For nowe god shall nowe who will stande by his lawe/ for Sathanas as prophetes faye is nowe vnbounde and hath ben. CCCC. yeres and more for to inhabit oure clergye/ as he did the clergye of the olde lawe/ but now with moche more malyce. For as they dampa- ned Christ fo nowe oure bishoppes dampne and bren goddes lawe/ for bycaufe it is drawnen into our mother tounge. But it ought to be (and we faued shuld be) as we shal proue by open euidence thorowe goddes helpe. Firft we take witnesse of Boetius de disciplina scolarum/ that saythe that childerne shulde be taught in the bokes of Seneke. And Bede expoundeth this sayenge/ and saythe that childerne in vertues shulde be taught. For the bokes of Seneke ben moralles and for they be not taught thus in there youthe they contynue still euyll maneryd and be vnable to conceyue the subtyle science of trouthe sayng/ ye wise man is as a cleane myrror new pullisshed Wisdome shal not enter into a wicked soule. And moche is herof the fentence of Bede. And Al-

1 The marginal notes are evidently inserted by the Editor of 1530, and do not belong to the original text.

2 It must be recollected that the whole of these references are to manuscript copies.
gafell in his logyke faieth/ the foule of man is a cleane
merryor newe pulished in which is feyn lightly the
ymage of vertue. And for the people haue not cun-
nyinge in youthe they haue darke foules and blinde
with ignorance/ so that they profyt not in vertue but
in falsines and malice and other vices/ and moche is
therof ye matter. Sythen hethen philosphers wolden
the people to profyt in naturall science/ howe moche
more shuld chriften clerckes wil ye people to profyt in
science of vertues/ for so wold god. For when the
lawe was geuen to Mofes in ye Mount of Sinai/ god
gau e it to his people in ther mother tonge of Ebrue/
that all the people shuld vnderstande it/ and com-
maunded Mofes to reade it to them vntyll they vnder-
stoode it/ and so he did/ as it is playne Deute. xxxi.
And Esdras also redde it in theire mother tonge/ fro
morowe vntyll none as it is playne in the first boke of
Esdras Ca. viij. And he redde it apertly in the streate
and the eares of ye people were intently geuen thereto/
in so moche yat the people fell into great weeping for
ye miskeping of ye lawe. Alfo gods lawe faith Deutero.
xxij. that fathers shuld make the lawe knownen to their
fonnes/ and the fonnes yat shulde be borne of them
shuld ryfe and teache these thinges to ther fonnes.
And ye holy apostle feynt Peter in ye fourth chapter
of his first boke speaketh after this maner/ sayenge.
Whosoeuer speake/ speake he as ye worde of god:
and eyvery man as he hath taken grace of knowinge/ fo
ministre he forth to other men. It is wrytten playnly
in the boke of noumbres Chapter. xi. When the
prophet Mofes hadde chosen feuenty eldermen/ and
the sprite of god resten on them and they prophesied.
Two men befydes them/ Eldad and Medad/ prophes-
fyed in ye tentes/ and Iofue the ministre of Mofes said
to Mofes/ forbyd thou them. And Mofes
sayde/ what enviest thou for me? Who
shall let yat all the people prophesye/ yf
god gyue them his spirite? Alfo it is redde in ye
gospel that saith, John the Evangelist said unto Christ:

And he said unto them that casteth out spirits in thy name: which followeth not us. And Christ said unto him, For no man saith, Lo, lo, here is the Lord; and no man saith, Lo, lo, he is near; but, Lo, lo, he is before our eyes. And the same word spake he well the prophecy of Iohann, which saith, Petrus preaching to the Jews strongly alleged as Luke recytheth in the second chapter of the acts of the apostles, sayenge after this manner. That god nowe in the laste dayes shall shede out his spirit vpon every flesh.

But they saye only master doctor can understande ye scripture.

