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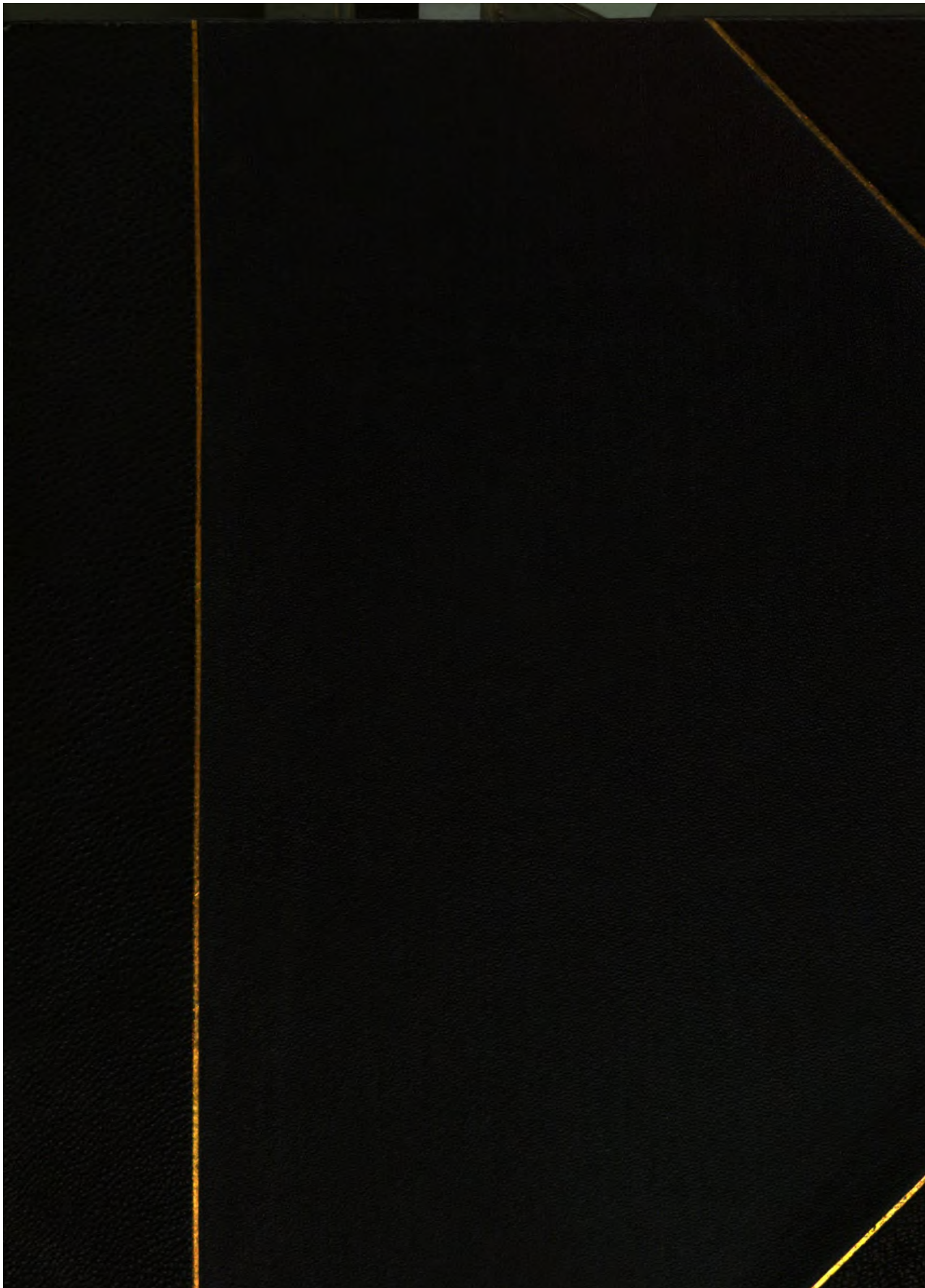
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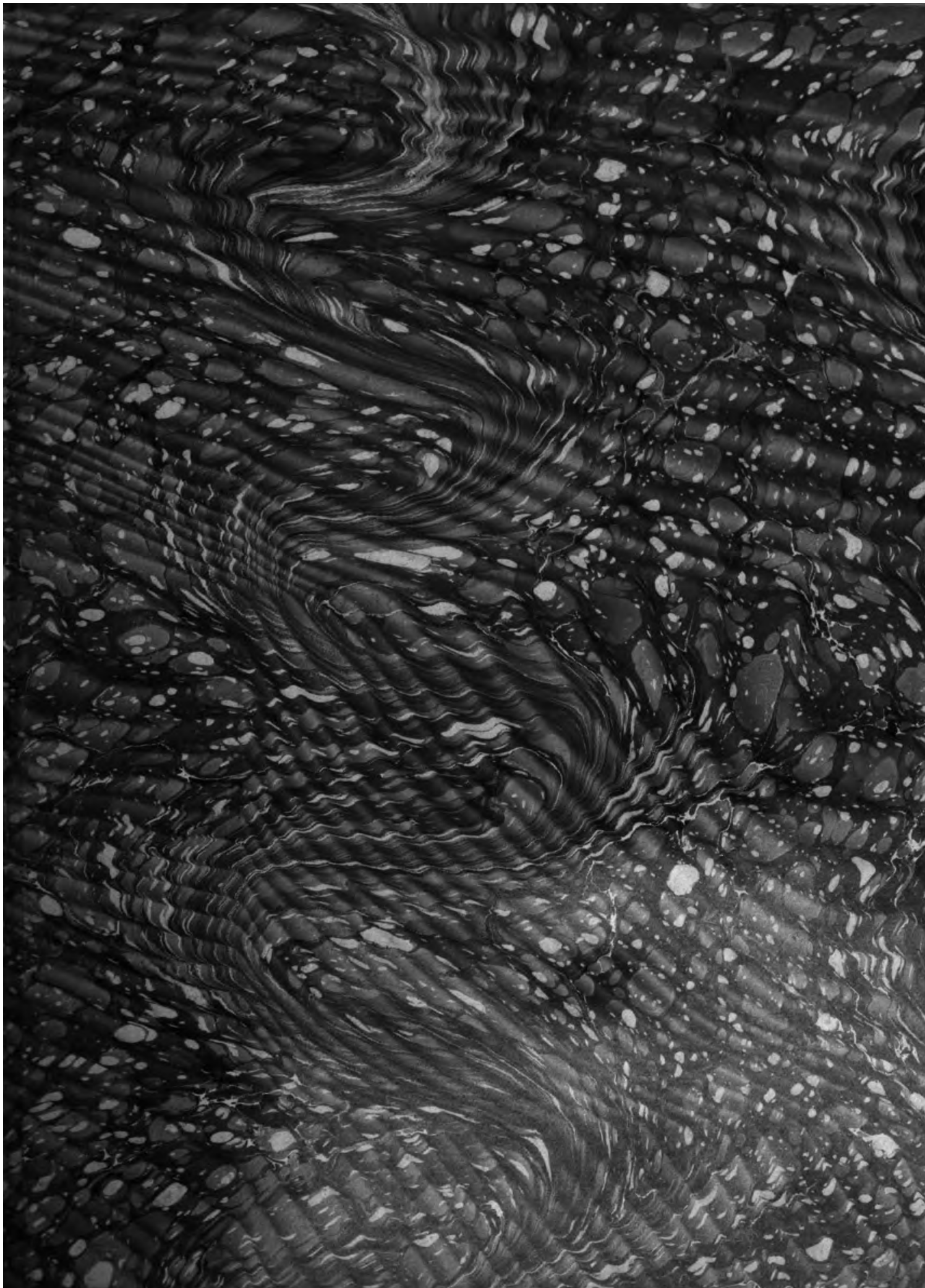


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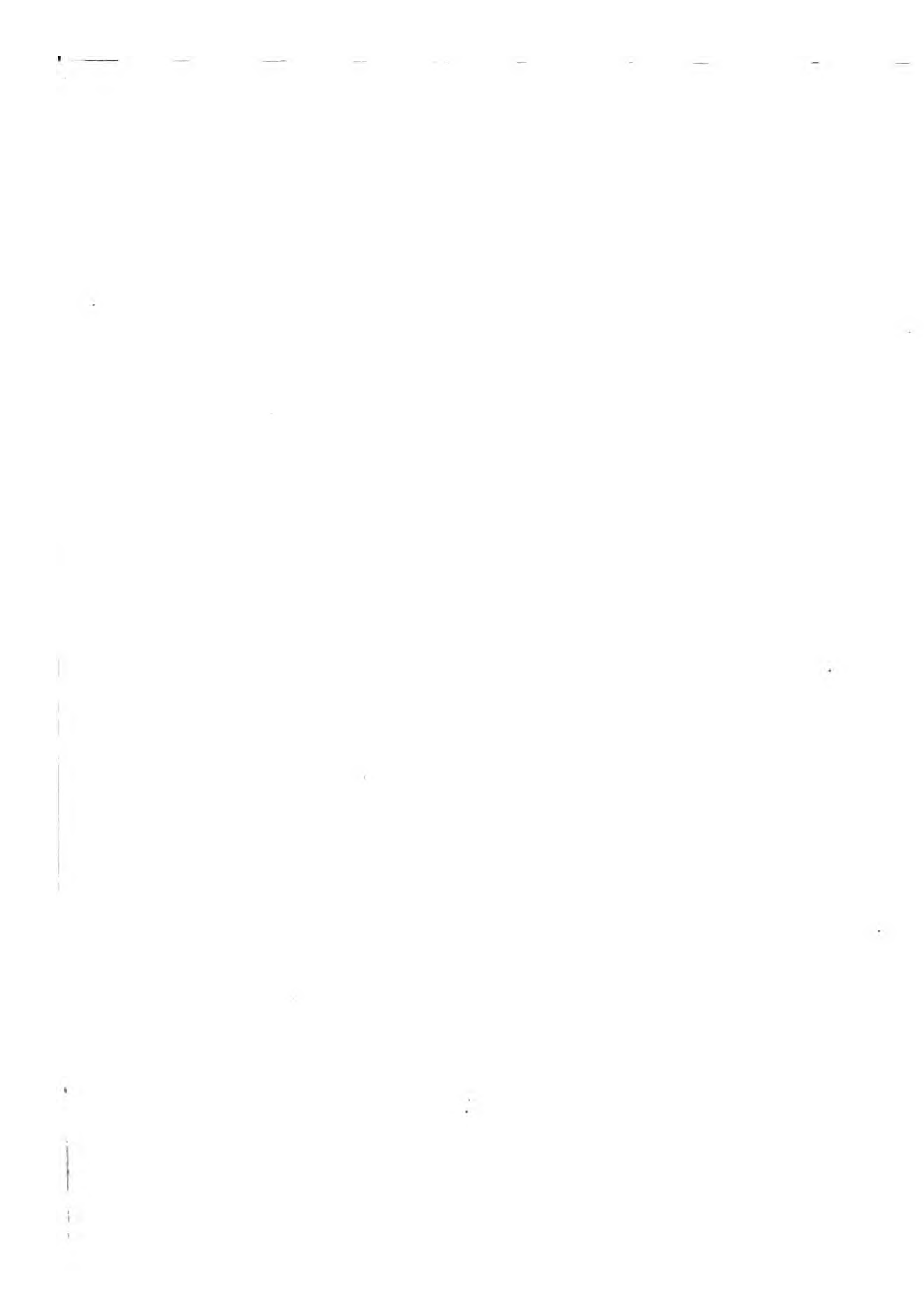
















# English Reprints.

*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 DYALOGUE BETWENE A  
GENTILLMAN AND A HUSBANDMAN:  
*Eche complaynyng 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 Englysshe.*

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.

CAREFULLY EDITED BY EDWARD ARBER, A.K.C., F.R.G.S., &C.

5 QUEEN SQUARE, BLOOMSBURY, LONDON, W.C.

*Ent. Stat. Hall.*]      1 December 1871.      [*All rights reserved.*]

15. b. 25

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

### INTRODUCTION.

**T**He old imperial city of Straßburg was one of the cities of refuge to the early Protestant reformers, especially to those of the school of Zuingli. 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 Alsace, [b. at Kaiserberg, 1477—d. 9 Jan. 1548] who had been Rector of Freiburg in Brisgau, came to Straßburg 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 Schellstadt, 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 Æcolampadius, CASPAR HEDIO [b. at Ettlingen, 1494—d. at Straßburg, 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 Straßburg. 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



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 Straßburg Protestants.

2. Three years later, so far as we can judge about April 1526, the English Franciscan monk, WILLIAM ROY, journeyed from Worms to Straßburg. He had been assisting, with hearty, though not entirely disinterested effort, at the secret production of the Instrument, 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 university 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 monkish 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 abroad (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 Cochläeus, 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 indiscriminancy of and general respect for his white garb, he safely reached Straßburg.

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 answer 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.

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, Basle, Coire, and Lucerne, defended the Mass, 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 Straßburg, and they two appear to have continued together for some months.

5. In December of that year came the news that the Bernese—the chief Swiss canton—dissatisfied 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 Bernese sent out ten Articles, to which the Discussion was to be limited. They endeavoured to compel the representation of the neighbouring Bishops of Constance, Basle, Sion, and Lausanne, 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 Basle, Schaffhausen, Zurich, Appenzel, Straßburg, Ulm, Augsberg, Constance, Lindau, and other cities, were present, but no one appeared on behalf of the Catholic bishops. The two Bernese 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 Augustine 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 Bern in üchtland*: printed by Christophel Froschover 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 Mass, 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 Straßburg, 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 Strasburg priest the opening Mock-Lamentation of this Interlude bemoaning the decease of the Mass. The whole point of the Invective 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 Strasburg till 20 February 1529, whereas we know that this Invective 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 sack 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 Strasburg, 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 Cochläus' *Responsio in 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 Invective 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 Strasburg 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 craft 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.



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 Mass in Rhyme*.

10. We now come to the other aspect of the book. Ostensibly 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. [? 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 nott take this worke as a thing convicious/ or a principle 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.

**What.** ¶ *Is this prowde Cardinall rycher/  
Then Christ or goode Sayncte Peter/  
In whose roume he dothe succede!*

**Irf.** ¶ *The bosses of his mulis brydles  
Myght bye Christ 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 worffe then evyr it was,  
Neuer so depe in miserable decaye/  
But it cannot thus endure all waye.*

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 Wolfey reading that!

11. Thus far we have dealt with the history and literary characteristics of this Invective. 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 Wolfey and the Observants. Just 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 suppression 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 shrynes in peces brake, p. 111.*

12. In conclusion. We cannot suppose that this Invective exercised any very large immediate influence. Rynck 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 posterity is much indebted to the two Franciscans for these excellent photographs of English clerical life of the time, of the proud insolent oppressiveness and ungodly 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 pp. 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. Tonsal 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.

Bp. Tanner [*Notit. Monast.* edit. Nasm. Pref. p. xiii.] gives the following account of the Friars-minors:—

"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 Spoleto, 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. 1219. 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 Sienna, 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*, viii. 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

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 the monks in their devotions. They returned this friendship by openly espousing her cause when the business of her divorce was agitated, which so far enraged the King that he suppressed the whole Order throughout England."—*Idem*, p. 1512.

\*1486.

WILLIAM TYNDALE, born not earlier than this year.

WILLIAM ROY was educated at Cambridge. See Cooper. *Ath. Cantab.* i. 44. *Ed.* 1858.

1521—3.

TYNDALE is tutor in the family of Sir John Walsh, at Little Sodbury in Gloucestershire.

1523. \*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.

1524. \*MAY.

TYNDALE leaves London and goes to Hamburg.

1525. \*APRIL or \*MAY.

TYNDALE received, probably at Hamburg, a remittance from Monmouth.

1525. \*JULY or \*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.

1525. \*SEPT.

JOHN DOBNECK, surnamed COCHLÆUS, gives the following account of how he stopped their work:—"Having thus become more intimate and familiar with the Cologne printers, he sometimes 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 quaternionum* [*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 prohibit it.

Cochlæus being inwardly affected by fear and wonder, disguised his grief, under 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 Military 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 Cochlæus: 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 interdicted from proceeding farther in that work. The two English apostates, snatching 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 Lutheranism, that there, by another printer, they might complete the work begun. Rinck and Cochlæus, 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 merchandise should be conveyed into all parts of England." The original of this is *De Actis et Scriptis Martini Lutheri*, pp. 132-134, *Ed.* 1549.

It is specially to be observed that Cochläus did not see the two Englishmen nor a sheet of their impression; he seems also not to have known even their names.

1525. DEC. 2. Dr. LEE, the king's almoner, journeying through France into Spain, thus writes to the king from Bordeaux:—"Please it your Highnesse moreover to understand that I am certainlie enformed as I passed in this contree that an Englishman, your subject, at the solicitation and instance of Luther, with whome he is, hath translated the Newe Testament in to English, and within fewe days entendethe to arrive with the same emprinted in England."—*Cott. Vesp. E. iii. fol. 211. orig.*

1526. \*JAN. or \*FEB. The New Testaments were finished at Worms. 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 vyage vpon him/ to preach christ where (I suppose) he was neuer yet preached (God which put in his herte thyther to goo sende his sprite with him/ comforte him and bringe his purpose to good effecte) one William Roye a man somewhat craftye when he cometh vnto new acquaintance and before he be thorow knowen and namely when all is spent/ came vnto me and offered his helpe. As longe as he had no money/ somewhat I could ruele him: but as sone as he had gotten him money/ he became lyke hym selfe agayne. Neuerthelesse I suffered all thinges tyll yat was ended whych I coude not doo alone wythout one both to wryte and to helpe me to ccompare ye textes together. When that was ended I toke my leue and bode him farewell for oure two liues/ and as men saye a daye longer." Preface to *The Parable of the Wycked Mammon*, finished at Marburg 8 May 1528.

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

1526. 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 which thinge to doo he passeth all that euer I yet knewe. And there when he had stored hym of money he gotte him to Argentine where he professeth wonderfull faculties and maketh best of no small thinges"—*Idem.*

1527. 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 1528,] came one Ierom a brother of Grenewich also/ thorow wormes to Argentine/ [Strasbourg] sayenge that he entended to be Christes disciple an other whyle and to kepe (as nye God wolde gyue him grace) the profession of his baptim/ and to gett his lyuing with his handes/ and to lyue no longer ydely and of the swete and laboure of those captuyes whiche they had taught/ not to byleue in Chryst: but in cuttshoves and russet coetes. Which Ierom with all diligence I warned of Royes boldnesse and exhorted hym to beware of hym and to walke quyetyly and with all pacience and longe sofferinge acordinge as we haue Chryste and his apostles for an ensample/ which thinge he also promysed me. Neuerthelesse when he was comen to Argentine William Roye (whos tonge is able not only to make foles sterke madde/ but also to disceyue the wisest that is at the fyrst syght and acquaintance) gate him to hym and set him a werke to make rymes/ whyle he hym selfe translated a dialoge out of laten in to Englysh/ in whose prologe he promyseth moare a greate deal than I fere me he wyll euer paye."

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 1527.



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 contumacem dialogum Christianum*. It was written against the seven sacraments, as the following passage in Sir T. More's *Supplycacyon of Soulys*, published in the summer of 1529, proves.

"They parceyuyng thys/haue therfore furste assayd the furst way all redy/ sendyng forth Tyndals translycayon of the new testament in such wyse handled as yt should haue bene the fountayn and well spryng of all theyr hole heresies. For he had corrupted and purposely changed in many placys the text/ with such wordys as he myght make yt seme to the vnlearned people/ that the scripture affirmed theyr heresy es it selfe. Then cam sone after out in prynt the dyaloge of frere Roy and frere Hyerome/ betwene ye father and ye sonne agaynst ye sacrament of ye aulter; and the blasphemouse boke entytled the beryeng of the masse. [i.e. *Rede me, &c.*] Then cam forth after Tyndals wykkyd boke of Mammona [dated 8 May 1528] and after that his more wykkyd boke of obydyence [dated 2 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 Observantia*, 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, I 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 Constans 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 blotted 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 laten'], and a thousand of nine quires [The first edition of this Invective 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."

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

1528. DEC. 17. In a letter of this 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 Robbynson, 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 *where Roy was, when he was in England with his mother*, and for other sort of business according to my

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 obediency 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 [? be taken]. At Greenwich, at our convent, the xvii December A<sup>o</sup> Dom. 1528. JOHN WEST." *The original is Cotton. MS. Vitell. B. x. f. 171.*

**1529.** [? 2 FEB.] Simon Fish's *Supplication of the Beggars* 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 Dyalogue* 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 MIDSUMMER. 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 of them.

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

Nov. He is arrested in Mark Lane, London.

Nov. 10—21. He undergoes several examinations.

Nov. 27. He is burnt at or near Newgate.

DEC. 3. Both the works here printed, are prohibited at Paul's Cross.

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 *Confutacyon of Tyndall's Answere. &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 chastyte, and ranne out of hys order, and hath synnes sought many a false vnylawfull way to lyue by/ wherein he made so many chaunges, that as Bayfeld a nother heretyque and late burned in smythfeld tolde vnto me/ 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. Angli.* Ed. 1858, &c.; and *The Life of Wolsey*, by his Gentleman Usher [? George Cavendish].

1470. Oct. 9. Henry VI. restored to the throne.

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. 156, 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 nat to Courte*; thus refers to it:—

How be it the primordial	And his greasy genealogy,
Of his wretched original,	He came of the <i>sang royal</i>
And his base progeny,	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.

1471. April 14. Edward IV. restored to the throne.

1483. April 9—June 25. Edward V. titular King.

1483. June. Richard III. seizes the Crown.

1485. Aug. 22. Henry VII. comes to the Crown.

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 owne mouthe, he was made Bachellor of Arts, when he past not fifteen years of

1486. age, in so much that for the rareness of his age, he was called most commonly, through the University, the Boy Bachelor.

1500. OCT. 10. WOLSEY is made Fellow of Magdalen college, and Master of Magdalen school. Is instituted Parson of Lymington, near Ilchester, in Somersetshire.

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 Prebendaryship 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.

1510. 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].

16 CAREERS OF CARDINAL WOLSEY & HIS CHILDREN.

1512. JAN. 16. Is made Prebend [Bugthorpe] of York. [Resigns it on being made Bp. of Lincoln in 1514.]
1512. ? Is made Dean of Hereford. [Resigns it 3 Dec. 1512.]
1513. FEB. 19. Is elected Dean of York. Is admitted Dean FEB. 21. [Resigns it 6 April 1514, having been made Bp. of Lincoln.] 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*.
1514. FEB. 6. Papal Bulls of Provision to the see of Lincoln. MARCH 1. Receives the temporalities. MARCH 27, Is consecrated at Lambeth by Archbp. Warham. Resigns various smaller preferments as above.
- 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 *Sanctæ Cæciliæ 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.
1518. MAY 17. Appointed Joint-legate with Cardinal Campeggio.
- 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.
1519. Campeggio is recalled.
- 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 4s. in the pound of the Commons, and gets 2s. He is much mortified at the Commons. His Legateship prolonged for five years.
- MAY. Is again disappointed of the Papacy. Clement VII. elected.



CAREERS OF CARDINAL WOLSEY & HIS CHILDREN. 17

- 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. Commotions 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. Further suppression of monasteries for his colleges.
- 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.
- Third suppression of monasteries for his colleges.
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 cardinall of Yorke was aduised that the king had set his affection vpon a yoong gentlewoman named Anne, the daughter of Sir Thomas Bullen, vicount Rochford, which did wait vpon the queene. This was a great grieue vnto the cardinall, as he that perceiued 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 tne misliking that he had to the woman, he iudged ought to be auoided more than present death. While the matter stood in this state, and that the cause of the queene was to be heard and iudged at Rome, by reason of the appeale which by hir was put in: the cardinall required the pope by letters and secret messengers, that in anie wise he should defer the iudgement of the diuorse, till he might frame the kings mind to his purpose. Howbeit he went about nothing so secretlie, 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 vnthankfull person he forgot himselfe and his dutie towards him that had so highlie aduanced him to all honor and dignitie. *Holinshed. lii 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 Archbishoprick.
- 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.: æt. 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  
1 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-  
1 vol. 8vo. wick Press.

#### II.—With other works.

3. 1812. London. *The Harleian Miscellany*. Ed. by T. PARK, F.S.A.  
10 vols. 4to. *Rede me, &c.*, occupies vol. ix. 1-83. Ed. 1812.
5. 1871. SEPT. 20. London, 1 vol. 8vo. *English Reprints*; see title at p. 1.

#### III.—Adaptations, &c.

- \*2. 1546. JUNE 30. Wesel. Printed by Henry Nycholson. Ed. by L. R.  
1 vol. 8vo. [? A further carrying out of the arbitrary letters L, N O, P Q, R.]