For God saith your sonses and daughters shuld prophesy, and your yong men shal se vffrons. And vpon whit fonday god gaue knowlege of his lawe to divers na-
cions without any exceptions in their mother tongue; by the understanding of one tounge. And of this it is notabyll fithen the laye people in the olde lawe had their lawe in their mother tounge; but the lay englishe people in the newe lawe haue it as all other na-
cions haue/syns Christ bought vs as he did other and hath geuen to vs the same grace as to other. For saynt Peter. Actu. xi. was reproofed for he had baptysed Cornelij and his felowe that were hethen men. And Peter answered and sayde Yf god haue gevyn the same grace to them that he hath to vs/who am I that may forbyd god? As who saith he lyeth not in the power of men. Than who art thou that forbiddest ye people to haue gods lawe in ther mother tounge? we saye yat thou art Antichrist himself. For Paule saith. i. Corin. x. I will every men to speake with tounge of more for-
sothe to prophesye/also he saith howe shal he saye Amen vpon thy blessynghe that woteth not what thou sayst. Vpon this faith doctor Lyre. Yf the people vnderstande ye prayer of ye prieft it shal the better be ledde vnto god/ and the more deoulytly anfwered Amen.

1 Nicholas de Lyra, a voluminous writer. He was a converted Jew who became a Minorite at Verneuil in 1291, and died at Paris in 1340.
Also Paul faith in the same chapter. I will rather fyue wordes to be spoken to the vnderstanding of men/ then ten thousand yat they vnderstand not. And. lxx. doctours with other mo before the incarnacion of chrisfe translated ye bible out of Ebrue into Greke. And after ye ascension many translated all ye bible in diuerse langages/ as into spanysh tonge/ frenshe tunge/ almanye/ and italy/ and by many yeres haue had it. It was hard of a worthy man of Almayne that ye fame tyme was a Flemmyng whose name was Iames Merland which translated all the bible into Flemysh. For whiche dede he was fomonned before the Pope of great malyce. And the boke was taken to examinacion. And truely he approued it. And then it was deluyerd to him agayn vnto confusion of all his enemyes. Worshipfull Bede in his fift booke called de geftis Anglornum. chapter. iij. telleth that faynt Oswolde the Kyng of Northumberlande asked of the skottes an holy bishoppe Aidan to preach to his people/ and the kyng him felse interpreted it in englishe to the people. Sythen this blessed deade of this Kyngge is alowed of all holy churche/ whye not nowe ought it as well to be alowed/ a man to reade ye gospell in Englishe to the people/ sythen that faynt Paule faith of our gospele be hidde/ it is hidde in them that shall be dampned. And he faith also he that knoweth not shal not be known of god. And therfore venerabilis Bede lede by the spirite of god translated a greate parte of the bible into Englishe/ whose originalles ben in many Abbeyes in England. And Cistercienfis. libro v. chaptre. xxxiiiij. sayth the that the Euangely off Ihon was drawen into Englishe by the forfayde Bede whiche Euangelye off Iohn and other Gospels ben yet in many places of so olde englishe that scant can anye englishe man reade them. For this Bede reyned in the yere offoure lorde god. vij. hundred and. xxxij. Also Cistercien.
libro. vi. chapitre. i. saythe that kyng Al[ř]ed ordyned open scoles of diuere artes in Oxforde and he turned the beft lawes into his mother tounge and the Pfalter also/ he reynged in the yere of oure lorde god. viij. hundred. lxxiiij. And saynt thomas sayth super librum politicorum expounding this worde/ barbarus/ that barbarus is he that vnderstondyth not yet he readeth in his mother tounge. Wherfore the apostle faith If I knowe not the vertue of the voice to whome I speake I shalbe to him barbarus/ that is to saye/ he vnderstonde not what I saye/ nor I what he faith. And so all tho prestes that vnunderstone not what they readyn by ther mother tounge be called barbarus/ and therfore Bede did drawe into englishe liberall artes lefte en- glishe men shuld be some barbarus/ haec Thomas. Alfo Lincoln1 sayth in a sermon that begynnithe/ Scrip- tum est de leuitis. Yf any prests saye he can not preache/ one remedye is/ renigne he vppe his benefyce. Another remedy yf he will not thus/ recorde he in the weke the naked texre of the fondaye gofpell that he haue the greffe storie and tell it to the people/ that is yf he vnunderstone latyn/ and do he this eueri weke in the yere he shal profyte moch. For thus preched oure lorde sayenge Thomn. vi. The wordes that I speake to you be spirit and lyfe. Yf he do not vnnderstone latyn go he to one of his neiboures yat vnnderstonde whic will charitably expoune it to him/ and thus edifye he his flocke. Upon this argueth a great clerke and faithe/ yf it be laufull to preache ye naked texre to ye people/ it is also lefull to write and read it to them. Alfo sir2 William Thorisby archebishop of Yorke3 did do draw a treatyse in