### A Proper Dyaloge, &c.

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

#### II.—With A compendious olde Treatise, &c.

1. 1530. Marburg. See title at p. 129, and Colophon at p. 184. 23 leaves.  
1 vol. 8vo. The press-mark of the Museum copy is C. 37. a.
- \*2. [1530. Marburg.] It would seem that when the *olde Treatise* was sepa-  
rately printed (see No. 2 below) that this *Dyaloge* 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-  
1 vol. 8vo. graphy), with an Introduction, by FRANCIS FRY, Esq. F.S.A.
4. 1871. SEPT. 20. London, 1 vol. 8vo. *English Reprints*: see title at p. 1.

### A compendious olde Treatyse, &c.

A MS. copy of this *lettre* 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 lawfull to have holy writte and other bookes in Englishe.* J. Nasmith's *Cat.*, &c., p. 333, Ed. 1777.

#### I.—As a separate publication.

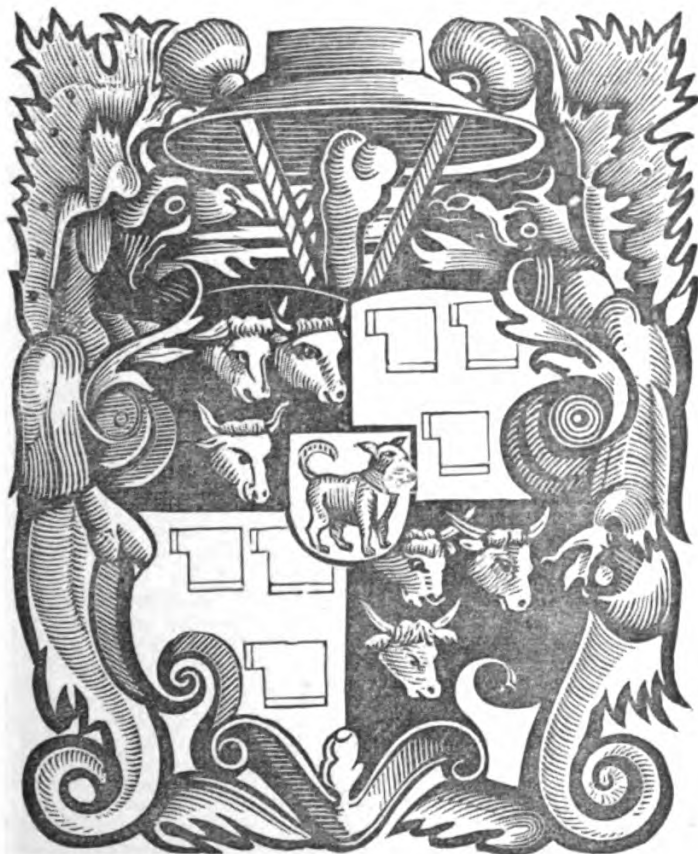
2. 1530. Marburg. A compendious olde treatyse/ howe that we ought to  
1 vol. have ye Scripture in Englysshe/ COL. Emprinted at Marl-  
8 leaves. borow in the lande of Hessen/ be my Hans Luft/ in the yere  
of oure lorde M.CCCC. and .XXX. It has 34 lines to a page. A perfectly  
distinct edition from No. 1. The press-mark of the Museum copy is C. 25. d.
3. [? 1546.] London. A compendious Olde treatyse shewynge/ howe that we  
1 vol. 8vo. ought to haue the Scripture in Englyshe 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 Dyaloge, &c.* See title at p.  
1 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  
1 vol. folio. of JOHN FOX'S *Actes and Monumentes, &c.*, pp. 452-5.
5. 1844 6. London. It is consequently reprinted in the edition of that work  
8 vols. 8vo. by the Rev. T. TOWNSEND, M.A., in vol. iv. 671-676.
6. 1863. Bristol. 1 vol. 8vo. Facsimiled by Mr. Fry, with the *Dyaloge, &c.*
7. 1871. SEPT. 20. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *English Reprints*. see title at p. 1.

**Rede me and be nott wrothe,  
For I saye no thynge but trothe.**

**I will ascende makynge my state so hye/  
That my pompous honoure shall never dye.**



**Ⓞ Caytife when thou thynkest 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 shelde  
 Borne vp betwene two angels off Sathan.  
 The fixe blouddy axes in a bare felde  
 Sheweth the cruelte of the red man/  
 whiche hathe devoured the beautifull swan.  
 Mortall enny vnto the whyte Lion/  
 Carter of Yorcke/ the vyle butchers sonne.

The fixe bulles heddes in a felde blacke  
 Betokeneth hys stordy furiousnes  
 Wherefore the godly lyght to put abacke  
 He bryngeth in hys dyvlishe darcknes.  
 The bandog in the middes doth expresse  
 The mastif Curre bred in Ypswitch towne  
 Gnawynge with his teth a kynges crowne.

The cloubbe signifieth playne hys tyranny  
 Covered over with a Cardinals hatt  
 Wherin shalbe fulfilled the prophecy  
 Aryse vp Iacke and put on thy salatt/  
 For the tyme is come of bagge and walatt  
 The temporall cheualry thus throwen downe  
 Wherby prest take hede and beware thy crowne.

To his singuler goode frendt and bro-  
 ther in Christ Master. P. G. P  
 O. desyreth grace and pea-  
 ce from God the fat-  
 her/ thorowe the-  
 lorde Iesus  
 Christ.



**B**Y your laste letter/ dere brother in  
 Christ/ I perceved/ that youre de-  
 syre was/ to have the lytle worke  
 which ye sent/ wele examened/ and  
 diligently put into prynt. Which  
 thyng (the bonde of charitie/  
 where with not alonly Joh. xv  
 you and I/ but we with the whole nombre of Christis  
 chofen flocke/ rema[n]yng amonge oure nacion of en-  
 gliffhe men/ are knet together/ purly for the truthes  
 sake pondered) I coule do no lesse but fulfill and  
 accomplysse. For as moche as it is a thyng so  
 necessary. Where of no doute/ shall spryng grett  
 frute vnto the sammiffhed/ and lyght vnto theym which  
 of longe feason have bene fore blynd- Ma. xxv  
 folded. Though the rammysshe refydue of gotes/ so  
 farre envred with mannis blynde reason (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 grownded in trouth/ Mat. xxiiij.  
 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 dampnable sectes/  
 even denyng the lorde that bought theym/ ij. pe. j. ij



and brynge on their owne heddes fwyfte dampnacion/  
 for their leadyng of many into their dampnable  
 ap. xvij 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. xvj. marke of the grett beast of the erth/ whose  
 j. ti. iij confciences. S. paul descrybeth to be  
 finged with the hott yeron of blasphemey/ only geve  
 hede to the spretes of erreure/ and dyvelysse doc-  
 tryne of theym which speake faulce through hipocrify/  
 iij. forbyddyng to mary/ and commaundyng  
 to abstayne from meates and soche 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 apostles erudi-  
 ij. Pe. j. ij cion/ as longe as I folowe no decevable  
 fables/ will not be negligent to put my brethren in  
 remembraunce (thogh they partly knowe them their  
 selves/ and are stablysshed in the present trueth) or  
 those thynges wherby they maye the more evidently  
 note the disceatfulnes of mortall man/ and the better  
 come vnto the knowledge of the immortall god.  
 Seynge the tyme at honde wherin god of his infinite  
 Luc. j mercy/ hath ordened before to make  
 Rom. j them thorowe Christ oure lorde parte  
 Ac. xiiij takers also of his glorious will and porpos.  
 Ebre. iij even as in the gospell oure saveoure before  
 mar. iij. xvj to all his hadd promesed. I therfore con-  
 lu. iij. ix fyderinge the worlde thus to be wrapped  
 j. Io. v

in myfery and blindnes (and now in thefe Lu. viij.  
 latter dayes becom an hole or denne of Ma. vij  
 falce foxy hipocrites/ and a mancion for all ravenynge  
 wolves difgyfed in lambes fkyennes/ which hate all love/  
 and with oute drede of god wander but for their  
 praye) have iudged it a thyng moſte convenient/ to  
 fett this ſmale treatous as a glas or myroure moſt  
 cleare before all mens eyes. In the preface where of  
 manyfeſtly 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 Luc. vj  
 lamentacion folowynge/ made by a bely beaſt/ engen-  
 dred amonge the greſy/ or anoynted heap/ Ro. xvj  
 wother wyfe called the papyſticall ſecte (whom Chriſt  
 calleth a croked/vntawarde/and cruell gene- Ma. xvj  
 ration of venemous vipers) they may furly xvij  
 groape and fele/ where of oure ſpretuall Luce. ix  
 lordes/ maſters/ and rulars (falcely ſo named) have  
 proceded/ and are come. with what preſomcion they  
 diſdayne the auncient and true noble bloud. and what  
 preeminence and dignite they have ob- ma. xxij  
 tained through their faulce and crafti bryngynge vppe  
 of the blaſphemous maſſe/ which principiſſally is their  
 holde/ ſtede/ and defence. Forthermore in the  
 dialoge enſuyng or breſe interlude/ is maſ deſcrybed  
 with his abhominable miniſters. as Popes/ Cardinalls/  
 biſſhops/ abbotes/ monkes/ fryres/ and lyke wother.  
 wherin alſo is declared whatt trees they ma. vij.  
 are with their frute. annd what they ſhall epis. Iu.  
 remayne their maſſe once diſanulled/ and putt downe.  
 Which all well conſydered/ I hoape that the reder  
 what ever he be/ will nott take this worke as a thyng  
 conuicious/ or a principle of hatred and debate. nor

Rom. ij        yett 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. ij        pentaunce. and mekely with the sprete of  
quyetnes/ fyrst iudge it/ and then confydre hym filfe.  
and fautlesse he shall fynde it a grett occasion/ to love/  
and also to thancke god his father most mercifull/  
which of his tender mercy hath nott delyvered hym  
vppe vnto a leawd mynde/ with these vessels of wrathe/  
Rom. j            and children of the devill/ to do those  
Ioa. viij        thynges which are nott comly/ ful of all  
Rom. ij        vnrightoufnes/ fornication/ wickednes/  
covetoufnes/ malicioufnes. &c. and sofered hym nott  
to become lyke vnto theym/ a hater of god/ and of  
his godly worde. agaynst whose vngodlines/ and vn-  
rightoufnes/ the wrath of the hevenly god apereth.  
because they with holde the true rightoufnes of god/  
Rom. j            whiche commeth throwe the lyght of the  
gospell of Christ/ in the vnrightoufnes of mans lawes  
and tradicions. Ye/ and as sayth. S. paul/ though  
they knowe the rightoufnes of god/ howe they which  
soche 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 excuse. seinge that knowinge god/ they glorify  
hym nott as god. nor yett are thanckfull. but wexe full  
of vanities in their ymaginacions. countynge theym  
selves wyse where as in dede they are foles. For with  
their folysshe 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 lesse/ but for  
the prefervacion and tutell of the innocent and simple/

to declare the pestilent doblenes/ and decevable  
 seduccion of the wicked. accordinge to the doctryne  
 shewed vnto vs every where by Christ oure Ioan. vj. x.  
 master. which cam to save annd not to destroye. For  
 one rotten apple/ lytell and lytell putrifieth mat. xiiij  
 an whole heape. a lytell sower leven the Luc. xij  
 whole lompe of dowe. one rancklynge j. Cor. v  
 member/ the whole boddy. Shortly to conclude.  
 Here in I am well persuaded/ lett the vngodly roare  
 and barcke never so lowde/ that the fyre which Christ  
 cam to kyndle on erth/ cannott butt Luc. xij.  
 burne. that is to saye/ his godly worde forevermore  
 encrease and continue. Wherefore dere  
 brother/ yf eny mo soche smale stickes ij. re. xxij  
 come vnto youre hondes/ which ye shall Psa. xvij  
 iudge apte vnto the augmentacion of this fyre/ fende ciiij  
 them vnto me (yf in englonde they maye not be pub- cxviij  
 liffshed) and by goddis grace with all my power and  
 possibilitie/ I shall so endeuer my fylse to kyndle  
 theym/ that as many as are of the fede of Ioan. viij  
 abraham shall se their light/ and therby Mat. v  
 gloryfy their father celestiall/ which kepe you and  
 youre continually strengthyng 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 difmayde  
 To puppyffhe his abhominable eftate  
 For though his power he doeth elevate  
 Yett the feafon is nowe verily come  
 Vt inueniatur iniquitas eius ad odium.

**The Treatous.**

O my author howe fhall I be fo bolde  
 A fore the Cardinall to fhewe my face  
 Seinge all the clargy with hym doth holde/  
 Also in faveour of the Kyngis grace  
 With furious fentence they will me chace  
 Forbiddeinge eny perfone to rede me  
 Wherefore my deare author it cannott be.

**The Author.**

Thou knoweft very well whatt his lyfe is  
 Vnto all people greatly deteftable/  
 He caufeth many one to do amiffe  
 Thorow his example abhominable.  
 Wherefore it is nothyng reproable  
 To declare his mifchefe and whordom  
 Vt inueniatur iniquitas eius ad odium.

**The Treatous.**

Though his lyfe of all people is hated  
 Yet in the maffe they putt moche confidence  
 Whiche through out all the world is dilated



As a worke of finguler magnificence/  
 Prestes also they have in reverence  
 With all wother perfones of the spretualte  
 Wherefore my deare author it cannot be.

**The Author.**

O deare treatous thou mayst nott confyder  
 Their blynde affeccion in ignorance  
 Whereby all the worlde 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 inueniatur iniquitas eius ad odium

**The Treatous.**

Well yett there is greate occasion of grudge  
 Be cause I apeare to be conuicious.  
 Withouten fayle the clargy will me iudge  
 To procede of a sprete presumtuuous/  
 For to vse foche wordes contumelious  
 It becommeth nott christen charite  
 Wherefore 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 stoncs in the strete cannot be dom  
 Vt inueniatur iniquitas eius ad odium.

**The Treatous.**

Yf I presume to make relacion  
 Of secreet matters that be vncertayne  
 They will count it for diffamacion  
 Or thinges contrived of a frowarde brayne  
 To descrybe their faultes it is but vayne  
 Except I were in some autorite  
 Wherefore my deare author it cannot be.

**The Author.**

As touching that thou nede not to be deiecte  
 The trueth shalbe thy conservacion  
 Whyles thou presume no faultes to detecte  
 But wheare thou hast hadde certificacion  
 By their knowledge and informacion  
 Whiche have forsaken the whore of rome  
 Vt inveniatur iniquitas eius ad odium.

**The Treatous.**

Alas yett in their outrageous furoure  
 They shall coursse and banne with cruel sentence  
 All those whiche have to me eny favoure  
 Ether to my faynge geve credence  
 In hell and heven they have preeminence  
 To do as they lyst with free liberte  
 Wherefore my deare author it cannot be.

**The Author.**

O treatous lett antichrist crye and roare  
 Manaffynge with fulminacions  
 His cruelte shalbe feared no moare

Men knowynge his abhominacions  
 Fye apon his forged execracions.  
 Seynge his tyranny is overcome  
 Vt inueniatur iniquitas eius ad odium.

Fye on his dyvliffhe interdiccions  
 With his keyes lockis chaynes and fetters  
 Fye apon all his iurifdiccions  
 And apon thofe whiche to hym are detters  
 Fye apon his bulles breues and letters  
 Wherin he is named feruus fervorum  
 Vt inueniatur iniquitas eius ad odium.

Fye on his golden thre folded crowne  
 Whiche he vfeth to weare apon his head  
 Fye apon his maiefte and renowne  
 Clayminge on erthe to be in Christis stead  
 Fye on his carkes bothe quycke and dead  
 Ex hoc nunc et ufque in feculum  
 Vt inueniatur iniquitas eius ad odium.

Bliffed they be which are curfed of the pope  
 And courfed are they whom he doth bliffe  
 A courfed are all they that have eny hope  
 Ether in his perfonne or els in his.  
 For of almyghty god a courfed he is  
 Per omnia fecula feculorum  
 Vt inueniatur iniquitas eius ad odium.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This refrain is taken from the Vulgate, and in the Douay version (1607-10, A.D.) is rendered—*That his iniquitie may be found vnto hatred.* In the Authorized Version the Hebrew is translated—*Until his iniquity be found to be hateful.*—Ps. xxxvi. 2.

**¶ Heare foloweth the lamentacion.**

Alas alas for woo and bitter payne  
 Oppressed with the grefe and forofull care  
 Howe shall we from hevy wepyng refrayne  
 Confyderyng the case that we in are.  
 We have now lost the pryce of oure welfare  
 Seynge that gone is the masse  
 Nowe decafed alas alas.

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

Aproche proud patriarkis with youre pope  
 Biffhops arsbiffhops and Carcinalls gaye  
 With all other prelatis which had your hope  
 To be mayntayned by the masse all waye  
 Who shall finde oure belly and ryche araye  
 Seynge that gone is the masse  
 Nowe decafed alas alas.

Drawe nere ye prestis in youre longe gownis  
 With all the fryres of the beggerly ordres  
 Com hither monkis: with brode shaven crounis  
 And all soche as are shoren above the ears/  
 Helpe me to lament with dolourous teares  
 Seynge that gone is the masse  
 Nowe decafed alas alas.

The dolfull destruction of noble troye  
 Was never to man haulfe so lamentable  
 Nor yett the subuersion of Rome oure ioye  
 Vnder whom we were counted honorable.  
 O fortune fortune : thou arte vnfaorable  
 Seynge that gone is the masse  
 Nowe deceafed alas alas.

Departed is nowe the masse 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 masse  
 Nowe deceafed alas alas.

Our baudis and brothels have loft ther finding  
 Oure bastardes compelled to go astraye/  
 Oure wynnige mill hath loft her gryndinge  
 Which we supposed never to decaye.  
 Alas therefore what shall we do or faye  
 Seynge that gone is the masse  
 Nowe deceafed alas alas.

Oure gay velvet gownis furred with fables  
 Which werre wont to kepe vs from colde  
 The paulfreys and hackeneis in oure stables  
 Nowe to make chevesaunce must be folde  
 Aduer forked mitres and crosse of golde  
 Seynge that gone is the masse  
 Nowe deceafed alas alas.

We shall nowe abate oure welthy tables  
 With delicate deyntyes so delicious  
 Oure mery iestes and plefaunt fables  
 Are nowe tourned to matters dolorous  
 We must laye downe oure estate so pompous  
 Seynge that gone is the masse  
 Nowe deceafed alas alas.

Oure fynghes fhyninge with precyous stons  
 Sett in golden rynges of ryche valoure  
 Oure effeminate flesshe and tender bones  
 Shalbe constrayned to faule vnto labour  
 For why decayed is all oure honoure  
 Seynge that gone is the masse.  
 Nowe deceafed alas alas.

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

We had oure fervantes in most courtly wyfe  
 In greate multitude folowinge oure taylor  
 With garded lyverey after the newe gyfe  
 Whome we frely supported to iest and rayle  
 How be it nowe eache from wother shall fayle  
 Seynge that gone is the masse/  
 Nowe deceafed/ alas alas.

Oure povre kynred we lytell vnderftode/  
 And of whatt vilnes oure pompe did aryfe.  
 We defdayned the estates of noble blode/  
 Nothyng afraide oure betters to despyfe.  
 Wherfor agaynst vs they will nowe furmyfe  
 Seynge that gone is the masse/  
 Nowe deceafed/ alas alas.

We were called lordes and doctours reverente/  
 Royally raignyng in the spretualte.  
 In every place wheare we were presente/  
 They vayed their bonetis and bowed a kne.  
 But it begynneth nowe wother wyfe to be.  
 Seynge that gone is the masse/  
 Nowe deceafed/ alas alas.



**We devoured the sustenance of the poore/  
 Wasting the goodes of people temporall.  
 Wherwith we norysshed many a whore/  
 To satisfie our pleasure bestiall.  
 And yett we were counted spretuall.  
 Vnder fauoure of the masse/  
 Nowe deceafed/ alas alas.**

**Oure greate lordshippes and dominacions/  
 With our ryche iuelles and somptuous plate.  
 Oure places and large habitacions/  
 Adorned with hangyngis and beddes of state  
 From our hondes shall nowe be seperate.  
 Seynge that gone is the masse  
 Nowe deceafed/ alas alas.**

**A due/ our ayde and supportacion/  
 Wherby fortune so merely did smyle.  
 Farwele comforte and consolacion/  
 Thus soddenly chaunged with in a whyle.  
 Oure vayne confydence dyd vs fore begyle.  
 Seynge that gone is the masse/  
 Nowe deceafed/ alas alas.**

**By the masse we were exalted so hye/  
 That scantly eny man we wolde once knowe.  
 We thought for to ascende vnto the hie/  
 Havyng our seate above the rayne bowe  
 But we are come downe agayne full lowe.  
 Seynge that gone is the masse/  
 Nowe deceafed/ alas alas.**

**The masse made vs lordis and kyngis over all/  
 Farre and nere every where havyng power.  
 With honorable tytles they dyd vs call/  
 Dredyng to offende vs at eny houre.  
 Then were we as fressh as the garden floure.  
 Vnder fauoure of the masse/  
 Nowe deceafed/ alas alas.**

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

The maffe was only oure finguler fuffrage/  
 To delivre the people from their fynne.  
 There was no prest in towne nor village/  
 But by the maffe his lyvyng did wyne.  
 Whose superfluite shalbe full thynne.  
 Seynge that gone is the maffe/  
 Nowe deceafed/ alas alas.

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

By the maffe we had hye autorite/  
 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 lost oure chefe treasure.  
 Seynge that gone is the maffe/  
 Nowe deceafed/ alas alas.

The maffe made vs so stronge and stordy/  
 That agaynst hell gates we did prevayle.  
 Delyveringe foules oute of purgatory/  
 And sendynge theym to heven with out fayle  
 Who is he then that wolde nott bewayle.  
 Seynge that gone is the maffe/  
 Nowe deceafed/ alas alas.

Of all maner thynges the comodyte/  
 By the massis healpe only did depende.  
 From fycknes and pestilent mortalite/  
 The focoure of the masse did vs defende.  
 All prosperite that oure lorde did fende.  
 Was for favoure of the masse  
 Nowe deceafed/ alas alas.

The masse farre exceedeth mannis reason/  
 Oft tymes of foule wether makynge fayre.  
 It causeth frute for to rype in seafon/  
 Puttynge away infeccions of the ayre.  
 Greate estates frendshippe stably to repayre.  
 Have confirmacion by the masse  
 Nowe deceafed/ alas alas.

The masse in due tyme procureth rayne/  
 Wherby floures and erbes fresshly do sprynge.  
 And masse maketh it for to feace agayne/  
 When it so aboundeth to their hyndrynge.  
 All maner matrymony and maryinge.  
 Is solemnyfed by the masse/  
 Nowe deceafed/ alas alas.

To soudears and men goynge a warre fare/  
 The masse is ever a fure proteccion.  
 It preserveth people from wofull care/  
 Dryvyng away all affliccion.  
 Alas who can shewe by descripcion.  
 All the proffettis of the masse/  
 Nowe deceafed alas alas.

O wofull chaunce: most infortunate/  
 So fodenly makynge comutacion.  
 Never fence the worlde was fyrst create/  
 Was there a thyng of soche reputacion.  
 For in every londe and nacion.  
 All goodnes cam by the masse/  
 Nowe deceafed/ alas alas.

Whatt avayleth nowe to have a shaven hedde/  
 Or to be aparelled with a longe gowne.  
 Oure anoynted hondes do vs lytle stedde/  
 Wher as the masse is thus plucked downe  
 Vnto oure dishonowre all doeth rebowne.  
 Seynge that gone is the masse/  
 Nowe deceafed/ alas alas.

The gooddes of the churche are taken awaye/  
 Geuen to povre folkes soffrynge indigence.  
 The devyne feryce vtterly doeth decaye/  
 With halowed oyle/ falt/ and frankynfence.  
 To holy water they have no reverence.  
 Seynge that gone is the masse/  
 Nowe deceafed/ alas alas.

All people because the masse is departed/  
 Seketh nowe/ Ceremonies to confounde.  
 The aultres of the lorde are subuerted/  
 With ymages which cost many a pounce.  
 The temples also are throwen to the grounde  
 Seynge that gone is the masse/  
 Nowe deceafed/ alas alas.

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

A due/ gentle dominus vobiscum/  
 With comfortable/ ite missa est.  
 Requiem eternam/ is nowe vndon/  
 By whom we had many a fest.  
 Requiescat in pace and goode rest.  
 Seynge that gone is the masse/  
 Nowe deceafed/ alas alas.

**¶ Here foloweth a brefe Dialogue bet-  
wene two prestes serbauntis/ na-  
med Watkyn. and Ieffraye.**

- Watkyn** **¶** Ieffraye/ hardest thou oure master/  
Thus with lamentable maner/  
Most pitoufly complayne?
- Ieffraye** **¶** Herde it catha? yee be th[e]roode/  
I praye god turne it vnto goode/  
That it be nott to oure payne.  
But is it of a very surety/  
As it is spoken in the country/  
That the holy masse is deade.
- Watt.** **¶** Dead? yee Ieffraye by my hande/  
And that thou myght well vnderstande/  
Hadde thou eny witt in thy heade.  
For the soroufull constraynte/  
Of oure masters complaynte/  
Allonely for hys deceace was.  
Wherfor lett vs oure counsell take/  
What shyfte for vs is best to make/  
Seynge that deceaced is the masse.
- Ief.** **¶** Mary watkyne thou sayest very trothe/  
We shall have but a colde brothe/  
I feare me shortely after this.  
But I praye the tell me nowe playne/  
Was he by eny myschaunce slayne/  
Or was it for age that he deade is.
- Watt.** **¶** Naye/ it was not furly for age/  
For he was of lusty courage/  
Though he had very many yeres.  
Also he had continued still/  
Yf prestes myght haue had their will/  
With the helpe of monkes and fryres.  
Butt he was assauted so fore/  
That he coulde resist no more/  
And was fayne to geve ouer.

Then cam his aduerfaries with myght/  
 And flewe hym oute of honde quyght/  
 As though he had bene a faulce rover.

**Ief.** ¶ With what wepen did they hym kyll/  
 Whether with polaxe or with bill?  
 A goode felowshippe lightly tell.

**Mat.** ¶ Naye: with a sharpe two edged sworde/  
 Which as they faye was goddis worde/  
 Drawne oute of the holy gofpell.

**Ief.** ¶ And is goddis worde of foche myght/  
 That it flewe the masse downe right/  
 Of fo auncient continuaunce?  
 My thynketh it fhulde not be true/  
 Seynge that prestes wolde hym refcure/  
 With worldly ryches and fubftaunce.  
 Monkes/ channons/ all fhaven crownes/  
 Wolde have brought their villagis and tounes/  
 With their whole religious rable.  
 Which vnder antichriftis raygne/  
 Are of fectes variable and vayne/  
 Forto be reckened in numerable.  
 Oure mafter alfo I dare faye/  
 With many wother prestes gaye/  
 Whom I knowe very well.

Wolde have fpend all their goode.  
 Yee verely their owne hert bloude/  
 To helpe masse agaynst the gofpell.

**Mat.** ¶ Toffhe man they did all their beft/  
 Not fparynge to opyn their cheft/  
 Gevyng out brybes liberally.  
 Wherby they had gret confidence/  
 For to have done moche affiftence/  
 In ayde of the masse certaynly.  
 But it provayled them nothyng/  
 For goddis worde hath foche workyng/  
 That none maye refift contrary.

**Ief.** ¶ Well/ yet take it for no fcorne/  
 I tell the wheare as I was borne/  
 They refift the gofpell openly.



And the principall doars be fuche/  
 As nowe a dayes governe the church/  
 No smale foles I promes the.  
 And namly one that is the chefe/  
 Whiche is not fedd/ so ofte with roft befe/  
 As with rawe motten so god helpe me.  
 Whose mule yf it shulde be folde/  
 So gayly trapped with velvet and golde/  
 And geven to vs for oure schare.  
 I durst ensure the one thyng/  
 As for a competent lyvyng/  
 This seven yere we shulde not care.

**Mat.** ¶ Yf he be soche what is his name/  
 Or of what regarde is his fame?  
 I besече 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 oure purpose/  
 Take goode hede what I shall saye.  
 The tyme will come or it be longe/  
 When thou shalt se their statly 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 subdue/  
 Wherby they have gotten a faule.

**Ref.** ¶ Beleve me/ thou speakest reason/  
 I trowe we shall se a season/  
 To the confusion of theym all.  
 But nowe to oure mater agayne/  
 I wolde heare mervelously fayne/  
 In what place the masse deceafed.

**Mat.** ¶ In Straßbrugh/ that noble towne/  
 A Cyte of most famous renowne/  
 Wheare the gospell is frely preached.

- Ief.** ¶ And what dost thou their names call/  
Which were counted in especial/  
The aduersaries of the masse?
- Mat.** ¶ Truly there were clarkes many one/  
And gretly learned every chone/  
Whose names my memory do passe.  
Howe be it/ Hedijs/ Butzer. and Capito/  
Celarius/ Symphorian/ and wother mo/  
In dede were reputed the chese.  
Whose lyuyng is so inculpable/  
That their enemies with oute fable/  
In theym coude fynde no represe.
- Ief.** ¶ What did then the temporalte/  
Wolde they all there vnto agre/  
With outen eny diffencion?
- Mat.** ¶ As for the commens vniuersally/  
And a greate parte of the fenatory/  
Were of the same intencion.  
Though a feawe were on the wother syde/  
But they were lyghtly fatiffyed/  
When they could nott goddis worde denaye
- Ief.** ¶ I perceau then manifestly/  
The bisshoppe with his whole clargy/  
Were absent and a waye.
- Mat.** ¶ They were not absent I the ensure/  
For with the masse they dyd endure/  
Whyls to speake they had eny breth.  
In somoche that for all this/  
The bisshoppe ceaseth not with his/  
To revenge the masses death.  
He spareth nott to course and banne/  
Doyng all that ever he canne/  
To revoke masse vnto lyfe agayne.  
He spendeth many a gulden/  
To hange/ morthor/ and bren/  
The masses aduersaries certayne.
- Ief.** ¶ And getteth he any goode therby?
- Mat.** ¶ But littell yet I the certefy/  
And I trowe lesse he shall have.

Nowe for all his hye magnificence/  
They counte hym savyng reuerence/  
Nor moche better than a knave.

**Ref.** ¶ Peace whorfone/ beware of that/  
I tell the his skynne is consecrat/  
Anoynted with holy oyntmente.

**Mat.** ¶ Yee/ so many a knaves skinne/  
Is gresyd with out and with in/  
And yett they are not excellente

**Ref.** ¶ Cockes bonnes/ this is rancke heresy/  
Yf it were knowne: by and by/  
Thou shuldest a faggote beare.  
To speake so of soche 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 masse went thus to wracke?

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

**Ref.** ¶ Och: I knowe a fryer in a place/  
Whom they call father Matthias/  
Yf he had bene at this brayde.  
He wolde have made soche a noyse/  
With his horrible shrill voyce/  
Able to have made theym afrayde.

**Mat.** ¶ Toffhe/ there were fryres two or thre/  
In fayth as grett panchd 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.** ¶ What made Ihon Faber and Emser/  
With their ayders Eckyus and Morner/  
Did they vnto masse no focoure?

**Mat.** ¶ Yes truly/ with wordes of greate boste/  
They spared not to fende their oste/  
Threatnyng with fearfull terroure.

Howe be it they had soche impediment/  
 That they coulde nott be there present/  
 As thou shalt the case vnderstonde.  
 Emser somtyme a regular chanon/  
 To defende the massis cannon/  
 Longe before had taken in honde.  
 Which craftely to vpholde with lyes/  
 So greuously troubled his eyes/  
 And also encombred his brayne.  
 That there was no remedy/  
 But he was fayne certenly/  
 At home/ a fole to remayne.  
 Flatteryng Faber/ full of disdayne/  
 Was newe admitted to be chaplayne/  
 Vnto duke Ferdinand by othe.  
 Wherfore he had ynough of busynes/  
 To dissuade the dukes noblenes/  
 From favourynge the godly trothe.  
 As for Morner/ the blynde lawear/  
 And Eckius/ the frowarde sophistar/  
 They have afore castynge wysdome.  
 That in soche honorable audience/  
 Wheare as wyse clarckes are in presence/  
 They will nott very gladly come.  
**Ies.** ¶ Medled nott Erasmus/ in this matter  
 Which so craftely can flatter/  
 With cloked dissimulacion?  
**Mat.** ¶ He was busy to make will free/  
 A thyng nott possible to be/  
 After wyse clarckis estimacion.  
 Wherfore he intermitted lytle/  
 As concernynge the massis tyle/  
 With eny maner assercion.  
 He feareth greatly some men saye/  
 Yf masse shulde vtterly decaye/  
 Least he shulde lose 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 bredde wyne and water.

Also he has geven foche a laudacion/  
Vnto the ydols of abhominacion/  
In his glosyng pistles before tyme.

That yf he shulde wother wyse reclame/  
Men wolde impute vnto his blame  
Of vnstable inconstancy the cryme.

**Ref.** ¶ Howe did they then with lowayne/  
And with the vniuersitie of Colayne/  
Made they right nocht for massis 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 so abasshed and deiecte/  
That once to hisse they were nott able.

**Ref.** ¶ It was a thyng playnly acorst/  
That masse went thus by the worst/  
Havyng so many on his wyng.

**Mat.** ¶ Goddis worde is so efficacious/  
And of strengthe so mervelous/  
That agaynst it is no resistyng.

**Ref.** ¶ Neverthelesse amonge this araye/  
Was nott theare one called Coclaye/  
A littell pratye foolysse 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 englysshe nacyon/  
Inuencyones of flatterye.

**Ref.** ¶ To Englonde? in goode tyme/  
I trowe the vrchyn will clyme/  
To some promocion hastely.

- Mat.** ¶ 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 antichristes estate.  
 Of papistes he is the defender/  
 And of Luther the condemner/  
 The gospell vtterly despyfyng.  
 To forge lyes he has no shame/  
 So that they fomewhat frame/  
 With the proceffe of his writyng.  
 He wrote of late to Herman Ryncke/  
 Wastyng in vayne paper and yncke/  
 Pomeranes epytyle to corrupte.  
 Which by christen men requyred/  
 Accordyng as he was desyred/  
 Dyd his parte theym to instructe.  
 No thyng ther in was reprobable/  
 But all to gedder true and veritable/  
 With out heresy or eny faulte.  
 Howe be it this wretch vnshamfast/  
 Thorowe malicie was not a gast/  
 The trueth with lyes to assaulte.
- Ref.** ¶ Yf he be as thou sayst he is/  
 I warant he shall not mis/  
 Of a benefice and that shortly.  
 For I ensure the oure Cardinal/  
 With wother bissshops in generall/  
 Love soche a felowe entierly  
 But lett this nowe passe and go to/  
 What is best for oure proffit to do/  
 Seynge masse hath made his ende?
- Mat.** ¶ Surely as farre as I can gesse/  
 We are lyke to be masterlesse/  
 Yerre it be longe so god me mende.  
 For as sone as the masse is buried/  
 Oure master shalbe beggered/  
 Of all his ryche possession



- Ief.** ¶ Then mate I put the out of doute/  
 It is goode that we loke aboute/  
 Least we folse a newe lesson.  
 Howe be it/ howe longe will it be/  
 Or ever that we shall se/  
 Of this dedde masse the buriall?  
 [Should be **What.**] ¶ As touchynge that in very dede/  
**What.** ¶ They are nott yett fully agrede/  
 But I suppose shortly they shall/  
 Some wolde have hym caried to Rome/  
 For be cause 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 earnest/  
 That in Englonde it were best/  
 His dedde coors rychly to begraue  
**Ief.** ¶ Nowe after my folysshe coniecture/  
 They coulde nott for his sepulture/  
 Devyse/ a better place to have.  
 Also theare is Sayncte Thomas schryne/  
 Of precious stones and golde fyne/  
 Wherin the masse they maye laye.  
 Wherof the ryches incomprehensible/  
 As it is spoken by persones credible/  
 Myght an Emperours raunfome paye.  
 Morover theare is the Cardinall/  
 Of whose pompe to make rehearceall/  
 It passeth my capacite.  
 With stately bissoppes a greate forte/  
 Which kepe a mervelous porte/  
 Concernynge worldely royalte.  
 Prestes also that are seculer/  
 With monkes and chanons reguler.  
 Abownde so in possession.  
 That both in welfare and wede/  
 With oute doute they farre excede/  
 The nobles of the region.

- What.** ¶ Yf it be thus as thou dost declare/  
It is best that masse be buried theare/  
With due honorable reverence.
- Ref.** ¶ Ye but they have a frowarde witt/  
And par case they will not admitt/  
But vtterly make resistence?
- What.** ¶ Holde thy peace and be content/  
The gospell by a commaundment/  
To do it will strayghtly theym compell.
- Ref.** ¶ They sett nott by the gospell a flye/  
Diddest thou not heare whatt villany/  
Th[e]y did vnto the gospell?
- What.** ¶ Why/ did they agaynst hym conspyre?
- Ref.** ¶ By my trothe they sett hym a fyre/  
Openly in London cite.
- What.** ¶ Who caused it so to be done?
- Ref.** ¶ In sothe the Bisshoppe of London/  
With the Cardinallis autorite.  
Which at Paulis croffe earnestly/  
Denounced it to be herefy/  
That the gospell shuld come to lyght.  
Callynge theym heretikes excecrable/  
Whiche caused the gospell venerable/  
To come vnto laye mens fyght.  
He declared there in his furiofnes/  
That he fownde 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 erreure to make probacion.  
Alas he sayde/ masters and frendes/  
Consyder well nowe in youre myndes/  
These heretikis diligently.  
They saye that commen women/  
Shall asfone come vnto heven/  
As those that lyve perfectly.
- What.** ¶ And was that their very sayinge?
- Ref.** ¶ After this wyse with oute faynyng/  
In a certayne prologe they wryte.

That a whoare or an open fynner/  
 By meanes of Christ oure redemer/  
 Whom god to repent doth incyte.  
 Shall soner come to saluacion/  
 By meritis of Christis passion/  
 Then an outwarde holy lyver.

**Mat.** ¶ They did there none wother thinge shewe/  
 Then is rehearced in mathewe/  
 In the one and twenty chapter.

**Ref.** ¶ For all that/ he sayde in his fermone/  
 Rather then the gospell shulde be comone/  
 Bryngyng people into erreure  
 He wolde gladly soffre marterdome/  
 To vpholde the devyls fredome/  
 Of whom he is a confessoure.

**Mat.** ¶ Why/ makest thou hym a faynt?

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

**Mat.** ¶ I perceave well nowe that/ honores/  
 As it is spoken/ mutant mores/  
 With soche men most commenly.  
 But thynkest thou in thy mynde/  
 That he coulde in his herte fynde/  
 In soche a case death to souffre/

**Ref.** ¶ Naye/ yt it was a worde of office/  
 I warante he is nott so folisshe/  
 To putt his boddy so in daunger.  
 Neverthelesse with tonge and porffe/  
 All though he shulde fare the worffe/  
 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 reayne/  
 Of the gospell newly translate.  
 For yf they presume the contrary/  
 They lose their goodes with oute mercy/  
 And their boddies 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 dishonoure.  
 Wherefore it boteth the gospell nothyng  
 As concernynge the massis buryinge/  
 To sende eny precepte thether.  
 For they had lever by this daye/  
 Go vnto the devill strayght waye/  
 Then to obeye hym in eny maner/  
 ¶ **What.** ¶ This passeth of all that ever I hearde/  
 I wonder they were nott a fearde/  
 Of so notable blasphemy.  
 Nott with stondynge their interrupcion/  
 Shall tourne to their destruccion/  
 At longe runnyng fynally.  
 For though they caused to be brent/  
 The outwarde shaddowe or garment/  
 Of goddis worde so hye of pryce.  
 Yett the grownde of his maiesty/  
 Printed in christen hertes secretly/  
 They are nott able to preiudyce.  
 Therefore whyther they will or nill/  
 Yf it be the holy gospels will/  
 Masse in Englonde to bury.  
 Let them crake vntill they burst/  
 Doyng their best and their wurst/  
 Itt avayleth not a chery.  
 They are worldly and carnall/  
 And the gospell is spretuall/  
 Assisted with angels presence.

- Ief.** ¶ Yf it come vnto that rekenynge/  
They will mo angels with theym brynge/  
Then shalbe in the gospels assistance.
- What.** ¶ Have they of angels eny garnyson/  
**Ief.** ¶ Ye god knoweth many a legion/  
Att all tymes theym to focoure.
- What.** ¶ Howe do they these angels gett?  
**Ief.** ¶ By my fayth of povre mens swett/  
Which for them fore do labour.
- What.** ¶ 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.
- Ief.** ¶ 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 shall here my selfe endeuer.  
Fyrst as I sayde there is a Cardinall/  
Which is the Ruler principall/  
Through the realme in every parte.
- What.** ¶ Have they not in Englonde a Kynge?  
**Ief.** ¶ Alas manne/ speake not of that thyng/  
For it goeth to my verye harte.  
And I shall shewe the a cause whye/  
There is no Prynce vnder the skye/  
That to compare with hym is able.  
A goodly perfone he is of stature/  
Endued with all gyftes of nature/  
And of gentylnes incomparable.  
In fondrye sciences he is sene/  
Havyng a ladye to his Qwene/  
Example of womanlye behaveoure.  
Notwithstandynge for all this/  
By the Cardinall ruled he is/  
To the distayninge of his honoure.

- What.** ¶ Doeth he folowe the Cardinales intente?  
**Ref.** ¶ Yee/ and that the commones repente/  
 With many a wepyngteare.
- What.** ¶ The Cardinall vexeth theym than?  
**Ref.** ¶ Alas fens Englande fyrst began/  
 Was never soche a tyrante theare.  
 By his pryde and faulce treachery/  
 Whoardom and baudy leachery/  
 He hath bene so intollerable.  
 That povre commens with their wyves/  
 In maner are weary of their lyves/  
 To se the londe so miserable.  
 Through all the londe he caused periury/  
 And afterwarde toke away their money/  
 Procedyng most tyrannously.  
 The povre people nedy and bare/  
 His cruell herte wolde nott spare/  
 Leavyng theym in greate misery.  
 Infomoche that for lacke of fode/  
 Creatures bought with Christis blode  
 Were fayne to dye in petous cas  
 Also a ryght noble Prince of fame/  
 Henry<sup>a</sup> the ducke of buckyngame/  
 He caused to deye alas alas.  
 The goodes that he thus gaddered/  
 Wretchedly he hath scattered/  
 In causes nothyng expedient.  
 To make wyndowes/ walles/ and dores/  
 And to mayntayne baudes and whores/  
 A grett parte therof is spent.
- What.** ¶ Let all this pas I praye the hertely/  
 And shewe me somewhat seriously/  
 Of this spretuall magnificence.
- Ref.** ¶ Fyrst he hath a tytyle of. S. Cecile/  
 And is a Legate of latere/  
 A dignitie of hie premynence.  
 He hath bissshopryckes two or thre/  
 With the popes full authoritie/  
 In cases of dispensacion.

<sup>a</sup> Should be EDWARD STAFFORD, 3rd Duke of BUCKINGHAM, beheaded 1495.



- Wat.** ¶ 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 cafes/  
Howe be it he geueth nothyng grates  
But selleth all for reddy money.  
Excepte courtes and bleffynges  
With fyght of his golden rynges  
All this he geveth frely.
- Wat.** ¶ Hath he so large faculte/  
Of the popis benygnite/  
As it is spoken abroade?
- Ref.** ¶ He stondeth in the popes roume/  
Havyng 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 falshod.  
To gett hym a synguler name/  
The londe he bryngeth out of frame/  
Agaynst all goddis forbod.  
He tourneth all thyng topsy tervy/  
Not sparyng for eny symony/  
To sell spretuall gyftes.  
In grauntes of consanguinite  
To mary with in neare degre/  
He getteth awaye mens thryftes.  
Of seculer folke he can make reguler/  
And agayne of reguler seculer/  
Makyng as he lyst blacke of whyte.  
Open whordom and advoutry/  
He aloweth to be matrimony/  
Though it be never so vnryght.  
Iaufull wedlocke to divorce/  
He geveth very lytle force/  
Knowynge no cause wherfore.

He playeth the devill and his dame/  
 All people reporting the fame/  
 Courffe the time that ever he was bore.

**What.** ¶ It cannot fyncke in my mynde/  
 That the Cardinall is fo blynde/  
 To make eny foche diuorcement.

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

**What.** ¶ Bitwixte whom dost thou wene?

**Ref.** Bitwixte the Kynge and the Quene/  
 Which have bene longe of one affent.

**What.** ¶ Some cause then he hath espied/  
 Which afonder theym to devyde/  
 Is necessary and vrgent.

**Ref.** ¶ Nothyng but the butcher doth fayne/  
 That the goode lady is barayne/  
 Lyke to be past chylde bearynge.

**What.** ¶ Had the kynge never chylde by her?

**Ref.** ¶ No man sawe ever goodlyer/  
 Then those which she forth did brynge.

**What.** ¶ Is there eny of theym a lyve?

**Ref.** ¶ Ye a Princes/ whom to descryve/  
 It were herde fo an oratoure.

She is but a chylde of age/  
 And yett is she bothe wyse and sage/  
 Of very beautifull faveoure.

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 sonder.

**What.** ¶ Are nott the nobles here with offended?

**Ref.** ¶ Yes/ but it can not be amended/  
 As longe as he is the ruler.

**What.** ¶ I thynke the Quene is not faulty/  
 But hathe done ynough of her party/  
 Yf it had pleased goddis beneficence.

- 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 fyrst 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.
- What.** ¶ In these parties it is verified/  
That he hath a college edified/  
Of mervelous foundation.
- Ref.** ¶ Of preuy houses of baudry/  
He hath made a stues openly/  
Endued with large exhibicion.
- What.** ¶ Lycknest thou to whoarmongers/  
A colage of clarckes and scolears/  
Ensuyng learned erudicion.
- Ref.** ¶ Thou mayst perceave/ by reason/  
That vertue shalbe very geason/  
Amonge a sorte of ydle losels.  
Which have ryches infinite/  
In welth and worldly delyte/  
Geven to pleasure and nothyng eles.
- What.** ¶ They rede there both greke and ebrue/  
**Ref.** ¶ I will not faye but it is true/  
That there be men of great science.  
Howe be it where pryde is the begynnyng.  
The devill is commenly the endyng/  
As we se by experience.  
And if thou confyder well/  
Even as the towre of Babell/  
Began of a presompcion.  
So this colledge I dare vndertake/  
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 vtterly lost.

**What.** ¶ Hath he for soche folke no providence?

**Ref.** ¶ No/ favyng only to rid them hence/  
 A proper waye he ymageneth.

**What.** ¶ After what maner porviaunce?

**Ref.** ¶ Truely least they shulde be combraunce/  
 A warfare he them fendeth.

**What.** ¶ Many of theym then are slayne?

**Ref.** ¶ They never come home haulse 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 thousande fyghtynge men/  
 Scant returneth home agayne ten/  
 In good state and perfect lykynge.

For the more parte made beggers/  
 And so become robbers and stellers/  
 Wherby they have a shroade endynge.

**What.** ¶ He fareth nott the better for warre/

**Ref.** ¶ Yes mary/ it doth hym preferre/  
 To more gaynes than I can rehearse/

For fyrst or the warre do begynne/  
 They laboure his favoure to wyne/  
 Gevyng gyftes many and dyvers.

And yf it cannot be so pacified/  
 They brybe hym on the wother syde/  
 At the least for to be favoured.

And fynally warre for to cease/  
 With rewardes they must hym greace/  
 Or els peace cannot be performed.

**What.** ¶ Dothe he practyse soche conveyance?

**Ref.** ¶ Ye/ and for that cause in Fraunce/  
 This warre tyme he was beloved.

- What.** ¶ Thou makest hym then a trayter?
- Ref.** ¶ I reckon hym a falce fayterer/  
Yf the very trueth were proved.
- What.** ¶ Well lett this pas/ howe dothe he/  
In gevyng grauntes of liberte/  
And cases that be dispensable?
- Ref.** ¶ He foloweth the commen practyse/  
Of marchantes in their marchandyse/  
To gett worldly goodes movable.  
Savyng they take grett laboures/  
And he doth all by his factoures/  
Restyng in quyet felicite.  
He hath falce farises and scrybes/  
Gapynge for nothyng but for brybes/  
Full of fraudes and perversite.
- What.** ¶ They are named yett wother wyse/  
**Ref.** ¶ Trothe/ but they folowe their gyfe/  
In wicked operacions.
- What.** ¶ I put a case 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 persone?
- Ref.** ¶ Though he have here soche prerogative/  
In all poyntes that be dispensative/  
To performe it by commysion.  
Yett in this poynt sekerly/  
He must performe it personally/  
Withoute eny exempcion.
- What.** ¶ Yf he be as thou hast here sayde/  
I wene the devils will be afrayde/  
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.** ¶ As for that thou mayst be assured/  
The devils with coursses are invred/  
As authours there of with out fayle.
- Mat.** ¶ What yf he will the devils blisse?
- Ref.** ¶ They regarde it no more be gisse/  
Then waggyng of his mules tayle.
- Mat.** ¶ Doth he vse then on mules to ryde?
- Ref.** ¶ 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 crosses right longe/  
Gapynge in every mans face.  
After theym folowe two laye men secular/  
And eache of them 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 poynt most curiously.  
On eache fyde a pollaxe is borne/  
Which in none wother vse are worne.  
Pretendynge some hid mistery.  
Then hath he servauntis fyve or six score/  
Some behynde and some before/  
A marvelous great company.  
Of which/ are lordes and gentlemen/  
With many gromes and yemen/  
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/  
Wearynge on his hed a red hatt/  
Procured with angels subfidy.  
And as they say in tyme of rayne/  
Fower of his gentelmen are fayne/  
To holde over it a cannopy.