1 The famous Robert Grossetete, who was Bp of Lincoln, bet. 11 June 1235—9 Oct. 1253.
2 The usual prefix at the time to a priest’s name.
3 Rather John de Thorpe, who was Archbishop of York bet. Sept. 1348—Nov. 1356.
englishe by a worshipfull clercke/ whose name was Gatryke/ in the whiche were conteyneyd the articles of beleue/ the feuen dedly fynnes/ the feuen workes of mercy/ the. x. commandmentes. And sent them in small pages to the commyn people to learne it and to knowe it/ of which yet many a copye be in england. Also Richard the heremyte of Hampole drewe into englishe the Pfalter with a glofe and the lessons of dirighe and many other treatises/ by the whiche many englighemen haue ben greatly edified. And they ben cursed of god yat wolden let ye people to be lewder then they ben. But many men nowe be lyke vnto ye frendes of Hiob/ yat whiles they enforced to defende god they offendeth in him greeufully. And though suche as be slayne do myracles/ neuertheles they ben synkynghe marters. This saith Richard ye heremyt expounding this verfe/ Ne auferas de ore meo verbum veritatis vsquequaque. And Christ saith yat men shuld deame them self to do great plesaunt service to god in killing of his people. Arbitretur se obsequium prestare deo. &c. Also a man of london whose name was Wyrynge had a bible in englishe of northen speache whiche was feyne of many men and it semyd to be. C C. yeres old. Also it is knowne to many men in ye tyme of king Richerd ye. ii. yat into a parlament was put a bible by th[e]assent of. ij. archbishops and of the clergy to adnulle the bible that tyme translated into Englishe with other Englishe booke of th[e]exposicion off the gospells whiche when it was harde and feyn of lorde and of the comones. The duke of Lancastre Ihon answerd thereto ryght sharpeley sayenge this sentence/ we will

1 This must be the Speculum Christiani, which exists in MS., and was also printed by Machlinia. If so, this paragraph fixes the authorship: respecting which see Mr. Halliwell in Archaeologia. xxxiv.

2 Richard Rolle de Hampole [d. at Thornton in Yorkshire, d. 1340.] His Pricks of Conscience was published by the Philological Society in 1855, and some of his Prose Treatises by the Early English Text Society in 1866.
not be refuse of all other nations. For then they have goddes lawe which is the lawe of oure belefe in there owne langage/ we will have oures in English who so euere say naye. And this he assermyd with a great othe Alfo Thomas Arundell Arche- bishopp off Canterbury fayde in a sermon at westmeuter/ at the buryenge of Quiene Anne/ that it was more ioye of here than of any woman that euer he knewe. For she an alien borne hadde in english all the. iiiij. gospels with the doctors upon them And he said that she had sent them to him to examen/ and he faide that they were good and trewe. And he blamyd in that sermon sharply the negligence of the prelates and other men. In so moche that he faide that he wold leaue vp the office of Chaunceler and forake worldly buynes/ and gyue him to fullfill his pastollar oflyce/ for that he had seyn/ and redde in tho bokes. And after this prouyse he became ye moyste cruell enemye that mighte be against engliske bokes. And threfore as many men fayne God fomyng him with a cruell dethe as he didde also Richard flemynf bishopp of Lincolne.

1 Anne of Bohemia, the first wife of Richard II. She was buried on Monday, 3 August 1394, at Westminster. Arundel was at this time Arch-bishop of York.