Befyde this to tell the more newes/  
 He hath a payre of costly shewes/  
 Which fildom touche eny grownde.  
 They are fo goodly and curious/  
 All of golde and stones precious/  
 Costynge many a thousande pownde.

**What.** ¶ And who did for thes shewes paye?

**Ref.** ¶ Truly many a ryche abbaye/  
 To be easied of his visitacion.

**What.** ¶ Doth he in his owne persone visit?

**Ref.** ¶ No/ another for hym doth it/  
 That can skyll of the ocupacion.  
 A felowe nether wyfe 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 affhamed/  
 Yf he spye avauntage therfore.

**What.** ¶ Are soche with hym in eny pryce?

**Ref.** ¶ Ye/ for they do all his advyce/  
 Whether it be wronge or right.

**What.** ¶ Hath the Cardinall eny gay mansion?

**Ref.** ¶ Grett palaces with out compareson/  
 Most glorious of outwarde sight.  
 And with in decked poynt device/  
 More lyke vnto a paradice/  
 Then an erthely habitacion.

**What.** ¶ He commeth then of some noble stocke?

**Ref.** ¶ His father coulde snatche a bullock/  
 A butcher by his ocupacion.

**What.** ¶ Howe cam he vnto his glory?

**Ref.** ¶ Playnly by the devils policy/  
 As it is every wheare sayde.

**What.** ¶ Are the states here with all content.

**Ref.** ¶ Yf they speake aught they are shent/  
 Wherefore I tell the they are a frayde.

**What.** ¶ Whatt abstinence vseth he to take?

**Ref.** ¶ In Lent all fysshe he doth forsake/  
 Fedde with partriges and plovers.

- What.** ¶ He leadeth then a Lutherans lyfe?
- Ref.** ¶ O naye/ for he hath no wyfe/  
But whoares that be his lovers.
- What.** ¶ Yf he vse whoares to occupy/  
It is grett marvell certaynly/  
That he escapeth the frenche pockes.
- Ref.** ¶ He had the pockes with out fayle/  
Wherfore people on hym did rayle/  
With many obprobrious mockes.
- What.** ¶ He was then abhorred of his prince?
- Ref.** ¶ By my troth man/ not an ynche/  
Still in favoure continually.
- What.** ¶ By the devill then he worketh?
- Ref.** ¶ Truly so every man iudgeth.  
But alas what remedy?
- What.** ¶ Hath he children by his whoares also?
- Ref.** ¶ Ye and that full prowdly 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 bissshop of Rone/  
Out of this lyfe is dedde and gone/  
He shall succede hym in his place.
- What.** ¶ And is his father as redy/  
To promoute the noble progeny/  
As he is towardes his bastardes?
- Ref.** ¶ He fauoureth lytell noble lynage/  
Takyng a waye their heritage/  
Rather then to fett theym forwardes.  
He breaketh mens testamentes/  
And contrary to their intentes/  
At his owne mynde and pleasure.  
He wilbe nedes their exfecutours/  
Sayinge with the devill all his oures/  
Rychely to encrease his treasoure.

Many a goode ladys ioynter/  
 He engrosfeth vp into his cofer/  
 Of the which some here to name.  
 I reckon the Countes of Darby/  
 With the Countes of Salsbury/  
 Also the Duches of Buckyngame.

**What.** ¶ Is the devil foche an whorfone?

**Ref.** ¶ Och/ there is nether duke ne barone/  
 Be they never of so grett power.  
 But they are constrayned to croutche/  
 Before this butcherly floutche/  
 As it were vnto an Emproure.

**What.** ¶ Nowe furly then after my mynde/  
 They cannot foche another fynde/  
 The dedde massis office to solempnise.

**Ref.** ¶ Yf it be his pleasure he maye/  
 Howe be it he vsfeth lytell to praye/  
 For it is late or he do aryse.  
 Also as farre as I canne muse/  
 To do this office he will refuse/  
 Dredynge his pompe therby to lose.

**What.** ¶ As for that/ it shall nothyng skyll/  
 Playnly yf it be the gospels will/  
 Do it he must and cannot chose.

**Ref.** ¶ Yet it wilbe a parelous busines/  
 For bissshops and prestes doutles/  
 To ayde hym will nott be slacke.  
 Though they loue hym as the devill/  
 Yett to do the gospell some evill/  
 No diligence in theym shall lacke.

**What.** ¶ Have the bissshops so grett ryches/

**Ref.** ¶ It is not possible to expres/  
 The treasure of the spretualte.

**What.** ¶ What/ are the bissshops divines?

**Ref.** ¶ Ye they can wele skyll of wynes/  
 Better then of devinite.  
 Lawears they are of experience/  
 And in cases agaynst conscience/  
 They are parfet by practyse.

To forge excommunicacions/  
 For tythes and decimacions/  
 Is their continuall exercyse.  
 As for preachynge they take no care/  
 They wolde se a course at an hare/  
 Rather then to make a fermon.  
 To folowe the chace of wylde dere/  
 Passynge the tyme with ioly chere/  
 Amonge theym all is common.  
 To playe at the cardes and dyce/  
 Some of theym are nothyng nyce/  
 Both at hafard and momchaunce.  
 They dryncke in gaye golden bolles/  
 The bloudde of povre simple soules/  
 Perisshynge for lacke of sustenaunce.  
 Their hongery cures they never teache/  
 Nor will soffre none wother to preache/  
 But soche as can lye and flatter.  
 Biddynge the beades after this rate/  
 Ye shall praye for the goode estate/  
 Of my lorde my mafter.  
 And so redynge a ragge mans roule/  
 He exhorteth to praye for the soule/  
 Of this persone and of that.  
 Which gave boke/ bell/ or challes/  
 To the fortheraunce of goddis serves/  
 Babblynge he wotteth neare what.  
 Soche preachers be commended/  
 And the wother are reprehended/  
 Which preache the gospell purly.  
 So they fitt apon couffhens softe/  
 Their royalte exalted alofte/  
 They regarde nott goddis worde furly.  
 They are so geven to avaryce/  
 That they ponder no preiudyce/  
 Happenyng to the comen weall.  
 They norysshe servauntes in ydelnes/  
 Which when they are masterles/  
 Are constrayned to begge or steale.

To tell all the abhominacion/  
 Of their wretched conuerfacion/  
 It were bothe longe and tedious.

**Mat.** ¶ If the biffhops do fo abownde/  
 Howe are feculer preftes fownde/  
 With perfons which be religious?

**Ref.** ¶ Thynkeft that with theym it is fcant/  
 Naye naye man/ I the warant/  
 They fele no indigent rearage.

For they have goodes innumerable/  
 And fare moche better at their table/  
 Then lordes of worthy parage.

Fortune with preftes runneth on wheles/  
 So that fome have after their heles/

A fcoare of yemen taule and floute.

Whom forto mayntayne ydely/  
 They have benefyces very many/

In the country there aboute.

Wherby they are fo proude and vayne/  
 That the noble men they difdayne/

With fcornfull indignacion.

Though peraventure their fathers/  
 Were other fowters or cobblers/

Of no maner reputacion/

As for religious folke to be brefe/  
 In all Englonde they have the chefe/

And moft pleafaunt commoditees.

The goodly foyles/ the goodly londes/  
 Wrongfully they holde in their hondes/

Endued with many knyghtes fees.

By coloure of their faulce prayres/  
 Defrauded are the ryght heyres/

From their true inheritaunce.

They are the caufe of myfery/  
 Of whordom/ theft/ and beggery/

To the commen welles hynderaunce.

No frutfull worke they vfe/  
 All honeft laboure they refufe/

Geven wholly to fluggiffhnes.

They are nether gostly nor divine/  
 But lyke to brut beastes and fwyne/  
 Waltrynge in synfull wretchednes.  
 I speake this of the possessioners/  
 All though the mendicant orders/  
 Are nothyng leffe abhominable.  
 Whose lyvyng is with oute laude/  
 Noriffhed in rapyne and fraude/  
 Grounded on lesyngis detestable.  
 They are the devils messengers/  
 And of antichrist the members/  
 Example of all perversite.  
 They are ydols of flattery/  
 And apostels of hypocryfy/  
 Repleniffhed with enormite.  
 Lo/ here I have thus reported/  
 Howe their lyfe is partly ordred/  
 And vnder what condicion.

**What.** ¶ That thou hast I make god a vowe/  
 Infomoche that I marvayle howe/  
 Thou knowest their disposicion.  
 But I praye the/ dost thou iudge/  
 That they will murmer and grudge/  
 At the dedde massis buryinge?

**Ref.** ¶ Ye syr I wis man I am fure/  
 They will laboure with bufy cure/  
 His sepulture forbiddynge.  
 For why their superfluite/  
 By the massis liberalite/  
 Only hath supportacion.

**What.** ¶ What supposest thou of men temporall?

**Ref.** ¶ I thynke they wolde holde here with all/  
 Yf they had due informacion.  
 Neverthelesse at the begynnyng/  
 dede masse amonge theym to bryng/  
 There wilbe some difficulte.  
 Be cause of longe continuance.  
 They have had trust and affiaunce/  
 Thorowe the masse saved to be.

For these prestes and fryres perfwade/  
 That by the masse they shall evade/  
 Eternall payne and punnysshment.  
 Whose suffrage doeth theym grette stedde,  
 Profitable bothe to quicke and dedde/  
 After their mynde and iudgement.

**What.** ¶ Ye to prestes and fryers miserable/  
 Doutles the masse is proffitable/  
 And is the mill of their welfare.  
 But the people without faynyng/  
 It is playne a fraudfull deceavyng/  
 To make their porffe empty and bare.

**Ref.** ¶ Nowe truly I trowe as thou dost saye/  
 Even there goeth the hare quyte awaye/  
 And all their babellyng is but lyes.  
 All though there be wother obstacles/  
 Be cause of the grett myracles/  
 Dayly practysed before oure eyes.

**What.** ¶ Thou never sawest myracle wrought?

**Ref.** ¶ I/ no be hym that me bought/  
 But as the prestes make rehearceall.

**What.** ¶ Canst thou rehears me nowe one?

**Ref.** ¶ No I cannot/ but oure syr Iohn/  
 Can/ in his Enghliffhe festivall.

**What.** ¶ Geve they to soche fables credence?

**Ref.** ¶ They have them in more reverence/  
 Then the gospell a thousand folde.  
 Also ther is nether whoare nor these/  
 Nor eny of so wicked mischefe/  
 But by the masse is made bolde.  
 For yf they heare once a prestis masse/  
 They trust surly that daye to passe/  
 Without all parell or daungeoure.  
 Crafty forcerers and falce dyce players/  
 Pickeporfes and prevy conveyers/  
 By the masse hope to have focoure.  
 Marchantes passyng viages on farre/  
 And soudiars goynge forthe to warre/  
 By the masse are ofte preserved.



Masse bryngeth fynners to grace/  
 And fendes awaye it doeth chace/  
 Above all thynges preferred.  
 Masse solemnifeth marriage/  
 And kepeth people from damage/  
 Causynge also wedder to be fayer.  
 Masse maketh tame thynges of wylde/  
 And helpeth wemen to be with chyld.  
 Thorowe assistance of the fayer.  
 Masse avayleth agaynst fycknes/  
 A proved remedy for all distres/  
 And for thynges that be gone.  
 Thus to conclude with brevite/  
 Of the whole churches felicite/  
 The masse is mayntener alone.

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

**Ief.** ¶ Troth it is/ some of theym begynne/  
 To have lytell confidence there in/  
 And lesse woll with in a whyle.  
 Which of the bissshops is perceaved/  
 Wherfore they have nowe restrayned/  
 Vnder the payne of courssynge.  
 That no laye man do rede or loke/  
 In eny frutfull engliffhe boke/  
 Wholy scripture concernynge.  
 Their frantyke foly is so peviffhe/  
 That they contempne in Engliffhe/  
 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 vnfavery teachynges/  
 And theyr fantasticall preachynges/  
 Amonge simple folke to promote.  
 For no cost they spare nor stynte/  
 Openly to put theym in prynte/  
 Treadynge scripture vnder their fote.

Also their decrees and decretallis/  
 With folysshe dreames papisticallis/  
 They compell people to rede.  
 Howe be it the confutacion/  
 Of their abhominacion/  
 They will not soffre to procede.

**What.** ¶ Kepe thou silence and be whyft/  
 Though with grett crakes they resist/  
 For a lytell seafon present.  
 Yett I warant within shortt space/  
 Masse will have there his berynge place/  
 Acordynge as it is convenient.

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

**What.** ¶ All though masse be dedde and rotten/  
 A master maye lyghtly be gotten/  
 Yf we oure mynde to labour sett.

**Ref.** ¶ Ye/ but prestes service is gaye/  
 For we maye with them all waye/  
 In ydelnes have grett respyt.

**What.** ¶ That for a christen man is nott best/  
 Borne vnto labour and not vnto rest/  
 As the foule is vnto 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 fynde not all thyng redy.

**What.** ¶ Hawe/ I praye the yett abyde/  
 Sett thy busynes a whyle a fyde/  
 And lett vs have fyrst a songe.

**Ref.** ¶ What woldest thou that I shulde syng?

**What.** ¶ Surly some proper conveyed thyng  
 Not over tedious nor longe.

**Ref.** ¶ I trowe thou arte a syngynge man?  
 [What.] The devil of the whit that I can/  
 But I love specially foche geare.

- Ref. ¶ Will thou have it mery or fadde?  
 What. ¶ I foarce not be it goode or badde/  
 So that I maye some what heare/  
 Ref. ¶ If thou will thy mynde fatiffy/  
 Gett the into some monastery/  
 And be a monge them in the queare.  
 What. ¶ Do they vse foche ioly syngyng?  
 Ref. ¶ It is the crafte of their lyvyng/  
 Wherby they make lusty cheare.  
 What. ¶ But I vnderstonde nott whatt they saye/  
 Ref. ¶ By my sothe no more do they/  
 I maye shewe the in counsell.  
 What. ¶ Shall I axe the nowe a question?  
 Ref. ¶ Ye hardely a goddis benefon/  
 And I will not spare the to tell.  
 What. ¶ Ware thou never in religion?  
 Ref. ¶ Yes so god helpe me and halydom/  
 A dosen yeres continually.  
 What. ¶ Then thou knowest moche vnhappines?  
 Ref. ¶ A grett deale more then goodnes/  
 I promes the faythfully.  
 What. ¶ Well lett vs differ this till soun/  
 When oure masters diner is done/  
 We will a gayne come hydder.  
 Ref. ¶ I am content even so to do/  
 What. ¶ Fyrst syng a balett/ go to/  
 And then will we to diner.  
 Ref. ¶ Alas I am marvelously drye/  
 What. ¶ 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/  
 Walkyng all alone my care to folas.  
 I herde a voyce with a dolorous tune/  
 Full pitiously cryng/ alas alas.  
 The worlde is worffe then evyr it was.  
 Never so depe in miserable decaye/  
 But it cannot thus endure all waye.

Fyrst to begynne at the spretualte/  
 Whose lyvyng shulde be example of grace.  
 Indued with parfett workes of charite/  
 Sekynge goddis honoure in euery cace.  
 The worlde with his vanites they embrace.  
 Renyng god all though they faye naye/  
 But it cannot thus endure all waye.

Of this worlde they have the chefe dominion  
 With stately preeminence temporall.  
 They preafume to be hadde in opinion/  
 Of the people/ as lordes emperiall.  
 Worsshippfull feniours we must theym call/  
 Requyrng that we shulde to theym 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 occasion that theves do steall/  
 And cause of all mischefe and misery.  
 The wor[l]dly treasure they consume ydely.  
 Nothyng regardyng but pastance and playe  
 But it cannot thus endure all waye.

The laboure of the povre people they devower  
 And of nobles they waste the patrimony.  
 They teache and exhorte men god to honoure  
 With their temporall substannce and mony.  
 They clayme tythes to supporte their foly.  
 Invenyng many a faulce offeryng daye/  
 But it cannot thus endure all waye.

They ought of duty to preache the gospell/  
 The wordes of life/ so dulcet and swete.  
 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/  
 Retaynyng for chastite carnall defyre.  
 Slouthe and glotteny in their hole empyre.  
 Hath made temperance and labour to straye  
 But it cannot thus endure all waye.

Emprours and kyngis they trappe in their lure/  
 Deceavyng theym bey faulce adulacion.  
 So that of promocions 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 apou them are spent.  
 Poure people defraudyng with iniury.  
 They dryncke the bloud of soules innocent/  
 Simple folke begylyng outrageously.  
 Their foule fylthy carkes to magnify.  
 They wrappe in robes and costly araye/  
 But it cannot thus endure all waye.

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

Letcherous luste leawdly they embrace/  
 Forbidyng wedloke agaynst goddis will.  
 Their subiectis they oppresse in wretched cace/  
 Prone vnto murther christen men to spill.  
 Sacrilege and simony is their corne mill.  
 Vfyng false witness the trueth to delaye/  
 But it cannot thus endure all waye.

The sacramentis of christis ordinaunce.  
 InSTITUTE oure feble fayth to sustayne.  
 They haue perverted vnto oure hyndraunce.  
 Enforcynge vs to trust in tryfles vayne.  
 Wother newe sacramentis falcely they fayne.  
 Obscuringe godis worde as moch as they may  
 But it cannot thus endure all waye.

Christis fredom they have brought in bondage  
 Of hevenly rightes makynge marchandysse.  
 In gostly workes they covett avauntage/  
 To fede their infaciate covetyse.  
 Of the damnable masse they make a sacryfise  
 Compellynge men dearly for it to paye/  
 But it cannot thus endure all waye.

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

Wherfore bressly to fynnysshe my balade/  
 O hevenly father/ apon the I call.  
 Have pyte on man/ whom thou hast made/  
 To serve 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 satisfie the request/  
 Accordynge as thou desyredst.

**What.** ¶ I will holde the then no lenger/  
 But loke that thou remember/  
 To fulfill that thou promysedst.



**¶ Here foloweth the Secunde parte.**

- Ref.** **Q** Lorde god what goode dayes/  
 Thes monkes have in abbeyes/  
 And do nether swett nor swyncke.  
 Thei live in welthynes and ease/  
 Havynge what soever they please/  
 With delicate meate and dryncke.  
 Wher with they farce their bellies so full/  
 That to all goodnes they are dull/  
 Makyng mery with gill and Ioan.  
 They sitt slepyng in a corner/  
 Or momblyng their pater nofter/  
 Their mynde nothyng ther apon.  
 Be they never so stronge or starcke/  
 They will exercyse no maner warcke/  
 Nor laboure boddily.
- What.** ¶ Arte thou here Ieffray mate?  
**Ref.** ¶ Ye/ why comest thou so late?  
 I am fayne for the to tary.
- What.** ¶ I was troubled with the estates/  
 I beshrowe all their foliffhe pates/  
 For commynge here this daye.
- Ref.** ¶ So mot I the I thought the same/  
 Howe be it the stuarde was to blame/  
 That he did no better porvaye.
- What.** ¶ By thy fayth/ had thou better fare/  
 In the cloyster where as thou ware/  
 Vnder the rule of the manastery?
- Ref.** ¶ Fare cotha? they eate theyr belies full/  
 Every man as moche as he wull/  
 And none sayth blacke is his eye?
- What.** ¶ What do they for it/ eny thyng?  
**Ref.** ¶ Truly nothyng but rede and synge/  
 Passynge the tyme with sporte and playe.



- Mat.** ¶ That is a lyfe in dede for the nones/  
Thou ware a sole by thyse ten bones/  
Whan thou camest fro theym awaye ?
- Ief.** ¶ O I thyncke my filse moche fortunate/  
That fro their lyfe I am seperate/  
Seynge it is so abhominable.
- Mat.** ¶ What abhominacion is there in ?
- Ief.** ¶ Alas mate all to geder is synne/  
And wretchednes most miserable.
- Mat.** ¶ What a man of religion/  
Is reputed a dedde person/  
To worldly conversacion ?
- Ief.** ¶ It is of a trueth they are dedde/  
For they are in no vse nor stedde/  
To christen mens consolacion.  
And as a dedde stynkyng carkace/  
Vnprofitably cloyeth a space/  
Yf it be kepte above grownde.  
So in their lyfe superstitious/  
Of wicked crymes enormious/  
No maner profitablenes is fownde/
- Mat.** ¶ Yett their order is very strayte ?
- Ief.** ¶ Ye but they vse soche a confayte/  
That they make it easy ynowe.  
More easy by the twenty parte/  
Then to laboure in some arte/  
Or to go with the carte or plowe.
- Mat.** ¶ They have man the worlde forsaken/  
And a spretuall lyfe taken/  
Consistynge in gostly busynes.
- Ief.** ¶ What call ye the worlde I praye ?
- Mat.** ¶ Welthy ryches and pleasurs gaye/  
And occasions of synfulnes.
- Ief.** ¶ Then are they in the worlde still/  
For they have all that they will/  
With ryches and possessions.  
And as touchynge the realme of vice/  
Pryde/ wrath/ envy/ and avarice/  
With wother synfull transgressions.

In this worlde that we do name.  
There is none so farre out of frame/  
And lyve in foche outragioufnes.

**Mat.** ¶ Yett Ieffrye thou erreft fo god me fave/  
For the fryers no poffeffions have/  
But lyve only by pure almes.

**Ref.** ¶ Fryers? nowe they are worft of all/  
Ruffian wretches and rafcall/  
Lodesmen of all knaviffhnes.

Though they be no poffeffioners/  
Yett are they intollerabill beggers/  
Lyvyng on rapyn and difceyte.

Worshipfull matrons to begyle/  
Honorable virgins to defyle/  
Continually they do wayte.

Of honefty they have no regarde :  
To difpleafe god they are not afearde/  
For the valoure of a pynne/

Of whordom they are the very baudes/  
Fraudulent inventers of fraudes/  
Provocacion vnto fynne.

They are flaunder of vertoufnes/  
Occafion vnto vicioufnes/  
Chickens of the devils broode.

To the trueth they are adverfaries/  
Diligent imageners of lyes/  
Depravers of thofe that be goode.

They are antichriftis godfones/  
Promowters of his pardones/  
And proctours of fimony.

They are brokers heven to fell/  
Fre cobby holders of hell/  
And fe fermers of purgatory.

Of fathan they are the foudiers/  
And antichriftis owne mariners/  
His fhippe forwardes to convey.

And to conclude ferioufly/  
They are the hell howndes veryly/  
Enmies agaynft goddis worde allwaye.

- Mat.** ¶ Nowe thou arte gretly oversene/  
 For in places there as I have bene/  
 They do goode I the certify.  
 For yf it wer not for the fryers/  
 There wolde not be in seven yeres/  
 A fermon in the povre contry.  
 And as for their lyvyng trully/  
 They begge peoples almes purly/  
 Takynge ioche thynges as they geve.  
 They have no wast superfluite/  
 But even their bare necessite/  
 Scanty ynough wherby to leve.
- Ief.** ¶ 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 worffe then nought/  
 Replete with mischevous vengeance.  
 Their preachynge is not scripture/  
 But fables of their coniecture/  
 And mens ymaginacions.  
 They bryng in olde wyves tales/  
 Both of Englonde/ Fraunce/ and Wales/  
 Which they call holy narracions.  
 And to theym scripture they apply/  
 Pervertynge it most shamfully/  
 After their owne opinions.  
 Wherwith the people beyng fedde/  
 In to manyfolde errors are ledde/  
 And wretched supersticions.  
 Of Christ oure mercifull faveoure/  
 They make a iudge full of terroure/  
 Only threatninge oure damnacion.  
 Whose faveoure as they falsly fayne/  
 We cannot be able to obteyne/  
 With oute fayntes mediacion.  
 They faye that holy mens suffrages/  
 Pardons masses/ and pilgremages/  
 For synnes make fatifiacion.

They bid vs in oure workes to trust/  
 Wherby they saye that we must/  
     Deserve oure saluacion.  
 Fayth litell or nothyng they repute/  
 Wherof we beyng destitute/  
     Are brought into desperacion.  
 And as for their lyfe doutles/  
 It is the well of ongracioufnes/  
     Of iniquite the myroure.  
 The almes that povre folke shulde have/  
 Wretchedly awaye they do crave/  
     To lyve ydely withoute labour.  
 Diffaytes continually they do muse/  
 And crafty falshod dayly they vse/  
     With simple folke gretly dissemblyng.  
 They feare lytell whom they offende/  
 Acustomed to rappe and rende?  
     All that commeth in their fngryng.  
 Their miserable disposicion/  
 Caufeth stryfe and fedicion/  
     In all places where as they dwell.  
 There is none vnhappines done/  
 In eny christen regione/  
     But a fryer is of the counsell.  
 Though they saye that their order/  
 Is to have no thyng in proper/  
     But to vse all thynges in commone.  
 Yett ther is no commenalte/  
 Which hath so gret parcialite/  
     As their miserable religione.  
 For where as the heddes principall/  
 Whom master docters they call/  
     Lyve in welthy aboundance.  
 The wother are povre and nedy/  
 Leadyng their lyves in penury/  
     Scant havynge their sustenance.  
 Of their brothers vexacion/  
 They have no compassion/  
     Despyfyng those that be in sicknes.

Agaynst all order of charite/  
 They desdayne forto have pete/  
 Apon theym that are in destres.  
 To shewe all their vnhappines/  
 So abhominable and shamles/  
 It wer ouer tedious and longe.

**Mat.** ¶ Thou hast sayde ynough all redy/  
 They cannot be moche more wors lyghtly/  
 Yf the diuell be not theym amonge.

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

**Mat.** ¶ The observautes are not so disposed?

**Ief.** ¶ Wilt thou have their lyfe disclosed/  
 Brefly rehearsed at a worde?

**Mat.** ¶ Nowe mate I praye the hartely/

**Ief.** ¶ So god helpe me of all hypocryfy/  
 They are the very foundation.

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

**Ief.** ¶ Why thynkest thou that I do erre?

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

**Ief.** ¶ Ye so were the scrybes and pharifays/  
 Through their falce hypocryfy ways/  
 Amonge the Iues in reputacion.  
 Neverthelesse in inwarde maners/  
 They were worse then open synners/  
 Whom oure lorde also did courffe.

**Mat.** ¶ Makest of theym soche comparefon?

**Ief.** ¶ Ye savynge after my opinion/  
 The observantis are farre worse.

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

**Ief.** ¶ Ye so dothe the foxe wother whyle/  
 All though he canne many a wyle/  
 Pretende a simple countenance.

- What.** ¶ Thou doest wrongfully furmyfe.  
**Ref.** ¶ Naye I tell the it is their gyse/  
 To have two faces in a hoode.
- What.** ¶ What dost thou meane therby?  
**Ref.** ¶ That they are dissemblers vniuerfally/  
 And feawe or none of them be goode.
- What.** ¶ They vse no whordom/ nor robbery/  
 Nor take mens goodes wrongfully/  
 As far as I can heare or se?
- Ref.** ¶ Open advoutrers they are none/  
 Yet are they not virgens every chone/  
 All though they professe chastite.  
 They have pollucions detestable/  
 And in warde brennyngis intollerable/  
 Of the flesshly concupiscence.  
 Ye and wother whyles advoutry/  
 With wother meanes of letchery/  
 Cloaked vnder a fayned pretence.  
 Wich to overcome certaynly/  
 They vse not the right remedy/  
 Of oure lordis institucion.  
 Gevyng hede to spretes of errours/  
 And doctryne of divylysse doctours/  
 Which do make prohibicion.  
 And as touchyng theft to be playne/  
 They are the gretest theves that raygne/  
 In all the worlde nowe a dayes  
 For all wother theves commenly/  
 Of them which have abundantly/  
 And of ryche folke take their prayes.  
 But the observauntis no people do spare.  
 Makynge their quest every wheare/  
 With most importunate cravyng.  
 To begge of the pover and nedy/  
 They are as dogges most gredy/  
 And wolves incessantly ragynge.
- What.** ¶ Yet they never handell money?  
**Ref.** ¶ No for that is a subtill policy/  
 To vpholde their madde disgyfyng.

For when antichrist fathans founē/  
 To stablyſſhe his realme had begounē/  
     Temporall honoure deſpyfyngē.  
 To have all in his dominion/  
 He made made many a religion/  
     With outwarde holynes aperyngē.  
 Which into ſectes innumerable/  
 Wer divided with oute fable/  
     The worlde in care forto bryngē.  
 By their coloured devocion/  
 To the people they gave a mocion/  
     Their favoure craftly purchaſyngē.  
 And ſo by their contrivyngē caſt/  
 The[y] gott clene a waye at the laſt/  
     Their chefe poſſeſſions temporally.  
 Wherby laye people opreſſed fore/  
 Scant coulde they geve eny more/  
     Concernyngē londes and patrimony.  
 Then cam the fower orders of fryers/  
 Which are the ſubſtanciall pillers/  
     Of antichriſtis mayntenaunce.  
 So holy them ſelves they did make/  
 That all poſſeſſions they did forfake/  
     Wilfull poverty to inhance.  
 To live by almes they did pretende/  
 And received all that god did ſende/  
     Sheawyngē tokens of perfection.  
 Wherefore the people did them honoure/  
 With gretter love and faveoure/  
     Then thoſe that had poſſeſſion.  
 Except livelod and londes only/  
 They received all that cam frely/  
     Whether it wer mony or ware.  
 Howe be it they did multiply/  
 In all provinces ſo innumerable/  
     Through the worlde in every quartear.  
 That the people wexed wery/  
 Seyngē they coulde not kepe a peny/  
     But the fryers wolde begge it awaye.



At the last cam the observauntis/  
 Of antichrist the trusty fervauntis/  
 To brynge the worlde in more deokay<sup>2</sup>.  
 And leaft they shulde seme chargeable/  
 They fownde a newe waye deceavable/  
 To begylde bothe yonge and olde.  
 They were of foche supersticione/  
 That in proper or in commone/  
 They wolde nothyng kepe nor holde.  
 Of their nedes havynge the vse/  
 To handle money they dyd refuse/  
 Faynyng austerite of pennaunce.  
 Wherby with desyrous 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 cravyng and quest/  
 Of the vnfaciante fryer beggers.  
 Yett the observauntis semed so parfyt/  
 That to healpe theym they iudged yt/  
 With oute charge a thyng charitable.  
 Wherfore all the wother sectes/  
 In maner reputed abiectes/  
 The observauntis were honorable.  
 Apon whom the workes of mercy/  
 Were bestowed continually/  
 With superfluous abundaunce.  
 And so vnder a leawde coloure/  
 In ydelnes they did devoure/  
 The povre peoplis sustenaunce.  
 They have increafed so their number/  
 That all the worlde they do encomber/  
 With intollerable oppression.  
 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 sayde.  
 They robbed the worlde vterly/  
 Caufynge it with extreme beggery/  
 In grett ruyn to be de kayde.

**What.** ¶ Thou speakest agaynst conscience/  
 For we perceau by experience/  
 What a godly lyfe they leade.  
 They flye diligently all exceffe/  
 Livynge in povert and scafnes/  
 With smale dryncke and browne breade.

**Ref.** ¶ Thynkest thou they live in penury?

**What.** ¶ Or els they are hipocrites verily/  
 Of shamfull diffimulacion.

**Ref.** ¶ Saye that hardly once agayne/  
 For they leade a lyfe to be playne/  
 Full of worldly delectacion/  
 Fyrst they have bese and mutten/  
 Of the chese that maye be gotten/  
 With bred and dryncke of the best.  
 And that morover so largely/  
 That to farce and stufte their belly/  
 They take more then they can deiest.  
 They have fauces with every disshhe/  
 Whither that it be flesshe or fysshhe/  
 Or els they wilnot be content.  
 To eate bred that is browne or stale/  
 Ether to dryncke thynne byere or ale/  
 They count it not convenient.

And many tymes they have daynties/  
 Sent from dyvers lordes and ladyes/  
 Their wholly suffrages to procure.

**What.** ¶ Yet they nether bake nor brewe.

**Ref.** ¶ No for all laboure they exchewe/  
 I the faythfully ensure.

**What.** ¶ Howe have they their meate rost or bake?

**Ref.** ¶ Wother men for theym the payne take/  
 Whom spretuall fathers they call.

- What.** ¶ And have they no spretuall mothers?  
**Ref.** ¶ Yes with many sifers and brothers/  
 And also daughters spretuall.
- What.** ¶ Howe come they to kynred so nye/  
**Ref.** ¶ Because they canne flatter and lye/  
 Makynge beleve the cove is wode.
- What.** ¶ They cannot lye though they wolde/  
 For they will nether silver nor golde/  
 Nor covet eny mans goode.
- Ref.** ¶ Trowest thou they covyt nothyng/  
 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/  
 Havyng nought them selves to eate.
- What.** ¶ O they have then the gretter mede.  
**Ref.** ¶ Ye god geve them evill to spede/  
 That do pover creatures so entreate.  
 For they shulde their livynge gett/  
 With boddely laboure and swett/  
 Wherby they myght healpe wother.
- What.** ¶ So they do healpe them spretuallly.  
**Ref.** ¶ Soche spretualnes I defye/  
 When pover people dye for hunger.
- What.** ¶ Men saye they are goode to the pover/  
 And geve every daye at their doer/  
 Grett almes and refreshynge.
- Ref.** ¶ They geve almes/ but howe?  
 When they have eaten ynowe/  
 Their gredy paunches repleniffynge.  
 Then gadder they vp their levettis/  
 Not the best morsels but gobbettis/  
 Which vnto pover people they deale.
- What.** ¶ Then are they lyke with oute doute/  
 Vnto certayne theves devoute/  
 Which though they vse to steale.

- Yet they are liberall and fre/  
 Yf eny pover creature they fe/  
 To geve hym parte of their stolen geare.
- Ref.** ¶ Nowe truly their disposicion/  
 Is not vnlyke of condicion/  
 Savynge in this poynte they differ.  
 That where as theves liberally/  
 Geve their goodes gotten wrongfully/  
 To the pover with true affection.  
 They geve no thyng in very trothe/  
 But scrappes which they wolde be lothe/  
 To vse agayne in their reseccion.
- What.** ¶ Pover folke yet commende theym gretly.
- Ref.** ¶ But yf they knewe as moche as I/  
 They wolde rather on theym complayne.
- What.** ¶ Howe do they pover people offende?
- Ref.** ¶ By cause in ydelnes they spende/  
 Which vnto theym shulde pertayne.
- What.** ¶ They are not ydell I dare saye/  
 Whylis they rede/ synge/ and praye  
 Continually every houre.
- Ref.** ¶ I call it ydelnes vnproffetable/  
 Which in no case is comfortable/  
 To the necessite of oure neighbour.
- What.** ¶ Well yett the apostle doth wryte/  
 A iust mans prayer doth proffyte/  
 And is very efficacious.
- Ref.** ¶ Are they iust in thy reputacion?
- What.** ¶ After their owne affirmacion/  
 Truly they are iust and righteous.
- Ref.** ¶ Then it is an evident token/  
 That they are of whom it is spoken/  
 Væ vobis qui iustificatis vos ipsos.
- What.** ¶ What dost thou by these wordes note?
- Ref.** ¶ That vnder neath a fryers cote/  
 Moche hipocrisy they glose.
- What.** ¶ Reputest thou it hypocrisy/  
 That they vse to go so holyly/  
 In cutt shues with out eny hofe?

- Ref.** ¶ Be it hipocrisy or no/  
To mangill their good shues so/  
Me thynketh it but foliffhnes.
- Mat.** ¶ They cutt but the vpper ledder/  
**Ref.** ¶ No for it is moche easier/  
Then to cut the soles doutles.
- Mat.** ¶ They do it for pennaunce fake/  
**Ref.** ¶ For all that gret shifte they make/  
To avoyde all corporall sofferaunce.
- Mat.** ¶ They shewe signes of penaunce outwardly.  
**Ref.** ¶ Ye but they fynde soche a remedy/  
That they fele lytell grevaunce.  
For in coventis whereas they are/  
Thycke mantels of fryse they weare/  
With sockes to kepe their fete warme  
Then have they fyre at their pleasure/  
And to sit therby at their leayfure/  
No man sayinge theym eny harme.  
And when they walke their stacions/  
They seke gentilmens habitacions/  
Where as they fare delicioufly.  
For be there never so grett preafe/  
They are set vp at the by deafe/  
Taken lyke lordes honorably.  
They have also to wasshe their fete/  
Water made hott with erbes fwete/  
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 sleve a bladder/  
Full of gynger/ nutmegges or graynes.  
Which to make the drincke myghtye/  
He putteth therin a quantite/  
To comforte and warme his veynes.
- Mat.** ¶ They fynd not this wherfoever they come?  
**Ref.** ¶ Syr I wis it is their custome/  
In gentilmens places commenly.

- What.** ¶ Yet when they go on farre iorneys/  
They cannot espye oute all ways/  
Gentilmens houfes so redely.
- Ief.** ¶ Mary before their departyng/  
They have by mouthe or wrytyng/  
The names of places where they dwell.
- What.** ¶ Some tyme they sayle yet I iudge?
- Ief.** ¶ Then do they mormor and grudge/  
Lyke yonge devils of hell.
- What.** ¶ They want soche thynges in their cloyster?
- Ief.** ¶ 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.** ¶ What is their comunicacion?
- Ief.** ¶ By my sothe murmuracion/  
One backbytyng another.
- What.** ¶ They have nothyng to murmur fore.
- Ief.** ¶ I tell the they murmur more/  
Then eny persons that I knowe.  
Full of envious suspicion/  
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 wyse seniours.
- What.** ¶ Do they desyre to be converfant/  
In courtes of vertue so scant/  
Intangled with all vngracioufnes?
- Ief.** ¶ They are content to be partners/  
With all vngracious lyvers/  
Yf so be they geve theym almes.

- Mat.** ¶ 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/  
 Extorfioners/ or whormongers/  
 Yf to be their frendes they wifave.  
 Then with grett commendacion/  
 In their flatteryng predicacion/  
 They will their actes magnify.  
 Wherefore whoares/ theves/ and bawdes/  
 And all soche as live by frawdres/  
 To their order have fantasy.
- Mat.** ¶ Howe do they which are true preachers?  
**Ref.** ¶ They are charged in their chapters/  
 Vnder their prelatis strayte precepte.  
 That agaynst their goode fownders/  
 Benefactors/ 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 for oure lordis sake go to/  
 To tell the cast of this wholly 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 theym is most auncient.  
 As sone as my lady he dothe fe/  
 With a countenaunce of gravite/  
 He saluteth her noblenes.  
 My lady then of his commynge/  
 Affectously reioysynge/  
 Welcometh hym with gladnes.  
 The father then with his glosynge style/  
 After that he hath preached a whyle/  
 With babblyng adulacion.



My lady with many a goode morowe/  
 Begynneth her tale to folowe/  
     Speakyng after this fassion.  
 O father ye do grett penaunce/  
 To wynne eternall inheritaunce/  
     Throw prayer/ fast/ and watchyng.  
 Ye vse forto sweare no othes/  
 Lyinge evermore in youre clothes/  
     Nether shetes nor shurtes wearyng.  
 Ambicion ye sett a fyde/  
 Flyng worldly pompe and pryde/  
     Whiche with vs is dayly in vre.  
 Happy are ye and fortunate/  
 To live info parfet a state/  
     Where to be sated ye are sure.  
 Yf it were not for youre wholines/  
 This worlde full of vicioufnes/  
     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 comforte/  
 Begynneth my lady to exhorte/  
     Sayng thus/ o goode 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.  
 Wherefore ye were made syster/  
 In the last generall chapter/  
     Of oure whole confraternite.  
 By meanes wherof ye are partetaker/  
 Of oure watchyng/ fast/ and prayer/  
     Remembryng you in oure memento.  
 There is no daye that commeth to passe/  
 But ye have parte of many a masse/  
     Preseruyng you from carfull wo.

Wholy. S. Fraunces also hym felve/  
 Which is above the apostles twelve/  
 Nexte vnto Christ in autorite.  
 Shalbe your perpetuall defence/  
 Agaynst fycknes and pestilence/  
 Souckerynge you in aduerfite.  
 And for a fure aprobacion/  
 He bryngeth forth a narracion/  
 De libro conformitatum.

Howe. S. Frances their advoury/  
 Once in the yere entreth purgatory/  
 When that his fest 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 wyse/  
 Is brought in to soles paradyse/  
 Thorowe their wordes disceavable.

**What.** ¶ Hath Christ amonge them no place?

**Ref.** ¶ Christ catha? in no maner cace/  
 He is rather to their damage.

Be cause thorowe his passion/  
 For vs he made satisfaccion/  
 Withoute eny mans suffrage.  
 Whose doctryne yf they did observe/  
 Playnly for honger they shulde sterue/  
 Excepte they wolde to laboure fall.

**What.** ¶ Howe conclude they then at the ende?

**Ref.** ¶ My lady must to their covent fende/  
 Her blyffynge with a trentall.

**What.** ¶ What is the trentall/ in paper?

**Ref.** ¶ Or els in goode golde or silver/  
 To make them a recreacion.

**What.** ¶ They will not for all Englonde/  
 Handill money with their bare honde/  
 As I have had informacion.

**Ref.** ¶ Yett in golden cuppes to dryncke/  
 And to touche wemen I thyncke/  
 No grett parell they do adverte.

And though some of theym never dare,  
 Touche eny coyne with hondes bare/  
 Yett they touche it with their hertt.  
 They have also withouten lefyngē/  
 Money in wother mens kepyngē/  
 Redy at their commaundment.  
 Which by the wryttinge of a bill/  
 In whatt soever vses they will/  
 Dayly is bestowed and spent.  
 In eny covent where they be/  
 Very feawe of theym thou shalt se/  
 But have a frende temporally.  
 To whom for every tryfill vayne/  
 That commeth once into their brayne/  
 Yf by wryttinge they signify.  
 Though it cost a noble or twayne/  
 By and by they shall it attayne/  
 Not foarsyngē what is layde oute.  
 Which trully yf they shulde purchase/  
 With laboure and swett of their face/  
 They wolde wotherwyse loke aboute.

**Mat.** ¶ Yf it be as thou dost expresse/  
 Playnly their rule they do transgresse/  
 Retaynyngē in comen or in proper.

**Ief.** ¶ They have the popis declaracion/  
 Makynge therof a mitigacion/  
 In most favorable maner.  
 Vnder whose divlysshe proteccion/  
 They have put theym in subieccion  
 As children of iniquite.

Wherfore he taketh to his person/  
 The name of their dominion/  
 To vse it gevyngē liberte.

They have scant as moche as a louffe/  
 Nether clothes/ churche/ nor houffe/  
 But the pope there of is awner.

**Mat.** ¶ Why ascrybe they it to the pope?

**Ief.** ¶ By cause with soche craft they hope/  
 To begylde people seculer.

For where as they live welthyly/  
 And have all thyngis abundantly/  
 Acordynge to their apetyte.  
 Yet vnder soche falce pretence/  
 They fayne to soffre indigence/  
 Contempnyng all worldly delyte.  
 The pope also for this intent/  
 Because to his errours they consent/  
 Alowyng his abhominacions.  
 Graunteth to their avauntages/  
 Many bulles and privileges/  
 With wretched confirmacions.  
 Whose favoure to recompence/  
 Agaynst 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 faye that he is goddis vicary/  
 And of Christ the leftenaunte.  
 Makyng of a fende/ an angell/  
 Christ/ of antichrist rebell/  
 A faynt/ of the divels fervaunte.

**Mat.** ¶ I supposed with out dissemblyng/  
 That they vsed in their preachynge/  
 All ways to sheawe the verite.  
 Seynge amonge the states royall/  
 They were reputed substancial/  
 With oute eny parcialite.  
 They vsed 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/  
 Despyfyng the ioyes of this lyfe mortall.

**Ref.** ¶ The wholynes that they did sheawe/  
 Principally did over throwe/  
 The sayth of all christenduome.

For they were confederate/  
 With antichrist so inveterate/  
 Called the Pope of Rome.  
 Whose lawes to fett in renowne/  
 Christis doctryne they plucked downe/  
 Pervertynge all wholly scripture.  
 And yet so perfett they did apere/  
 That grett mens confessions to here/  
 In every place they had the cure.  
 They pretended soche parfettes/  
 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.  
 Wherefore by their seduccion/  
 They have bene the destruccion/  
 Of all true christen liberte.  
 They make cruelnes of mercy/  
 Perfeccion of hipocrisy/  
 And of fredome captivite.  
 Of counterfeyted sim[u]lacion/  
 They ymagen mortificacion/  
 Turnynge fayth to infidelite.  
 Ydelnes they name contemplacion/  
 Faynynge zeale of murmuracion/  
 Enmies 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.

**Ies.** ¶ Though they have no worldly honours/  
 Yet nether kynges ne emperours/  
 Nor wother states of the temperalte/  
 Have soche stryfe in their provision/  
 As observauntes in their religion/  
 With dedly hatred and enmyte.

To be made confessors/ and preachers/  
 Wardens/ discretēs/ 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/  
 Havyng none occasion why.  
 Yonge men agaynst their superiours/  
 And prelates agaynst their inferiours/  
 One at another hath envy.  
 In chapters and visitacions/  
 They vse wronge accusacions/  
 With many slanderous iniuries  
 They execute sharpe correccions/  
 To ponysshe the transgressions/  
 Of their fantastrycke ceremonyes.  
 God and his lawes they omitt/  
 Aplyng their malicious witt/  
 To kepe mans invencions.  
 They are patrons of ydolatry/  
 Promouters vnto herisy/  
 And bryngers vp of diffencions.

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

**Ief.** ¶ Yf thou knewe manyfestly/  
 What a lyfe they occupy/  
 Thou woldest marvayle I deme.

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

**Ief.** ¶ I tolde the in the begynnyng/  
 Howe their wicked lyvyng/  
 Is gretly abhominable.

Marcke their lyfe intentifely/  
 And thou shale not therin espy/  
 Eny thyng that is commendable.

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

**Ref.** ¶ Surly in it Christ they forsake/  
 And them selves wholly they betake/  
 To live in the devils serves.

**Mat.** ¶ Why/ they professe chastite/  
 Obedience/ and wilfull poverté/  
 Which allmyghty god doth approbate.

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

**Mat.** ¶ All worldlynes they do renounce/  
**Ref.** ¶ Though with wordes they so pronounce/  
 Their hertes do not consent/  
**Mat.** ¶ They observe t[r]uly obedience/  
**Ref.** ¶ Ye but favyng reverence/  
 Nothyng after Christis intent.  
 For after goddis commandementis/  
 They shulde obey their parentis/  
 Honorynge theym as is their duty.  
 Not with standyng they are so mad/  
 Their fathers and mothers are glad/  
 To honoure theym 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 comen weallis fortheraunce.

**Mat.** ¶ They obey vnto their prelate/  
 At all seasons yerly and late/  
 His precept accomplisshyng.

**Ref.** ¶ I will not denye they do obey/  
 Vnto the ruler of their abbey.  
 A carle of their owne chofyng.

**Mat.** ¶ They obey vnto their prelate/  
 At all seasons yerly and late/  
 His precept accomplisshyng.

**Ref.** ¶ I will not denye they do obey/  
 Vnto the ruler of their abbey.  
 A carle of their owne chofyng.



Yet is it in superstitiousnes/  
 With outen eny profitablenes/  
 Of their neighbours comforte.  
 They serue theym selves and no mo/  
 Carynge litell howe the worlde go/  
 So that they have pleasure and sporte.  
 And contrary the seculers/  
 Are vnder temporall rulers/  
 With their children and wyues.  
 At all seasons prest and redy/  
 To put theym selves in ieopardy/  
 Aventuryng bothe goodes and lyves.  
 To serue the kynge in warre and peace/  
 They putt theym selves alwaye in preace/  
 The defence of the realme assistyng.  
 Where as the religious sectes/  
 Vnto no lawes are subiectes/  
 Obeyinge nether god nor kynge.  
 Yf the kynge will their service vse/  
 Forthwith they laye for an excuse/  
 That they must do goddis busines.  
 And yf in it they be found negligent/  
 They saye the kynge is impediment/  
 Because they must do hym serues.  
 And yf the kynge shall theym compell/  
 Then obstymatly they do rebell/  
 Fleinge to the popis mayntenaunce.  
 Of whom they obtayne exempcions/  
 From all the iurisdiccions/  
 Of temporall governaunce.  
**Mat.** ¶ Of the pope with out grett expens/  
 They can obtayne no soche defens.  
 As men saye which do it knowe.  
**Ref.** ¶ Yet are they so farre out of tune/  
 That they do their goodes so consume/  
 Rather then in goode vses to bestowe.  
**Mat.** ¶ I perceave by this with out fayle/  
 Their obedience doth not provayle/  
 But what sayst thou to their poverté?