2 Thomas Fitz Allan of Arundel, also called Thomas Arundel, was consecrated Bp of Ely, 9 Apr. 1374, was five times Lord Chancellor of England, was translated to York on 3 Apr. 1388, and thence to Canterbury on 25 Sept. 1506. He died 19 Feb. 1414. "His end (being as some report it) was very miserable; his tongue swelled so big in his mouth, as he was able neither to eat, drink nor speak in many daies before his death, and died at last of hunger."—F. Godwin, Bp. of Landaff, A Catalogue of the Bishops of England, &c. p. 155. Ed. 1615.

3 The see of Lincoln was filled in succession by two men who at one time had been disciples and coadjutors of Wyckliffe. Philip de Repington, who was Bishop between 24 Mar. 1406—10 Oct. 1419; and Richard Fleming, who was consecrated Bp. by the Pope's own hand on 28 Apr. 1500, and died at Sleaford on 25 Jan. 1537, respecting whom Bp. Godwin says:—"For two things he is famous: one, that he caused the bones of Wickliffe to be taken vp and burnt in the yeare 1425, being required by the Council of Sienna so to do, and the other, that he founded Lincoln College in Oxford 1430."—Idem. p. 300.

Bp. Fleming's death seems the latest personal allusion in the text. It is alluded to in so distant a manner as to afford a presumption that the treatise was not written for a number of years after.
And yet our bishops ben so indurate and so ferre frayd from god that they haue no grace one to beware of a nother/ but proudly against all reason and evidence of gods lawes/ and doctours sentences/ they brende gods worde the whiche hath brought this realm to unjoyng for euer but if godes grace be the more/ for this cruelle deade is cause of pestilence/ hungers/ warres/ and that also this realm shalbe conquerd in short tyme/ as saynt Edward ye kyng and confessor prophesye both in his booke yat beganith thus:/ Sanctus Edwardus rex vidit spiritualibus oculis. And thethere it were good to the Kyng and to other lorde to make some remedy agayns this constitucion of Antichrist that sayth it is vnlawfull to vs englyshemen to haue in englyshe goddes lawe/ and therafore he brennythe and fleythe them yat maynteyneth this good deade/ and that is for default that the kyng and lorde knowen not ne wyll not knowe ther owne office in maintenance of god and his lawe. For as saith Auften saithe the Kyng with his knyghtes representyn the godhede of Christe/ and pretys the manhode of Christe/ Rex est vicarius divinitatis/ et facerdos est vicarius Christi humanitatis/ haec Augustinus in de questionibus veteris et nouæ legis. ca. xci. And if the kyng dyver to knowe perfytly his office/ he maye synde men to shewe to hym bookes that truely and perfytly shall enforce hym to doo his office