- Ref.** ¶ What nede I therof to speake/  
 Confideringe they do it breake/  
 Endued with ryche felicite.
- What.** ¶ Do they soche lyvelod possesse?
- Ref.** ¶ They have in maner the ryches/  
 Of every londe and nacion.  
 Namly in Englonde region/  
 They excede in possession/  
 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 aparell/  
 In all poyntes superflu[o]usly.  
 There be monkes of soche statlynnes.  
 That scant will soffer at their messe/  
 A lorde of bludde with theym to sitt.  
 Whose prowde service to beholde/  
 In plate of silver and golde/  
 It passeth a mans witt.  
 Knyghtes and squyers honorable/  
 Are fayne to serve at their table/  
 As vnto Dukes excellent.  
 Divers of theym have the degre/  
 Of worthy Eres in dignite/  
 And are lordes of the parlement.
- What.** ¶ They descende of famous progeny?
- Ref.** ¶ Ye beggers sonnes most comenly/  
 Their fathers scant worth a groate.  
 Commynge fyrst to the abby gate/  
 A beggyng with a scalled pate/  
 Havyng nether goode shurt nor coate.  
 Which as sone as he is ones clad/  
 For a gentilman he is had/  
 Though he be but a starcke knawe.
- What.** ¶ Soche povertie is plente/  
 For by it avoydyng scacite/  
 All welthynes they have.

- Ief.** ¶ It is truly their fifshynge nett/  
 Pover mens goodes awaye to gett/  
 To fati[s]fy their gluttenny.  
 It is the goulfe of devoracion/  
 And fountayne of defolacion.  
 To all people generally.  
 Wherof in wholy scripture/  
 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 refceyte so devised.  
 That the ydole semed to devowere  
 An. C. shepe with wyne and flower/  
 Dayly vnto it facryfied.  
 Which the prestes with their whores/  
 Thorowe crafty contrived dores/  
 Entreinge in the nyght secretly.  
 And there makynge recreacion/  
 They consumed the oblacion/  
 Oppressynge the people grevoufly.  
 Which semed so straunge a thyng/  
 That bothe the people and the kynge/  
 Reputed it a grett miracle.  
 Vntill Daniel at the last/  
 Perceavyng their disceavable cast/  
 Agaynst it made an obstacle.  
 He vttered to their confusion/  
 The execrable illusion/  
 Wherwith the folke they fore noyed.  
 Causynge by his policy/  
 That this ydole vtterly/  
 Was broken and destroyed.
- Mat.** ¶ Wherto dost thou this compare ?
- Ief.** ¶ Of religious persons to declare/  
 The intollerable enormite.

For as the prestes with their ydoll/  
 The pover people did pill and poll/  
 By their dissaytfull suttelte.  
 So the children of perdicion/  
 Named men of religion/  
 With their wilfull poverte.  
 The wyde worlde forto begger.  
 Daye and nyght they indever/  
 Blyndyng the peoples simplicite.

**Mat.** ¶ I marvayle men make no restraynt/  
 Their dissaytfulnes to attaynt/  
 Whyls it is open and aperte.

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

**Mat.** ¶ When shalbe then his comynge?

**Ief.** ¶ 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 chastite to heare.

**Ief.** ¶ To tell the of their chastite/  
 It lyeth not in my capacite/  
 The shamfullnes therof to compryse.

**Mat.** ¶ Men saye they live billfedly/  
 With out acte of matrimony/  
 Ensuyng verteous exercyse.

**Ief.** ¶ Their cloysters are the devils m[e]wes  
 Farre worse then eny st[e]wes/  
 Or comen places of whórdom.  
 They are the dens of baudines/  
 And fornaces of all lletcherousnes/  
 Lyke vnto Gomer and Sodom.  
 Yonge laddes and babes innocent/  
 They bryng in by their intysment/  
 To their leawde congregacion.  
 Whom they receive to profession/  
 Before that they have discrecion/  
 To their eternall damnacion.

For when they fele by experience/  
 The brynnynge of the concupiscence/  
 Pryckyng their hertes with love.  
 Confyderynge also their bondage/  
 Howe they can vse no mariage/  
 As a christen man doth behove.  
 Then to quenche their apetytes/  
 They are fayne to be fodomytes/  
 Abusyng 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 mayst fynde.
- Ies.** ¶ Make the company grett or small/  
 A monge a thousand fynde thou shall/  
 Scant one chaste of boddy and mynde
- Mat.** ¶ They saye yett with bolde audacite/  
 That it resteth in mans faculte/  
 Yf he will/ to live chastly.
- Ies.** ¶ Then make they Christ a lyer/  
 Callynge it a gyfte singlar/  
 Not geuen to every boddy.  
 Paul also in his epistle/  
 Vnto Timothe his disciple/  
 Wrytynge by sprete of prophecy.  
 Nameth it a dyvlisse doctryne.  
 Which agaynst scripture divine/  
 Forbiddeth folke to mary.  
 Morover the storys not faynyng/  
 The lives of olde fathers conteynyng/  
 Geve reccorde to the fame.  
 Which endued with godly science/  
 Exercysynge continuall abstinence.  
 The lustes of the fleshe to tame.  
 Yet feawe or none had the grace/  
 With all their laboure to purchase/  
 The singlar gyfte of chastite.

Howe shuld they then live chaste/  
 That of gostlynes have no taste/  
 Geven holy to carnalite.  
 Which as wolves and bely beastes/  
 Eatynge and drynkyng in their feastes/  
 The bloudde of the pover commenalte/  
 They hate soche as are studious/  
 Abhorrynge those that are verteous/  
 As a toade/ or poyfonde serpente.  
 With oute knowledge as asses brute/  
 Of all goode manners destitute/  
 Braynles and insipient.

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

**Ref.** ¶ It werre fare better I suppose/  
 To plucke downe a grett forte of those/  
 Which are all redy of costly bildynge/

**Mat.** ¶ Oure lorde forbid/ that werre pete/  
 For they kepe hospitalite/  
 Waye farynge people harborynge.  
 Husbande men and labourers/  
 With all commen artificers/  
 They cause to have grett ernynge.  
 Their townes and villages/  
 With out exaccions or pillages/  
 Vnder theym have moche wynnynge.  
 They kepe also many servauntes/  
 Retaynyng fermers and tennauntes/  
 Which by theym have their lyvyng.

**Ref.** ¶ Hospitall abbeyes thou fyndest but feawe/  
 All though some of theym 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 resorte/  
 They shall have full lytell comferte/  
 Nether meate/ dryncke/ ne lodgyng.

Savynge wother whyles perhapis/  
 They gett a feawe broken scrapis  
 Of these cormorantis levyng.

**Mat.** ¶ Well yett their fare confyderynge/  
 It is I wis no fmale thyng/  
 That they leave dayly at their borde.

**Ref.** ¶ Ye but thorowe falce lorchers/  
 And vnthryfty abbey lobbbers/  
 To povre folcke lytell they a forde.  
 For the best meate awaye they carve/  
 Which for their harlottis must serve/  
 With wother frendes of their kynne.  
 Then proll the ferynge officers/  
 With the yemen that be wayters/  
 So that their levettis are but thynne.  
 And where as thou makest relacion/  
 That men of fondry occupacion/  
 By theym are sett vnto laboure.  
 It is aboute soche folysshnes/  
 Concernyng no proffytablenes/  
 Vnto their neighbours succoure.  
 In byldyng of chambers curious/  
 Churches/ and houfes/ superfluous/  
 To no purpose expedient.  
 So that they maye satisfy/  
 Their inordinate fantasy/  
 They care for no detryment.  
 Set dyce and carde players a fyde/  
 And thorowe out the worlde so wyde/  
 They waste their goode most in vayne.  
 Their pryde maketh many a begger/  
 Feawe or none faryng the better/  
 Except an ydell Iavel or twayne.  
 Their townes fomtyme of renowne/  
 Leawdly they cause to faule downe/  
 The honoure of the londe to marre/  
 They sue their subiettis at the lawe/  
 Whom they make nott worth a strawe/  
 Raynyng theym giltles at the barre.



And that I me nowe reporte/  
 To their lordships a grett forte/  
 With whom they had controversys.  
 Namly/ Saynt Edmond's bery/  
 With dyvers wother a grett many/  
 Vnder the holde of monasterys.  
 Furthermore theare as I did wone/  
 All husbände men they have vndone/  
 Destroyinge the londe miserably.

**What.** ¶ To prove that it wer very harde  
**Ref.** ¶ Take hede howe farmers go backwarde/  
 And thou shalt fe it with thyne ey.  
 For the londes welth pryncipally/  
 Stondeth in exercyse of husbandry/  
 By encrease of catell and tillynge.  
 Which as longe as it doth prosper/  
 The realme goeth backwarde never/  
 In stabill felicitye perseveringe.  
 The abbeyes then full of covetyse/  
 Whom possessions coulde not suffyse/  
 Ever more and more encroachinge.  
 After they had spoyled gentill men/  
 They vndermynded husbände men/  
 In this manner theym robberyng.  
 Wheare a farme for xx. li. was sett/  
 Vnder. xxx. they wolde not it lett/  
 Rayfyng it vp on so hye a some.  
 That many a goode husholder/  
 Constrayned to geve his farme over/  
 To extreme beggary did come.

**What.** ¶ I have hearde faye of myne elders/  
 That in Englonde many fermers/  
 Kept gaye housholdes in tymes passed.  
**Ref.** ¶ Ye that they did with liberalite/  
 Sheawyng to povre people charite/  
 But nowe all together is daffhed.  
 Of ryche 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 comen well to confownde.

**What.** ¶ Howe have the abbeys their payment?

**Ref.** ¶ A newe waye they do invent/  
 Lettyng a dosen farmes vnder one.  
 Which one or two ryche francklyngis/  
 Occupyinge a dosen mens lyvyngis/  
 Take all in their owne hondes a lone.

**What.** ¶ The wother in paynge their rent/  
 Be lyklyhod 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.

**What.** ¶ Have the francklyngis therby no gayne?

**Ref.** ¶ Yes/ but fyrst they have moche payne/  
 Yer they can gett it substancially.

Payng more for the entryng in/  
 Then they shalbe able to wyne/  
 A goode whyle after certaynly.  
 For to gett the abbottis consent/  
 Vnder the seale of the covent/  
 It is a thyng very costly.

Where of the charges to recover/  
 Lest they shulde theym selves enpover/  
 And be brought into decaye.

Pover cilly shepperdis they gett/  
 Whome into their farmes they sett/  
 Lyvyng on mylke/ whyg/ and whey/  
**What.** ¶ Mercyfull lorde/ who hearde ever tell/  
 Religious folke to be so cruell/  
 Supplantynge the temporalte.

**Ref.** ¶ Thou knowest nott watkyn felowe/  
 Howe they have brought to sorowe/  
 In lykwyse the spretualte.

**What.** ¶ By what manner cavillation?

**Ref.** ¶ Surly through improperacion.  
 Of innumerable benefices.

- Mat.** ¶ Do they benefices impropere?  
**Ref.** ¶ Ye and that many a curate.  
 Dayly courffe their cruell bellies.
- Mat.** ¶ They eate nether churche ne steple.  
**Ref.** ¶ No but they robbe the pover people/  
 Devowrynge their substaunce.
- Mat.** ¶ Yf they do spretually sowe/  
 They maye well temporally mowe/  
 After the apostles ordenaunce.  
**Ref.** ¶ Toshe they have it better cheape/  
 For they temporall goodes reape/  
 And sowe nothyng spretually.  
 Their parissions they sheare and clippe/  
 But they never open their lippe/  
 To geve theym eny sode gostly.
- Mat.** ¶ Happely they do it in prevete.  
**Ref.** ¶ So god healpe me it maye well be/  
 Vnder some secret clausure.  
 For it is surly so invifible/  
 That I trowe it is not possible/  
 To be sene of eny creature.
- Mat.** ¶ What requyre they of benefices?  
**Ref.** ¶ No thyng but to have the sleces/  
 And avauntages carnally.
- Mat.** ¶ I perceave not well thy meanyng.  
**Ref.** ¶ They are redyer to take vp tythyng/  
 Then to preache to theym frutfully.
- Mat.** ¶ Is there eny grett differyng/  
 Bitwene theft and tythe gaderyng/  
 After the practyse that we se?  
**Ref.** ¶ Very litell/ all thynges reckened/  
 Savyng that theves are corrected/  
 And tythe gaderers go scott fre.
- Mat.** ¶ Have they no circumspeccion/  
 With diligent affeccion/  
 For their paresthes to provyde?  
**Ref.** ¶ They sett in folysshe dotardes/  
 More mete forto be bearwardes/  
 Then christen mens soules to gyde.

And even as they do by farmage/  
 Brynge the londe into a rearage/  
 Contempnyng the state temporall.  
 In lyke maner by their rapyne/  
 They have brought into ruynes/  
 The order ecclesiasticall.

**Mat.** ¶ It apereth they are past grace.

**Ief.** ¶ They are the diuels fornice/  
 Oven infernall vnsaciabie.

**Mat.** ¶ If these monkes are so noyous/  
 Bothe fraudulent and covetous/  
 To what vses are they proffitable?

**Ief.** ¶ Nowe by the death that I shall deye/  
 Of all people vnder neth the skye/  
 The worlde maye theym best spare.  
 Nether to the godly deite/  
 Nor yett to mans vtilite/  
 In eny cace proffitable they are.

And not only vnecessary/  
 But moreover clene contrary/  
 Defraudynge that to theym is due.  
 For though their lyfe so vicious/  
 To goddis lawes is iniurious/  
 Confowndynge the waye of vertue.

Yet are they more presomptuous/  
 Sayinge their workes meritorious/  
 Healpe synners to be goddis heyres.  
 Wherby Christis bloud they despyse/  
 As though it coulde not suffyse/  
 With out their damnable prayres.

And wheare as they shulde be prest/  
 At all seasons doynge their best/  
 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 gostly/ ner worldly/  
 Rather divlysshe then godly/  
 With out eny goode properte.

**What.** ¶ Yf they be soche ydell raveners/  
 They are lyke to the grett courfers/  
 Which noble men in stables kepe  
 For they are cheresed all waye/  
 With fresshe litter and goode haye.  
 Doyng right noght but eate and slepe.

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

**What.** ¶ Are they lyke to wolves ravenous?

**Ief.** ¶ A grett deale more outragious/  
 Farre excedyng their rapacitie.  
 For though they be cruell of kynde/  
 Yett they leave their skynnes be hynde/  
 As a mendes for their cruelte  
 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/  
 Least eny by theym shuld thryve.  
 They cary into their sepulture/  
 Their dayly clothyng and vesture/  
 Buried in their churlysshe habyte.

**What.** ¶ Have they on their botes also?

**Ief.** ¶ Ye by my trothe even redy to go/  
 To the devill withouten respyte.

**What.** ¶ There is some mistery pondered/  
 That they vse so to be buried/  
 In their habyte and clothyng.

**Ief.** ¶ No dout it is a mistery/  
 By coniectours manifestly/  
 Their wretched lyfe betokenyng.

For as in this lyfe they denayde/  
 Their christen neighbours to ayde/  
 Lyvyng here vncheritably.  
 So by their death and latter ende/  
 In their buriall they pretende/  
 Not to be of Christis company.

**What.** ¶ To whom then do they pertayne?

**Ref.** ¶ To the devill their soverayne/  
 Which hath them all in his bonde.

**What.** ¶ 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.

**What.** ¶ Did they eny grevaunce to hym?

**Ref.** ¶ Out of this lyfe they did hym trymme/  
 Because he was goddis seruaunte.

**What.** ¶ He did some faulte gretly notory /

**Ref.** ¶ No thyng but for a mortuary/  
 The prestes agaynst hym did aryse.  
 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 pilgrimages/  
 Vfyng none others to periure.

**What.** ¶ Are the prelatis so mad franticke/  
 To iudge soche a man an heritycke/  
 Shewyng tokens of fydelite?

**Ref.** ¶ They regarde their worldly proffett/  
 Wynnyng therby many a forfett/  
 Whiche moveth them to crudelite.

Mens goodes wrongfully to cease/  
 They make heritykis whom they please/  
 By faulce relacion of Someners.

- Mat.** ¶ Have they none wother intelleccion ?  
**Ref.** ¶ Yes also by their confession/  
 Which they tell in prestes eares.
- Mat.** ¶ Dare they confessions to bewraye ?  
**Ref.** ¶ Confessions catha ? ye by my faye/  
 They kepe no secretnes att all.  
 Though noble men have doctours/  
 To be their private confessours/  
 Yet they have one that is generall.
- Mat.** ¶ Befyde those which are perticuler ?  
**Ref.** ¶ Ye/ and that hath brought some to care/  
 Of whom I coulde make rehearceall.
- Mat.** ¶ His name wolde I very fayne here.  
**Ref.** ¶ It is the englisse Lucifer/  
 Wotherwyse 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 swete/  
 Of their confessours 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.
- Mat.** ¶ What autorite do they allege ?  
**Ref.** ¶ It is their churches previlege/  
 Falcely to fayne that never was.
- Mat.** ¶ Soche confessours are vniust.  
**Ref.** ¶ Yett nedes do it they must/  
 Yf they will to honoure ascende.
- Mat.** ¶ Promocions are of the Kyngis gyft ?  
**Ref.** ¶ For all that he maketh soche shyft/  
 That in his pleasure they depende.  
 Though they have the kyngis patent/  
 Except they have also his assent/  
 It tourneth to none avauntage.  
 His power he doth so extende/  
 That the kyngis letters to rende/  
 He will not forbear in his rage.



- Mat.** ¶ This is a grett presumption/  
 For a villayne bochers sonne/  
 His autorite so to avaunce.  
 But it is more to be marveyled/  
 That noble men wilbe confessed/  
 To these kaytives of miscreaunce.
- Ief.** ¶ O/ the grett whore of Babilon/  
 With her deadly cuppe of poyson/  
 Hath brought them to dronkenship.  
 That paynted bordes and ded stockis/  
 Carved ydoles in stones and blockis/  
 Above allmyghty god they worship.
- Mat.** ¶ Hath Englund soche stacions/  
 Of devoute peregrinacions/  
 As are in Fraunce and Italy?
- Ief.** ¶ Seke oute londes every chone/  
 And thou shalt fynde none so prone/  
 As Englonde/ to this ydolatri.  
 Of wholy Roodes/ there is soche a fight/  
 That bitwene this and mydnyght/  
 I coulde not make explicacion.  
 Then have they ladies as many/  
 Some of grace and some of mercy/  
 With divers of lamentacion.  
 Morover paynted stockis and stones/  
 With shrynes/ full of rotten bones/  
 To the whiche they make oblacion.
- Mat.** ¶ What are they after thy supposynge?
- Ief.** ¶ Stronge theves with outen glosynge/  
 And authours of prevaricacion.
- Mat.** ¶ Take hede thou do not blasphem.
- Ief.** ¶ 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 faulcely lauded/  
 With sacrifice and adoracion.

- Man in lyke maner they robbe/  
 Causynge povre folke to sygh and fobbe/  
 Takyng away their sustentacion.
- What.** ¶ The goodes that to theym are offered/  
 Are they not to pover people proffered/  
 Their necessites to relese?
- Ref.** ¶ It is wasted in ryetous revell/  
 Amonge many an ydell Iavell/  
 To norysshe morthur and mischefe.
- What.** ¶ I heare saye that besydes London/  
 There is oure lady of Wilfdon/  
 Which doth grett myracles dayly.
- Ref.** ¶ As for whordom/ and letcheroufnes/  
 She is the chefe lady mastres/  
 Commen paramoure of baudry.  
 Many men as it is knowen/  
 Repe mo chyldren then their owne/  
 By her myracles promocion.  
 Wyves to deceave their husbandes/  
 Make to her many errandes/  
 Vnder coloure of devocion.
- What.** ¶ Dost thou oure lady so backbyte?
- Ref.** ¶ No but I have the stocks in despyte/  
 Wherby they dishonoure her.  
 In scripture it is written/  
 And of oure lorde forbidden/  
 To be a falce ydolatrer.
- What.** ¶ Whyls thou dost so farre procede/  
 Howe is it then in thy crede/  
 Of Saynt Thomas of Cantourbury?
- Ref.** ¶ I beleve/ and also I trust/  
 Yf that he were in this lyfe iust/  
 And of oure lordes vocacion.  
 That his soul : hath fruicion/  
 Perpetually with out intermission/  
 Of eternall consolacion.
- What.** ¶ Ye but I meane of his body/  
 Shryned in tle monastery/  
 With golde and stoness precious.

Also the grett myracles wrought/  
 And howe of people he is fought/  
 With offerynges and gyftes somptious.

**Ref.** ¶ As for that yf we geve credence/  
 To oure saveoure 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 them hath no parte/  
 But worcke them by the devils arte/  
 Vsurpyng an angels lykenes.  
 Which doth hym filse so transpofe/  
 Fraudulently to begyle those/  
 That contempne goddis rightousnes.

**What.** ¶ Neverthelesse as clarkes defyne/  
 Workyng of myracles is a signe/  
 That vnto god they are acceptable.

**Ref.** ¶ Shall we to men credence geve/  
 Or ought we the gospell to beleve/  
 Whose verite is impermutable?  
 I dare saye/ and abyde therby/  
 That Saynct Thomas of Caunterbury/  
 With wother Saynctis canonyfed.  
 Yf their paynted efficacite/  
 Is but as it semeth to be.  
 Of god they are despyfed.  
 For though they heale lame and blynde/  
 With men (as they saye) out of mynde/  
 Healpyng diseafes corporall.  
 Yet destroye they out of hande/  
 For every one of them a thowfande/  
 Concernyng their soules spretuall.  
 And where as Christ doth requyre/  
 That of god we shulde defyre/  
 All oure necessite and nede.  
 To them we make petition/  
 Agaynst goddis prohibicion/  
 To wicked doctours gevynge hede.

- Mat.** ¶ Well yet I ensure the Ieffraye/  
The goppell for theym they laye/  
Growndyng on it their argument.
- Ief.** ¶ Naye watkyn that is a starcke lye.
- Mat.** ¶ Howe shall we then the troth trye/  
By some probacion evident?
- Ief.** ¶ Mary take goddis wholly wrytyng/  
Nether addyng nor diminysshynge/  
But even playnly after the letter.
- Mat.** ¶ They saye scripture is so diffufe/  
That laye people on it to muse/  
Shulde be never the better.  
It is no medlyng for soles/  
But for soche as have bene at scoles/  
As doctours that be graduate.
- Ief.** ¶ Wenest thou that Peter the fiffher/  
Vnderstode not scripture clearlyer/  
Then the pharisaies obstinate?  
Who did so wilfully resist/  
Agaynst the receavyng of Christ/  
As they which were learned?
- Mat.** ¶ No wonder/ for they knewe hym not.
- Ief.** ¶ No more do oure doctours god wot/  
In eny poynte to be discerned.
- Mat.** ¶ Of Christ yett they make mencion.
- Ief.** ¶ Ye for be cause their pension/  
With benefices maye be endued.  
But in their lyfe and behaveoure/  
They despyse Christ oure saveoure/  
Labouryng his worde to exclude.
- Mat.** ¶ Canst thou prove this in dede?
- Ief.** ¶ Whosoever will the goppell rede/  
To prove it shall nede no testes.
- Mat.** ¶ Peraventure they wolde have it hid/  
Wherfore to rede it they forbid/  
Lest men shulde knowe their wickednes.
- Ief.** ¶ Had thou studied an whoale yere/  
Thou couldest not have gone no nere/  
To hit their crafty futtelnes.

For yf the gofpell were foffered/  
 Of laye people frely to be red/  
 In their owne moders langage.  
 They fhulde fe at their fynghers endes/  
 The abhominacions of thefe fendes/  
 With the abufion of pilgrimage.

Alfo to perceave every whitt/  
 What it is Sayntis forto vifitt/  
 With nobles/ brouches/ and rynges.

**Mat.** ¶ Dost thou this cufume reprehende?

**Ref.** ¶ I thyncke no goode man will commende/  
 Soche fuperfticious offerynges.

Wherof thre poyntis I will move/  
 By the whyche I fhall playnly prove/  
 That it is a thyng vngodly.

Fyrft a povre man of farre dwellynge/  
 For his wyfe and chylidren labouryng/  
 To kepe and fynde them honeftly.

Peraventure for fome fickenes/  
 Or for a vowe of foliffhnes/  
 To accompliffhe Satans intitute.

Taketh on hym a farre viage/  
 To fome Sayntes fhryne or ymage/  
 Leavyng his houfholde deftitute.

Which often tymes do mis cary.  
 The meane while that he doth tary/  
 Bestowyng his laboure in vayne.

And fo goddis commaundment neglecte/  
 For fmale tryfles of none effecte/  
 They put themfelves vnto payne.

Secondaryly/ what peviffhnes/  
 Is it to honoure with ryches/  
 Of deade fayntis the bodies?

Seynge that whyls they here lyved/  
 From ryches they were deprived/  
 As we rede in their ftoyes/

Thirdly/ it is no Chriften touche/  
 To fe many a golden ouche/  
 With rynges and ftones preciously.

To make deade faynctes forto fhynē/  
 Where pover folke for honger pyne/  
 Dyinge with out healpe petioufly.  
 And yf with all poffibilitē/  
 Oure chriften neighbours povertē/  
 Duly to ayde we are bownde.  
 Why do Saynctes it then tranfgrefse/  
 In whom charitable perfetnes/  
 In especiall fhulde redownde?  
 Saynct Iohn to Chrift fo amiable/  
 Sayth/ excepte we be charitable/  
 Lovynge eache wother fraternally.  
 It boteth not Chrift to professe/  
 For why/ we wander in darcknes/  
 With out light erroneoufly.  
 For howe can he have charite/  
 That feith his neighbours neceffite/  
 And refuseth hym to focoure?

**What.** ¶ I marvayle not by hym that me made/  
 Yf they be with golde and stonēs fo lade/  
 Though they cannot their neighbours fe.  
 But nowe to speake earnestly/  
 Have their foules celestially/  
 In foche offerynges eny delyte?

**Ref.** ¶ It is to theym grett despleasure/  
 Abhorrynge it out of measure/  
 As a thyngē done in their despyte.

**What.** ¶ What were best then to be done?

**Ref.** ¶ To breake theym in peces a none/  
 A monge povre folke to be destributed.

**What.** ¶ Haw/ to do that dede who durst/  
 Seynge that he shulde be a court/  
 And as an herityke reputed.

**Ref.** ¶ Let theym with furiousnes swell/  
 Courfyngē with boke/ bell/ and candell/  
 Whyls they have breath for to speake.  
 Yet had we the Kynges licence/  
 We wolde with outen diffydence/  
 Their golden shrynes 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 Saynctes then wolde be angry/  
 Yf that we shulde be so hardy/  
 Vnlauffully to do theym wronge.  
 For some men have it assayde/  
 Whom saynctes have shreawedly arayde/  
 In revengynge their iniury.  
 So that by an whole nyghtes space/  
 They were fayne to kepe one place/  
 The dores stondyng 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.** ¶ Vse the Saynctes eny men to kyll?  
**Mat.** ¶ No but they make theym stonde still/  
 Vntill they be taken of the Schereve.  
 Then are th[e]y lyke and semblable/  
 Vnto oure bissshops venerable/  
 Which faye/ we will not morthen.  
 But they put men in soche savegarde/  
 That with in a whyle afterwarde/  
 They be sure to go no forther.  
**Ref.** ¶ Are not soche saynctis 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 Christis eleccion.  
 Whiche after Lukis evangelion/  
 Sayde to th[e]apostels Iames and Iohn/  
 Nescitis cuius spiritus estis.  
 The sonne of man hidder cam/  
 Not forto destroye eny man/  
 But to save that perished is.  
 Wherefore let theym do wonders/  
 By the divels their founders/  
 To leade men in blynde cecite.



Yett never thelesse thou and I/  
 Wolde put oure felves in ieopardy/  
 Agaynst all their malignite.  
 To take awaye their ouches/  
 Golden ryngis and brouches/  
 Gevyng it vnto the poore.

**Wat.** ¶ Thou except. S. Chutbert of Duram/  
 With oure lady of Walsyngam/  
 Also oure lady of the Moore.

**Ief.** ¶ God beyng oure direccion/  
 We wolde make none excepcion/  
 Agaynst the devils enchauntmentis.  
 To do their best/ let theym not spare/  
 For we wolde make them full bare/  
 Of their precious ornamentis.

**Wat.** ¶ Oure honeste then destayned/  
 Surely we shulde be proclaymed/  
 For outragious heretykis.

**Ief.** ¶ Why more we then the Cardinall?

**Wat.** ¶ He attempteth nothyng at all/  
 Soche maters in his bissshopryckis.

**Ief.** ¶ I am sure thou hast hearde spoken/  
 What monasteries he hath broken/  
 With out their fownders consentis.  
 He subverteth churches/ and chappells/  
 Takyng a waye bokis and bells  
 With chalesces/ and vestmentis.  
 He plucketh downe the costly leades  
 That it maye rayne on saynctis heades/  
 Not sparyng god nor oure ladye.  
 Where as they red servyce divyne/  
 There is grountyng of pigges and swyne/  
 With lowyng of oxen and kye.  
 The aultres of their celebracions/  
 Are made pearches for henns and capons/  
 De foylyng them with their durt.  
 And though it be never so prophane/  
 He is counted a goode christiane/  
 No man doynge hym eny hurtt.

- Mat.** ¶ A conscience yf it be sothe/  
That the Cardinall so dothe/  
I wonder that he is not apeached.
- Ref.** ¶ O/ churche men are wyly foxes/  
More crafty then iuggelers boxes/  
To play ligier du mayne teached.  
Yt is not for nought they fayne/  
That the two sweardes to theym pertayne/  
Both spretuall/ and temporall.  
Wherwith they playe on both hondes/  
Most tyrannously in their bondes/  
Holdynge the worlde vniverfall.  
Agaynst god they are so stobbourne/  
That scripture they tosse and tourne/  
After their owne ymaginacion.  
Yf they faye the mone is belewe/  
We must beleve that it is true/  
Admittynge their interpretacion.
- Mat.** ¶ Art thou not a frayde to presume/  
Agaynst the Cardinalls fume/  
Seynge they wilbe all on his syde?
- Ref.** ¶ No I do rather gretly reioyce/  
That of a lytell wormes voyce/  
Goddis iudgement maye be veryfyed.  
Agaynst soche a wicked brothell/  
Which fayth/ vnder his girthell/  
He holdeth Kynges and Princes.  
To whom for a salutacion/  
I will rehearce a brefe oracion/  
dedicate vnto his statlynes.
- Mat.** ¶ Nowe gentell mate I the praye.
- Ref.** ¶ Have at it then with out delaye/  
Contempnyng his malicioufnes.
- O miserable monster/ most malicious/  
Father of peruersite/ 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.  
 Cauſles chargynge by thy courſed commandment  
 To brenne goddis worde the wholly teſtament.

Goddis worde/ grownd of all vertue and grace  
 The fructeous fode/ of oure faythfull truſt.  
 Thou haſt condempned in moſt carfull cace/  
 Throwe furious foly/ falce and vniuſt.  
 O fearce Pharao/ folower of fleſhly luſt.  
 What moved thy mynde by malyce to conſent/  
 To brenne goddis worde/ the wholly teſtament.

The tenoure of thy tyranny paſſeth my brayne  
 In every poynt evidently to endyght.  
 Nero nor herod/ wer never ſo noyus certayne  
 All though of goddis lawis they had lytel lyght  
 Shame it is to ſpeake howe agaynſt ryght.  
 Thy hatfull hert hath cauſed to be brent/  
 Goddis true worde/ the wholly teſtament.

O peruerſe preſte patriarke of pryde/  
 Murtherer with out mercy moſt execrable.  
 O beaſtly brothell/ of baudry the bryde/  
 Darlynge of the devill/ gretly deteſtable.  
 Alas/ what wretch wolde be ſo vengeable?  
 At eny time to attempte ſoche impediment/  
 To brenne goddis worde the wholly teſtament.

God of his goodenes/ grudged not to dye/  
 Man to delyver from deadly dampnacion.  
 Whoſe will is that we ſhulde knowe perſetly  
 What he here hath done for oure ſaluacion.  
 O cruell kayface/ full of crafty conſpiracion.  
 Howe durſt thou geve then falce iudgement  
 To brenne goddis worde/ the wholly teſtament.

Thy leawednes of lyvyng is loth to heare/  
 Chriſtis goſpell to come vnto cleare light.  
 Howe be it furly it is ſo ſpred farre and neare

That forto let it thou haste lytell myght.  
 God hath opened oure dercke dimed fyght.  
 Truly to perceave thy tyrannous intent/  
 To brenne goddis worde the wholy testament.

Agaynst thyne ambicion all people do crye/  
 Pompously spendinge the sustenance 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 oure dayly damage and detriment  
 To brenne goddis worde the wholy testament.

O paynted pastoure/ of Satan the Prophet/  
 Ragynge courre/ wrapped in a wolues skynne  
 O butcherly bissshop/ 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/  
 Brennynge goddis worde/ the wholy testament.

**Mat.** ¶ No more for oure lordis passion/  
 Thou raylest nowe of a fassion/  
 With rebukis most despytous/  
 No man shall these wordes advert/  
 But will iudge them of an hert/  
 To procede/ most contumelious.

**Ref.** ¶ Though popisshes cures here at do barcke  
 Yet thou mayst therin well marcke/  
 The will of god accomplisshed.  
 The Cardinall thus to rewarde/  
 Which with oute eny godly regarde/  
 Desdayneth the trothe to be pupplisshed.  
 Therefore as he did the trueth condempne/  
 So god wil hym and all his contempne/  
 With the swearde of punnysshment.

**Mat.** ¶ They had fyrst some provocation?  
**Ref.** ¶ None wother then the translacion/  
 Of the englysshe newe testament.

Wherin the authours with mecknes/  
 Vtterly avoydyng convicioufnes/  
 Demeaned theym fo discretly.  
 That with all their invencion/  
 They coude fynde no reprehencion/  
 Resistyng goddis worde wilfully.

**Mat.** ¶ Howe had the gospels fyrst entraunce/  
 Into Englonde fo farre of distaunce/  
 Where to rede hym/ no man maye?

**Ref.** ¶ Goode christen men with pure affecte/  
 Of god singulerly therto electe/  
 With cost did hym thether conveye.  
 Which/ even as Christ was betrayed/  
 So with hym the clargy played/  
 Thorowe trayterous prodicion.

**Mat.** ¶ Who played the parte of Iudas?

**Ref.** ¶ The wholly bissshop of Saynct Asshe/  
 A poste of Satans iurisdiccion.  
 Whom they call Doctour standiffhe/  
 Wone that is nether flesshe nor fiffhe/  
 At all tymes a commen lyer.  
 He is a bablyng Questionist/  
 And a mervelous grett sopherist/  
 Som tyme a lowfy graye fryer.  
 Of stommake he is fearce and bolde/  
 In braulyng wordes a very scolde/  
 Menglyng vennem with fugre.  
 He despyfeth the trueth of god/  
 Takyng parte rather with falcehod/  
 Forto obtayne worldly lucre.  
 In carde playinge he is a goode greke/  
 And can skyll of post and glyeke/  
 Also a payre of dyce to trolle.  
 For whordom and fornicacions/  
 He maketh many visitacions/  
 His Dioces to pill and polle.  
 Though he be a slowte divyne/  
 Yett a prest to kepe a concubyne/  
 He there admitteth wittyngly.

So they paye their yearly tributis/  
 Vnto his dyvliffhe substitutis/  
 Official/ or commissary.  
 To rehearce all his lyvynges/  
 God geve it yvell chevynge/  
 Or els some amendment shortly.

**What.** ¶ Howe did he the gospell betraye?

**Ref.** ¶ As sone as ever he hearde saye/  
 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 consistory/  
 Bryngynge in false testimony/  
 The gospell he did theare accuse.

**What.** ¶ He did mo perfonen represent/  
 Then Iudas the traytour malivolent/  
 Whiche betrayed Christ to the Iues.

**Ref.** Thou mayst se of them in one manne/  
 Herod/ Pilat/ Cayphas/ and Anne/  
 With their propertis severall.  
 And in another manifestly/  
 Iudas full of conspiracy/  
 With the sectes pharisaicall.  
 They are a grett deale more mutable/  
 Then Proteus of forme so variable/  
 Which coulde hym filse so disgyse.  
 They canne represent apes/ and beares/  
 Lyons/ and asses with longe eares/  
 Even as they list to divyse.  
 But nowe of standishe accusacion/  
 Bressly to make declaracion/  
 Thus to the Cardinall he spake.  
 Pleaseth youre honourable grace/  
 Here is chaunfed a pitious cace/  
 And to the churche a grett lacke.  
 The gospell in oure Engliffhe tonge/  
 Of laye men to be red and fonge/  
 Is nowe hidder come to remayne.

Which many heretykis shall make/  
 Except youre grace some waye take/  
 By youre authorite hym to restrayne.  
 For truly it is no handlynge/  
 For laye peoples vnderstondyng/  
 With the gospell to be busy.  
 Which many wone interprisyng/  
 Into herefy it did bryng/  
 Disdaynyng the churche vnreuerently.  
**Mat.** ¶ Toffhe/ these sayngis are sophistical/  
 I wolde heare the fence mysticall/  
 Of these wordes right interpreted.  
**Ref.** In fayth with out simulacion/  
 This is the right significacion/  
 Of his meanyng to be expressed.  
 O Cardinall so glorious/  
 Thou arte Capitayne over vs/  
 Antichristis chiefe member.  
 Of all oure detestacions/  
 And sinfull prevaricacions/  
 Thou alone/ arte the defender.  
 Wherefore healpe nowe or els never/  
 For we are vndone for ever/  
 Yf the gospell abroad 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 hondred yeres/  
 Roffled theym amonge the bryres/  
 Of desperate infidelite.  
 And howe we have the worlde brought/  
 Vnto beggery worse then nought/  
 Through oure chargeable vanite.  
 Which knowen/ we shalbe abhorred/  
 Reddi to be knocked in the forhed/  
 Oure welth taken awaye clene.  
 Therefore Tyrant playe nowe thy parte/  
 Seynge with the devill thou atre/  
 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 with oure 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 dost by tyranny/  
 We will alowe it by sophiltry/  
 Agaynst these worldly villaynes.

**What.** ¶ Nowe truly this is the meanyng/  
 Howe foever be the speakyng/  
 Of these spretuall lordaynes.

**What.** ¶ But what sayde the Cardinall here at?

**Ref.** ¶ He spake the wordes of Pilat/  
 Sayinge/ I fynde no fault therin.  
 Howe be it/ the bissshops assembled/  
 Amonge theym he examened/  
 What was best to determyn?

Then answered bissshop Cayphas/  
 That agrett parte better it was/  
 The gospel to be condempned.

*Hoc est.  
 London.  
 Epus.*

Lest their vices manyfolde/  
 Shulde be knowen of yonge and olde/  
 Their estate to be-contempned.

The Cardinall then incontinent/  
 Agaynst the gospel gave iudgement/  
 Sayinge/ to brenne he deserved.

Wherto all the bisshoppis cryed/  
 Answerynge/ it cannot be denyed/  
 He is worthy fo to be served.

**What.** ¶ Yf they playe thus their vages/  
 They shall not escape the plages/  
 Which to theym of Rome happened.

At whose scourge so marvelous/  
 They wolde yf they were gracious/  
 Gladly to be admonished.  
 To whom goddis worde in purite/  
 Was fyrst shewed in humilite/  
 Accordynge to the veritable fence.  
 Howe be it they wolde not it receave/  
 But frawdly with swearde and gleave/  
 They expulsed it from thence.  
 Vnto tyranny they did leane/  
 Wherefore god vsynge another meane/  
 To brynge theym vnto repentaunce.  
 He stered vp some mens spryte/  
 Which their fautes did endyte/  
 Of their mischefe makynge vttraunce.  
 Yet wolde not they amende/  
 But moare wilfully did deffende.  
 Their evill lyfe agaynst goddis worde.  
 Therefore as mislyvers obstinate/  
 They were destroyed nowe of late/  
 With pestilence and dent of sworde.

**Ref.** ¶ Thou hast rehearsed thre poyntis/  
 Which will make all prestes ioyntis/  
 For feare to trymble and shake.  
 Seynge that the fyrst is past/  
 And the seconde commeth in fast/  
 Their hypocrisi to awake.  
 And yf they will not be refrayned/  
 The sworde of vengeaunce vnfayned/  
 On their frawdnes will light.

**Mat.** ¶ Well/ let vs by no persuasion/  
 Geve no soche occasion/  
 Causynge christen men to fyght.

**Ref.** ¶ No man will have that suspicion/  
 But take it for an admonicion/  
 Their vnhappy lyfe to repent.  
 For we shewe as they shall fynde/  
 Yf god inspyre not their mynde/  
 To laboure for amendment.

Which by scripture to verify/  
 Let them rede the prophet Ieremy/  
 In the chapter/ fower and twente.  
 Howe be it I will me hens hye/  
 Wheare as the Cardinals furye/  
 With his treasure shall not gett me.

**What.** ¶ Is this prowde Cardinal rycher/  
 Then Christ or goode faynct Peter/  
 In whose roume he doth succede?

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

**What.** ¶ Whether canst thou then flye awaye?

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

**What.** ¶ Yf thou wilt then live christenly/  
 Thou must vse thy silfe prevely/  
 Or els surely thou arte but deade.

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

**What.** ¶ Though thou go never so farre hence/  
 Yet with most terrible sentence/  
 To coursse the they will not mysse.

**Ref.** ¶ I ponder very lytell their courses/  
 For to god I saye with humblenes/  
 They shall course/ and thou shalt blysse.

**What.** ¶ In their courses/ is their no parell?

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

**What.** ¶ What mischevous god is that?

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

**What.** ¶ I will gett me then into Wales/  
 To dwell amonge hilles and dales/  
 With folke that be simple and rude.

- Ief.** ¶ 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 captiuite/  
 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.
- Ief.** ¶ Of two thyngis I will the warne/  
 Whiche thou must parfetyly learne/  
 Yf thou wilt folowe my counsell.  
 Fyrst beware in especial/  
 Of the outwarde man exteriorall/  
 Though he shewe a fayre aperaunce.  
 Many shall come in a lambis skynne/  
 Which are raviffhyng wolues with in/  
 Ennemys to Christis ordinaunce.  
 The seconde is/ yf eny reply/  
 Bryngyng in reasons obstinatly/  
 Agaynst that which semeth 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 subtilite?
- Mat.** ¶ I se thou knowest their secretnes/  
**Ief.** ¶ Ye I coulde in their very lycknes/  
 Declare theym yf I had respyte.
- Mat.** ¶ Well I will departe/ adue/  
**Ief.** ¶ Nowe I besече oure lorde Iesu/  
 To be thy gyde daye and nyght.

**Christ goddissonne/ borne of a mayden poore,  
For to save mankynd/ from heben 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 tyranny of the murtherer Antichrist.**

*A Proper Dyaloge, &c.*  
*A compendious olde Treatyse, &c.*

INTRODUCTION.

**I**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 1861, 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 Cotham 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 Hervey or Hervy, 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 1865, 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 accusation before the Bishop or Commissary 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 possessing, reading, &c., these identical tracts, and others like them. He hardly might have escaped some such extra-judicial lynch justice as Stokesley, the Bishop of London, offered to that same 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 these identical and other like tracts,—smote Bayfield, who was kneeling on the top altar step, in the high choir of old St. Pauls, with his crozier-staff on the breast, and knocked him down the altar steps, so 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 passed in a chariot of fire out of this world of trouble up to the bliss of heaven. Such suffering in this life, and glory in that to come, would his Lordship's adhesion to the doctrine of these tracts have ensured to him; had he lived when they were first secretly printed and circulated.

4. For the collection comprises some of the rankest Lollard and Protestant 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 BYGOD'S *A Treatise concernynge impropriations of benefices*, printed by T. Godfrey, without date, but about 1534. We have largely quoted from this work in our Reprint of Thomas Lever's *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 Monumentes*, 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 declaryng and shewing that Pictures and other Ymages which were wont to be worshiped, are in no wyse to be suffered, &c.*] Printed by William Marshall in 1610, at London.

No date.  
(4.) *The praier and complaynte of the ploweman unto Christe: written not longe after the yere of oure Lord 1300.* 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 pharases with the bischops and prestes presoned and persecuted Christe and his Apostles/ that al the rightuous bloode maye fall on their heedes that hath ben shed from the bloode of Steuen the first martyr to the



blode of that innocent man of God Thomas hitton whom willyam werham byschop of Canturbury and Iohn fyscher byschop of Rochestur mothered at maydeston in kente the last yere for the same trouth. . . ."

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

(6.) *The Testament of master WYLLIAM TRACIE esquier| expounded both by WILLIAM TINDALL and IHON FRITH. Wherin thou shalt perceyue with what charitie ye chaunceler of worcetter [Worcester] Burned whan he toke vp the deed carkas and made asshes of hit after hit was buried, M.D.xxxv.*

(7.) *An confortable exhortation: of oure mooste holy Christen faith| and her frutes. Written (vnto the Christen bretherne in Scotlande) after the poore [? pure] worde of God. At Parishe M.d.xxxv. [By J. JOHNSONE.] The COL. "¶ At Parishe by me Peter Congeth. A.M.D.xxxv. xx Januarij."*

(8.) *The prophete Ionas, with an introduccion before teachinge to vnderstonde him and the right vse 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 (5) 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, Priour of Neunham Abbey beside Bedforde, sente secretely to the Bishope of Lyncolne, in the yeare of our lord M.D.xxvij. Where in the sayde priour accuseth GEORGE IOVE that tyme beinge felawe of Peter college in Cambridge, of fower opinions: with the answer of the sayed George vn to the same opinions.* Imperfect. [COL. in other existing copies is, At Strasburge. 10 Daye of June. (year not stated.)]

5. The succeeding Texts may be regarded as Lollard Treatises in a Protestant setting. One of the hardest assertions that the early Reformers had to face was the accusation that the Reformation was a 'new-fangled herefy.' Cochläus and others vaunted that antiquity was on their side; until time and research 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 fatiffied if they could prove an antiquity of a century for any of their Complaints.

6. Tyndale was at Marburg in 1530, printing *The Practyse of Prelates*. He was doubtless 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 nott wrothe*; but this Complaint has not the grasp, virility, and strength 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 sitting of which there is allusion at p. 144, and consequently after the fall of Wolfey had become known at Marburg, as he is not once alluded to in it.

7. The Protestant setting supplied by the Englishman at Mar-

burg consists of *all the verse*, 'Unto the reader' at *p.* 170, and nearly all the side notes.

*The A. B. C. to the sprituallite* must be distinguished from *The A. B. C. agensle the Clergye* prohibited at Paul's Cross 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. B. C. of Thorpe's, [See Fox's *Actes &c.* *p.* 401. *Ed.* 1563.  
*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 'smale stickes' from England, in answer to Rey'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/  
eche complaynyng to other their mise-  
rable calamite/through the am-  
bicion of the clergye.

¶ An A. B. C. to the spiritualte.

¶ Awake ye gostely persones/ awake/ awake  
Bothe preste/ pope/ bisshoppe & Cardinall.  
Considre wisely what wayes that ye take  
Daungerously beyng lyke to haue a fall.  
Ebery where/ the mischefe of you all.  
Ferre and nere/ breaketh oute very fast  
Godde wiff nedes be rebenged at the last.  
¶ Howe longe haue ye the worlde captued  
In sore bondage of mennes tradiciones?  
Kyniges and Emperoures/ ye haue depryued  
Lewedly vsurpyng/ their chese possessions.  
Muche misery ye make/ in all regiones.  
Nowe poure fraudes/ almozte at the latter cast  
Of godde sore to be rebenged at the last.  
¶ Poore people to oppresse/ ye haue no shame  
Awakynge for feare of your double tyranny.  
Rightfull iustice ye haue put out of frame  
Sekynge the lust of poure godde/ the belly.  
Therefore I dare you boldely certifye.  
Very litle though ye be therof a gaste  
Yet god will be rebenged at the last.

**O** Christen reder/ from rashnes refraine  
 Of hastye iudgement/ and lyght sentence.  
 though sum reckon it frowardnes of brayne  
 Thus to detecte ye clergyes inconuenience.  
 Vnto christes wordes geue/ thou aduertence  
 Which faieth nothinge to be done so secretly  
 But it shall be knowen manifestly.

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

**C**ursed they are/ as Esaye doth expresse  
 Which presume the euyl for good to commende  
 Sayenge that fwete is foure/ and light darcknes  
 As nowe in the clergye/ we may perpende.  
 Whos disguyfed madnes in the later ende  
 As feynt Paule to Timothe did prophefy  
 Shall be knowen 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 refisted the prophete Moyfes  
 Doynge lyke merueyles and wonderfulness  
 So that none could the very trouth espie  
 Tyll their Iugglynge was knowen manifestly

Christe/ like wife/ with his predicacion  
 The phariseyes shewynge outwarde holynes  
 Was a counted of small reputacion  
 Vyce cloked vnder shyne of vertuoufnes.  
 Vntill at the last their furiofnes  
 Accufyng the woman taken in aduoutery  
 They faue their fautes detecte manifestly.