1 The Constitution of Archbishop Arundel is to the following effect:—

"Therefore we enact and ordain that no one shall henceforth translate of his own authority any text of Holy Scripture into the English or other tongue by way of book, pamphlet, or tract: neither shall any such book, pamphlet, or tract be read, whether composed in recent times by the said John Wycliffe, or since, or which may hereafter be composed, in part or entire, openly or in secret, under pain of the greater Excommunication. Unless the same translation be approved by the Diocesan of the place, or if need be, by the Provincial Council. Whosoever shall act contrary to this shall be punished as guilty of Heresy and error."—Lyndewode's Provincial, &c. V. c. 4. De Magistris, p. 286. Ed. 1679.
to the plesenace of god. But this can not he lerne of 
Byfhoppys for they enferme hym after Antichristes 
lawe and ordenaunce for his lawes nowe 
reignen. Yet agaynst them that sayn ye 
goipell in englythe wold make men to 
erre/wote they well yat we fynde in latyn 
langage more heretykes then of all other langages for 
the decre. saythe. xxiiij. xiij. Quidam autem here-
tici/ that there be founden syxty laten heretykes. 
And if men shuld hate any langage for herefy then 
muyst they hate laten. But god forbede that any 
langage shuld be hated for herefy sythen manye here-
tykes were of ye disciples of ye apostles. For saint 
Ihonn faythe they haue gonn owt of vs but they were 
not of vs. And Paule faythe it behouyth 
hereys to be/ and antichrist makythe many 
mo heretykes then there shuld be for he 
stoppythe fo the knowying of gods lawe/ and 
punyfeth fo them that he knoweth yat haue it/ 
yat they dare not comen therof openly to haue 
trewe informacion/ and thys makythe laymen yat 
befyren and louen to knowe gods lawe to goo to 
gyther in prayynte and conceuyen by theyr owne wyttes 
many tymes hereys ye which herefis in short tyme 
shuld be destroyed/ yf men myght haue free comenying 
openly/ and but if this maye be had moche of ye 
people shal dye in herefy/ for it lyethe neuer in Anti-
christes power to destroye all englyshe booke for as 
faist as he brennethe/ other men shal dreawe/ and thus 
ye caufe of herefy and of ye people that dyeth in 
herefy is ye frowardnes of byfhoppes that wyll not 
füffer men to haue opyn comoning and fre in the lawe 
of god and therfore they be countable of as many 
sowlys as dyen in thys default/ and are 
traytors to god in stoppynge of his lawe 
ye whiche was made in feluacion of ye 
people. And nowe they turne his lawe by ther 
cruell constitucyons into dampnacion of ye people
as it shalbe prouyd upon them at the dayte of dome
for gods lawe faithe/ Stabunt iusti in magna constantia
aduerfus eos qui se angustiauerunt, & qui absuluerunt
labores eorum. &c. For that the Reade Sapien
other men laboren they brennen/ and yf
owre clergy wold study well this lesson of sapience to
ye ende/ they shuld mowe rede therin theyr owne
dampnacion/ but yf they amend this defaulte with
other defaultes. Saiethe not the holy man Ardemakan
in the booke of questions that ye wurshupfull sacrament
of ye alter maye be made in eche comen langage.
For he saieth so diden ye apostles. But we couet not
thys/ but yat Antechrist geue vs leaue to haue the lawe
of owre beleue in englishe. Also they yat haue comonyd
moc he with ye Iewes/ faye yat they haue in euerl yande
yat they be borne in/ ye byble in ther mother tounge/
yat is Ebrewe And they be more practyfe therin than
annye men/ ye aswell ye lewde men as ye prestes.
But it is redde in her synagoges amongst ye people
of ther prestes to fullfyll ther prestes office and to ye
edificacion of ye poraile/ that for worldly busynes and
flewthe maye not studye it. Also the. iiiij. euangelistes
wrote ye gofpell in diuerse langages/ as Mathew in
Iurie/ Marke in Italy/ Luke in Achaie/ and Iohn in
Asie. And all these wrote in ye langages of the same
contreys/ also Tobye saithe Chap. xiiij. that god dier-
pered/ sprede/ or scaterid ye Iewes abrode amonge the
heten people yat they tellynge vnto theym ye
merucylles of godde: they shuld knowe that there
were nonne other god/ but god of Israel. And god
ordyned his people to beleue his lawe wrytten among
them in ther mother tounge/ vt patet Ge. x. viij. and
Exo. xiiij. In so moche the boke of Iudithe is wrytten
in Calde speche/ vt patet per Hieronimum in prologo
eiusdem. Also the bookes of Daniel/ and of Esdre ben
written in Calde/ vt patet per Hieroni. in prologis
eorundem/ also the booke of Iohel in Arabyke and
Syre speche/ vt patet per Hieroni. in prologo eiusdem.
Alfo Ezechiell the prophet prophesyed in Babylon/ and lefte his prophesye vnder the mother tongue of Babylon/ vt pater per Hieronimum in prologo eiusdem. Alfo the prophesye of Isaie is translated in to the tongue of Ethiope/ as Hie. concludeyth in primo prologo Gene. Then fythen the darke prophesyes were translated amonges the hethen people yat they myght have knowlege of god and of the incarnation of Christ/ moche more it ought to be translatyd to englyshe people that have receiued the safeythe and bounden them felse to kepe it vpon payne of dannacion/ fythen Christ commanded his apostles to Matheii. xviiij. preache his gospell vnto all the worlde and exepected no people nor langage. Alfo Origen translated the bybly owt of Ebrew into Greke with helpe of other in the yere of owre lorde god CCxxiiiij. Alfo Aquila translated in the yme of Adrian the emperoure in the yere of oure lorde. C.xxiiij. alfo Theodosiion translatis it in ye tyme of th[e]mperowre Comede. iiiij. yere after Aquila/ alfo Simacus translated it in the tyme of th[e]mperowre Serene. xxx. yere after Theodosiion. viij. yere after Simacus it was translated the auctor vnknownen yn the tyme of Aexander the emperowre/ And Ierome translated it into latyn/ vt in cronicis Cietercien. li. li. ca. xxxij. And after that Ierom had translated it into laten/ he translated to women moche of the bible. And to the maydens Eufochia and Paula/ he translated the bookes of Iosue of Iudicum and Ruth and hefter/ and Ecclesiastes/ Ieremy/ Isaie and Daniell/ and the. xij. prophetes/ and ye. viij. canonyke epystlyles/ vt patet in prologo eorundem. And so all men maye se here by Ierom/ yat it was neuer his entent to bynde ye lawe of god vnder his translacion of laten but by his owne dede geuythe leaue to translate it into euery speche/ for Ierom wryttythe in his. bxxviij. epystle to this man Acleta/ that he shuld enseorme his daughter in the bookes of the olde lawe and the newe/ Alfo in his.
lxxv. epistle he wrythyte to ye virgin Demetriadis/ that she shuld for to encrease her selfe in vertue rede/ nowe vpon one booke/ and nowe vpon another. And he specifieth the vnto her that she alfo rede the gospell/ and the epistykes of the apostles And thus/ Th[e]nglyshme men defyre to haue the lawe of god in englyshe/ sythen it is called the lawe vndefyled conuertyng sowlys in to clenmes/ lex domini immaculata conuertens animas/ but Antechrist faihte that it is corruppte with ye litterall lettre yat sleyth sowlys takynge his auctorite of Paule/ that faihte/ litera occidit spiritus autem viuificat. That is the lettre of the ceremonies of ye olde lawe sleyth the Iewes/ and them that nowe vfen them/ but the spirite of the newe lawe quykenethe trewe Christen men/ sythen Christ faythe my wordes ben spritte and lyffe. Also we take ensample of holy virgyns to loue to reade the gospell as they diden/ as Katheryn/ Cecyle/ Lucye/ Agnes/ Margaret/ whiche alegyd the holy gospell to the infidels/ that fiewe them for the keping therof. Of these forefaid auctorites it is prouyd lauffull/ that both men and women lauffullly may reade and wryte gods lawe in their mother tonge/ and they that forfenden this they shewe them felfes helyers and fonnen of the fyrst tormentors/ and werfe/ for they shewen them felfes the veraye disciples of Antichrist/ whiche hathe and shall passe all the malyce of tyrauntes that haue ben before in stoppyng and peruyntyng of gods lawe whiche deade engendrythe greate vengeaunce to fall in this realme/ but yf it be amendid For Paule faihte Roma. i. The wraethe of god is shewyd from heuyn vpon cruuelles and vnryghtfulnes of these men that with holde the trowthe of god in vnryghtwysnes/ Reuelatur enim ira dei su-par omnem impietatem et iniuicitiam hominum eorum qui veritatem dei in iniuisti-lio detinent. Now god of hys mercy geue vnfo over kyng/ and to over lorde grace of trewe vnder-standyng to amende this default principally and all
other/ then shall we mowe easely to be amendid. For
vntyll it be amendid there shall neuer be rest and
peace in thys realme.¹ Who that syndythe or redythe
this lettre put it furthe in examinacyon and suffer it
not to be hydde or destroyed/ but multyplyed for
no man knoweth what profyt maye come therof.
For he that compiled it / purposyth with goddes
helpe to mayntayne it vnto the deathe/ yf
neade be. And theryfore all chriſten
men and women/ praye that ye
vorde of god may be
vnbounde/ and de-
liuered from
the po-
wer of
An-
tichrift/ and renne amonge his people. Amen.

Emprented at Marborow in the lan-
de of Hessen/ by me Hans Luft/
in the yerre of owre lorde. M.
CCCCC. and. XXX.

¹ From this, it would seem that this Treatise was written in the turmoil
and troubles of the Wars of the Roses.