Their vyces opened/ they could not abyde  
 Shame drevynge them to confufyon  
 Which afore feason through pope holy pryde  
 They bolstred out vnder abusyon  
 It is the practyse of their collufyon.  
 Zele of rightuoufnes to fayne outwardly  
 Tyll their fautes be detecte manifestly/

Which in oure clergye is evidently fene  
 Fayned godlynes falsly pretendynge  
 Wherby moste parte of people do wene  
 That they feke goddes honour in all thinge  
 How be it/ men shuld se that their sekyng  
 Is to confounde christes gospell vtterly  
 Were their fautes detecte manifestly.

What greater despyte can they ymage/  
 Agaynst god his hye honour to deface  
 Than to vsurpe on them his power diuine  
 Abhominably fittinge in holy place?  
 Which hath continued longe tyme and space  
 And shall with outragious blasphemy  
 Till their fautes be detecte manifestly.

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

¶ Thus to conclude/ o christen reder  
 Vnto pacience/ I the exhorte.  
 Aduertefynge/ howe and in what maner  
 Christe rebuked this pharisyall forte.  
 Whom as Mathew in the. xxij. doth reporte.  
 With fearefull sentence he curfed earnestly  
 Their wicked fautes detectynge manifestly.

¶ **Nihil est opertum quod non reueletur.**  
**Matth. x.**

**¶ Here foloweth the Dialogue/ the Gentillman beginninge first his complaynte.**

**¶ Gentillman.**

**W**ith soroufull harte/ maye I complayne  
 Concerninge the chaunce/ of my misery  
 Although paraenture it is but vayne  
 Trueth oporeffyd/ 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 estates honorably  
 Aydyng the poore/ indigence to exclude.  
 Tyll at the last/ the clergy to them fued.  
 Pretendinge godlynes/ vnder a fals waye  
 Sayenge they wold for their soules praye.

**¶ Stoutely they alleged before their syght**  
 Howe after this lyfe is a purgatory.  
 Wherin their soules both daye and night  
 Shuld be tormented with out memory  
 Excepte of their substaunce transitory.  
 Vnto their seactes/ 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 loofe at their owne plesure  
 Takyng vpon them to leade thyem a right  
 Vnto ioye/ that euer shuld endure.  
 Of popes pardones they boosted the treasure.  
 Chalengynge of heuene and hell the kaye  
 Sayenge/ that they wold for their soules praye.

To trust wife or childern/ they did diffwade  
 Eyther any frendes or perones temporall.  
 Affermyng/ that oure loue shuld a way vade



Without any memory of them at all  
 Onely to hope in their feactes spirituall.  
 They entyced/ with persuasions gaye  
 Sayenge that they wold for their foules praye.

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

Their chefe lordshippes and londes principall  
 With commodytes of their possessyon  
 Vnto the clergye they gaue forthe with all  
 Dysheretinge their right successyon.  
 Which to receiue without excepcion  
 The couetous clergy made no denay  
 Sayenge that they wold for their foules pray

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

I haue wife and childern vpon my hande  
 Wantinge substaunce/ their lifes to sustayne  
 Wherfore to the clergy that haue my lande  
 Sometime I come and pituously complayne  
 Whos statelines/ to helpe me hauyng disdayne  
 With oute any comforte to me they faye  
 That for my frendes foules they dayly praye.

Shuld I and my houghold for hounge dye  
 They wold not an halfe peny with vs parte  
 So that they lyue in welthe abundantly

Full litle they regarde oure woofull fmerte.  
 To wafte oure goodes they nothinge aduerte  
 In vicious luftes and pompous araye  
 Sayenge yat for our frendes foules they praye.

They take vpon them apoffles auctorite  
 But they folowe nothinge their profeffion  
 Often tymes they preache of chriftes pouerte  
 Howe be it towarde it they haue no affeccion.  
 Yf fo be they pleate ones in poffeffion  
 Harde it is to get ought fro them awaye  
 Sayenge/ that for our frendes foules they praye.

Thus muft we beare their oppreffion  
 Whiles to complayne there is no remedye  
 The worlde they haue brought in fubiectiion  
 Vnder their ambitious tyranny.  
 No refpecte they haue to the myfery  
 Of vs poore gentillmen that be laye  
 Sayenge that for our frendes foules they praye.

Alas/ is it not a myferable cafe?  
 To fe ydle perfones voyde of pyte  
 Occupyng the landes before oure face  
 Which fhuld pertayne vnto us of duete.  
 They haue richeffe/ and we calamyte  
 Their honour encreaced/ oures muft de kaye  
 Sayenge that for our frendes foules they praye.

### ¶ The husbandman.

Syr/ god geue you good morowe  
 I perceiue the caufe of youre forowe  
 And moft lamentable calamyte.  
 Is for the oppreffion intollerable  
 Of thes monftres fo vncharitable  
 Whom men call the fpiritualte.  
 Trouthe it is/ ye poore gentillmen are  
 By their craftynes made nedy and bare  
 Your landes with holdinge by violence

How be it we husbandmen euery where  
 Are nowe in worffe condicion ferre  
 As it may be marked by experience.

**¶ Gentillman.**

In worse 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 possession.  
 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.**

Notwithstondinge yet they faye precysely  
 That your Aunceters gaue to theym freely  
 Soche worldly dominion and lyuelood.

**¶ Gentillman.**

Freely quod a? nay/ that is but fayned  
 For they ware certeynly therto constreyned  
 By their couetous disceite and falshod

**¶ 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  
 Excepte they wolde vnto them geue  
 Parte of their substaunce and patrimony.

**Husbondman.**

But howe wold they delyuer them fro thence?

**Gentillman.**

As they faide by their prayers affistnce  
Which with booflynges wordes they dyd a lowe

**Husbondman.**

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

**Gentillman.**

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

**Husbondman.**

Than I wold their prayenge were at an ende  
For yf they praye longe thus so god me mende  
They shall make ye lande worffe than nought.  
But nowe I will rehearse feriously

**Howe we husbande men full pituoufly**  
**Vnto miserable wrechednes are brought.**  
**Fyrst whan englonde was in his floures**  
**Ordred by the temporall gouernoures**  
**Knowenge no spirituall iurisdiccion.**  
**Than was ther in eche state and degre**  
**Haboundance and plentuous prosperite**  
**Peaceable welthe without affliction.**  
**Noblenes of blood/ was had in price**  
**Vertuoufnes avauuced/ hated was vyce**  
**Princes obeyd/ with due reuerence.**  
**Artificers and men of occupacion**  
**Quietly wanne their sustentacion**  
**Without any grefe of nedy indigence.**  
**We husband men lyke wise prosperoufly**  
**Occupyenge the feates of husbandry**  
**Hyerd fearmes of pryce competent.**  
**Wherby oure lyuinge honestly we wanne**  
**And had ynough to paye euery manne**  
**Helpinge other that were indigent.**  
**Tyll at the last the rauenous clergie**  
**Through their craftynes and hypocryse**  
**Gate to theym worldly dominacion.**  
**Than were we ouercharged very fore**  
**Oure fearmes set vp dayly more and more**  
**With shamefull pryce in soche a fasshyon.**  
**That we paye more nowe by halfe the sume**  
**Than a foretymes we dyd of custome**  
**Holdinge ought of their possession.**  
**Besyde 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**  
**Wherwith we are greatly acombred**  
**Ouer whelmyd with defolacion.**

We tourmoyle oure selves nyght and daye  
 And are fayne to dryncke whygge and whaye  
 For to maynteyne the clargyes faccionnes

**¶ Gentillman.**

This were a great shame to be knowen  
 Seynge halfe the realme is their owne  
 That they charge you with foche exaccions.  
 Me thyncketh fo to do is no small cryme  
 For they kepte as good houfes a foretyme  
 Whiles theyr fearme hyers was ferre lesie.

**¶ Husbandman.**

Ye/ more plentuous houfes a great deale  
 How be yt in hyndrynge the comoneweale  
 They vse also this practyse doutles.  
 Where as poore husband men afore season  
 Accordinge vnto equite and reason  
 Houfe or lande to fearme dyd defyre.  
 Without any difficulte they might it get  
 And yet no hygher price was ther vp set  
 Than good conscience did require.  
 But nowe their ambicious futtlete  
 Maketh one fearme of two or thre  
 Ye some tyme they bringe. vi. to one.  
 Which to gentillmen they let in farnage  
 Or elles to ryche marchauntes for avauntage  
 To the vndoynge of husbandeman 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 de kayde  
 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  
 Oppressed with greuous calamyte.

**¶ Gentillman.**

Truely thou shewest the very abuse  
 Neuerthelesse concernynge oure excuse  
 Why we gentillmen fearmes occupye.  
 The principall occasion is onely this  
 That oure patrimony geuen awaye is  
 Vnto thes wolffes of the clergie.  
 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 feynte Marye/ I you warrante  
 In soche cafes/ their ayde is very scant  
 Makinge curtesye to do any goode.  
 Let the realme go what way it wull  
 They hauynge ease/ and their belyes full  
 Regarde litle the comone weale by the rode  
 Yf princes demaunde their succour or ayde  
 This answere of them is comonely faide  
 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 case.

**¶ 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/ so god helpe me



**I** fe of their prayenge no comodyte  
 Nether avauntage in any maner.  
 For whye with in thes. iiij. hundred yere  
 Thorough oute christendome was not a freer  
 Of thes/ whom we mendicantes call.  
 And fyth that tyme dyuers facciones  
 Of collegianes/ monkes and chanones  
 Haue spred this region ouer all.  
 Also 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 worffe  
 As euery man felyth in his poorffe  
 Than it was at that tyme I dare faye.  
 Wherefore the trueth openly to betryde  
 I wolde they shuld laye their prayenge a fyde  
 And geue them selfes to labour bodely.

**¶ Husbandman.**

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

**¶ Gentillman.**

Were not the apostles gostely also?

**¶ Husbandman.**

Yes syr/ but it is so longe ago  
 That their lyuyng is oute of memorye.

**¶ Gentillman.**

We fynde it well in the newe testament.

**¶ Husbandman.**

The clargye faye/ it is not conuenient  
 For layemen therwith to be bufye.

**¶ Gentillman.**

Wotest thou wherfore they do that?

**¶ Husbandman.**

In fayth fyr I coniecture some what  
 And I suppose I do not moche erre.  
 Might men the scripture in Englishe rede  
 We fecular people shuld than fe in dede  
 What Christ and the apostles lyues were.  
 Which I dout nothings are contrarye  
 Vnto the lyuynge of oure clargye  
 Geuyn to pompous ydlenes euery where.  
 Whos abhominacion ones knowen  
 Their pryde shuld be sone ouer throwen  
 And fewe wold their statelynes for beare.

**¶ Gentyllman.**

Thou hyttest the nayle vpon the heed  
 For that is the thinge that they dreed  
 Least scripture shuld come vnto light.  
 God commaundyd man in the begynnyng  
 With sweat of vyfage to wyne his lyuynge  
 As Moses in his fyrst boke dothe wryte.  
 And as Marcke fayeth in the. vi. chapter  
 Christe here vpon erthe was a carpenter  
 Not dyfdayninge an occupacion.  
 Also the disciples vniuerfally  
 With their handes laboured busyly  
 Exchewynge ydle conuersacion.

**¶ Husbandman.**

Oure clargye lyue nothyng after their rate

**¶ Gentillman.**

No/ they feke ydelly to auauce their estate  
 And to be had in reputacyon.

**¶ Husbandman.**

Are they worldly or gostely to faye the trothe ?

**¶ Gentyllman.**

So god helpe me I trowe none of bothe  
 As it apperyth by their fasshion.  
 For in matters of worldly busynes  
 The clergye haue moche more entresse  
 Than temporall men I ensure the.  
 The landes of lordes and dukes to possesse  
 Thei abasshe not a whit the seculernes  
 Chalengynge tytles of worldly honour  
 But is the realme in any neccessyte  
 Where as they shuld condescend of duete  
 To stande by their prince with succour  
 Than to be of the world they denye  
 Sayenge that their helpe is spiritually  
 From the worlde makinge a separacion.

**¶ Husbandman.**

Whiles they vse foche craftynes to contryue  
 The temporalte ought theym to depryue  
 Of their worldly dominacyon.  
 And euen as they faye that they are gostely  
 So without any assistence worldly  
 To lyue gostely they shuld haue no let.

**¶ Gentillman.**

That were an expedyent medicyne  
 Accordinge vnto faynt Paules doctryne  
 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 so ferre out breaketh  
 That all the worlde agaynst theym speaketh  
 But alas man what dothe it avayle ?

**Husbondman.**

The remedy that I can ymagyne  
 Were best that we together determyne  
 To get vs to london incontynent.  
 Where as it is here for a surete tolde  
 The kinge with his nobles dothe holde  
 A generall counsell or parlament.

**Gentillman.**

What woldest thou that we shuld do there ?

**Husbondman.**

The constraynte of oure mysferye to declare  
 Vnder a meke forme of lamentacion.

**Gentillman.**

So shuld we be sure of soche answeres  
 As were made vnto the poore beggers  
 For their pituous supplicacyon.  
 Against whom ye clergyes refons nought worthe  
 The foules of purgatory they brought forthe  
 The beggers complaynte to discomfyte.  
 Wherefore against oure peticion I the tell  
 They wold bringe out all the deuells in hell  
 For to do vs some shamefull despyte.

**Husbondman.**

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

**Gentillman.**

It was the suerest waye by feynt Ihone  
 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 hasted.

**¶ Unsbondman.**

Where sayd they purgatorye shuld be?

**¶ Gentillman.**

By scripture they shewed no certente  
 Albeit with slowte wordes they it faced.  
 Euen like vnto the man/ which went  
 A certeyne straunge ylonde to inuent  
 But whan he sawe/ he could it not fynde.  
 Least his wit and travaile shuld seme in vayne  
 Reporte of other men he beganne to fayne  
 The symplicite of rude people to blynde.  
 But touchinge oure communicacion  
 Ther is a nother consideracion  
 Which somewhat more troubleth my mynde.  
 Thou knowest that in the parlament  
 The chefe of ye clergie are resident  
 In a maruelous great multitude.  
 Whos fearce displeasure is so terrible  
 That I iudge it were not possible  
 Any cause against them to conclude.  
 As for this ones we shall not be herde  
 And great men I tell the[y] are a ferde  
 With them to haue any doynge.  
 Whoeuer will agaynst them contende  
 Shall be sure 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 ceafed not their honour to diffame.  
 Dyd not they so longe striue and wrastle  
 Against the good knight syr Ihon oldecastle  
 Other wise called lorde of Cobham.  
 That from hyghe heresyfe vnto treafone

They brought him to fynall destruction  
 With other many a noble man.  
 Moreouer at feynt Edmundes bury some faye  
 That the famous prince duke Humfray  
 By them of his lyfe was abreuiate.  
 Sythe that tyme I could reckon mo  
 Whom they caufed to be dispatched fo  
 Parauenture some of no lowe estate.

### ¶ The husbandman.

Their tyranny is great without fayle  
 Neuerthelesse yf we wold them affayle  
 With argumentes of the holy gospell.  
 They shuld not be ones able to resiste  
 For the wordes of our fauiour chrisfe  
 Shuld stoppe them were they neuer so fell.  
 Who in the. xxij. chapter of feynt Luke  
 To their great confusyon and rebuke  
 Forbydeth fecular ambicion.  
 Wherin he himfelfe example gaue  
 Contempnyng worldly honour to haue  
 Of this world claymyng no kingdome.  
 Also when his disciples forthe he sent  
 He commaunded them to be content  
 With foode and apparayle necessary.  
 Wherto faint Paules doctrine accordinge  
 Saieth: hauynge meate drinke and clothinge  
 We shuld no thinge couet superfluously.

### ¶ Gentillman.

Yf the holy gospell allege we shuld  
 As stronge heretikes take vs they wold  
 Vnto their church disobedient.  
 For why they haue commaunded straytely  
 That none vnder great payne be so hardye  
 To haue in englishe the testament.  
 Which as thou knowest at London

The biffhop makinge ther a fermon  
With shamefull blasphemy was brent.

¶ **Husbondeman.**

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

¶ **Gentillman.**

Vndouted it is greatly to be fearyd  
Least the hole region shalbe plagyd  
For their outragious blasphemy.  
In kynge Henryes dayes of that name **ye fyft**  
The clergie their pride aboue to lyft  
Persecuted christen brothers haynoufly.  
The gospell of Christ a fyde to cast  
Which at that tyme prospered fast.  
With all their puyfaunce they dyd confpyre.  
Euery where they threwe theym in presones  
In sharpe gayles/ and horrible doungeones  
Causynge many to be brent in fyre.  
Their furious malice neuer 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 fet  
To expell goddes worde doynge their **cure.**  
But confyder what ther of did chaunce  
Moste terrible plages of fearfull vengeaunce  
And endles forowe to oure nacion.  
For within shorte season after they lost  
Which many a mans lyfe did cost  
In fraunce their dominacoin.  
Amonge them selves moste hatefull **mourdre**  
Many stronge batayles/ one after a nother  
With great effusyon of engliffhe bloode.  
**Frende against frende/ brother against brother.**



Euery man at variaunce with other  
The realme longe feason in myfchefe floode

**¶ Husbandman.**

This is nowe a dayes clene oute of mynde

**¶ Gentillman.**

I praye god, hereafter we do not fynde  
The fame vengeaunce for like offence  
For as it is in the byble playnely red  
God left neuer lande yet vnpunished  
Which agaynst his worde made resistance.

**¶ Husbandman.**

Well fyr/ yf scripture ye forthe bringe  
I beseeche you/ what is their answeringe  
Are they so 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 auntyent antiquite  
With diuers counseiles approbacion.  
Also the holynes of religious fathers  
With the bloode sheadinge of marters  
For their chirches preservacion.  
Besyde that contynuance of yeres  
Myracles of bishoppes/ monkes and freres  
Whom for speciall patrones they holde.  
And fynally to make a conclusion  
In fortesyenge their abusyon  
Other practyses they vse manyfolde.  
They reforte to lordes and greate estates  
With whom they are dayly checke mates  
Ye to saye the trouthe their soueraynes.

Where amonge other comunicacion  
 They admonishe them with protestacion  
 To beware of thes heretikes Lutheranes.  
 Whom they saye is a secte newe fangled  
 With execrable heresyfes entangled  
 Sekinge the chirches perdition.  
 Which oure fore fathers as wise as we  
 Were contente with humble simplicitie  
 To honour/ obeynge their tuycion.  
 Also none presumed till nowe a late  
 Against the clergie to beare any hate  
 Or grudged at their possession.

**¶ Husbandman.**

By feynt mary fyr/ that is a starcke lye  
 I can shewe you a worcke by and by  
 Against that poynte makinge obiection.  
 Which of warantyfe I dare be bolde  
 That it is aboue an hundred yere old  
 As the englishe felse dothe testifye.  
 Wherin the auctour with argumentes  
 Speaketh against the lordshippes and rentes  
 Of the clergie possessed wrongfully.

**¶ Gentillman.**

Is it so olde as thou doest here expresse  
 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 begynnyng of the. vi. chapter verely.

**¶ Gentillman.**

As for that it maketh no matter  
 Begynne hardely at the sixte chapter

Redynge forthe to the ende seriously.  
 For though old writings a pere to be rude  
 Yet notwithstandinge 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 treatyse made aboute the tyme of kynge Rycharde the seconde.**



Here as the clergy perceyue that lordlynes and worldly dominion can not be borne out bi scripture/ then flie they to argumentes of mennes perswasyon sayenge after thys maner Seynt Huges and seynt Swithunes were thus lordes/ and in this they ensued Christes lyuyng and his doctrine/ therefore we may be lafully 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 sued the doctrine or the lyfe of Iesu Christe. And of this thou mayst se that soch argumentes that ar not clothed with Christes lyuyng or his teachinge/ be right nought worthe all though the clerkes blynde with them moch folke in ye world. But here haue I no leyser to tell though I coulde/ what chesfaunce and costes the churche maketh and what werres they hold to contynue this symony and heresy so vnavisely brought in to ye chirche. And yet they feke all the wayes therto that they can. Ye in so moch that they go openly armyd in to the felde to kyll christen men/ for to get and holde soche lord-

shippe. And notwithstandinge feynt Peter was fo  
 pore that he had nether golde nor fyluer Act. iij.  
 as he faieth in the Actes of the apostles. And his  
 other worldly good he left/ whan he beganne to fue  
 Christe. And as towchyng the tytle of worldly lawe  
 that he had to soch worldly goodes/ he made neuer  
 cleyme ne neuer refceyued after any worldly lord-  
 shippe. 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/ feke 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  
 gaued/ the whiche was busynes vpon chirches. Whether  
 he gaued lordshippe or no/ here what he faieth. Be ye  
 not lordes in the clergy/ but be ye made i. Petri.  
 forme and example off Christes flocke. And least ye  
 trowe thys be not sayde of trothe take kepe what  
 Christe faieth in ye gospell. The kinges of hethen  
 haue lordshippe vpon theym/ forsothe ye not so. Se  
 howe playnly lordshippe is forboden to all apostles/  
 for yf thou be a lorde howe darest thou take vpon the  
 apostleshyp/ or yf thou be a bysshoppe/ howe darest  
 thou take vpon the lordship? Pleynly thou art for-  
 boden bothe. And yf thou wylt haue bothe to gether  
 thou shalt lese bothe/ and be of the nomber/ of whych  
 god pleineth by the prophete Osee fayenge. They  
 reygnyd but not by me sayeth 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 seruant. Thys is ye forme of apostles  
 lyfe/ lordshyppes forboden and seruys is boden thys  
 fayeth faynt Bernerde there. And therfor no man  
 may put a nother grounde beydes yat that is put  
 whych is Christe Iesu.

But yet I wote well that clarkes and relygyous folcke  
 that loue vnkyndly theise lordynes wyll glose here and

faye/ yat they occupye not foche lordshyppes in proper as fecular lordes doo/ but in comone/ lyke as the apostles and perfyte people dyde in the begynnyng of Christes chirche as wryteth Saynct Luke in the fourthe chaptre of the Actes of the apostles/ the whyche had all thynges in comone/ lyke as foche clarkes and religyous faye they haue nowe. In tokeninge wherof no man fayde of any thinge at that tyme/ thys ys myne/ so oure clarkes and namely relygyous people when they wyll speake in termes of their religyon. A pryuate person wyll not faye this or thys is myne/ but in parfone of all his bretheren he wyll faye/ this is oures. And ouer thys they faye more futtelly that they occupye not this by tittle of fecular lordshyppe/ but by tittle of perpetuall allmes. But what euer thys people faye here/ we mote take hede to the rule of prefe that fayleth not. The whiche rule Christe teacheth vs in the gospell in dyuers places/ where he fayeth/ beleue ye the workes. For why by their workes ye shall know them. And thys rule is wonder nedefull to a man that hath a do with any man of the Pharyseys condycyones. For as Christe fayeth Math. xxiiij. They faye but they do not. And so as Christes workes bere witnesse of hym as he hym selfe fayeth/ and sheweth what he was and howe he lyued/ so the dedes and maner of lyuinge/ or the thyng in it selfe bearyth wytnesse wythout fayle howe it stondyth amonge theym in thys poynte. And yf we take hede thus by thys rule we shall fe at oure eye howe the clargye fayeth other wyse than 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 saynct Austyne fayeth vppon the pfalter/ ye clargye occupyeth the fecular lordshyppe secularly/ and ye so in proper. For in the same maner wyse as ye Barone/ or the knyghte occupyeth and gouuernyth hys baronrye or hys knyghtes fe/ so after the amortesyenge 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 personnyng and hangyng with soche other worldly turmentyng 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 kynges in their owne/ and reioyce them full moche in that ciuylite or secularite yf they may get it. And this is an euidence that they wold gladly be kynges of all the realme or the world. For where their londes and secular mennes fraunchyse ar to gether they striue who shall haue the galowes/ or other maner tourmentes for felawes. They kepe also vnder bondage their tenautes and their yssue with their londes. And this is the mooste ciuillite or secular lordshyppinge that any kyng or lorde hath on his tenautes And therefore we maye se howe they cleyme in their goodes a maner of proper possessyon contrarye to the comonnyng of the comone goodes in tyme of the perfyte men in the begynnyng of Christes chirche. And so what so euer the clergy sayeth the dede sheweth well that they haue not their goodes in comone lyke as Christe with his apostles and perfyte men had in the begynnyng of christes chirche. For in holdyng or hauyng of their goodes/ is properte of possessyon and secular lordshyppinge. The which stondith not with ye plente of christes perfeccyon in prestes as it sueth of this processe and of that/ that is declared before. And as for that o ther glofe that clerkes haue here/ where they saye that they holde thes lordshyppes by tytle of perpetuall almes. Almes  
 But here ye shall vnderstande that mercy or almes is a will of releuinge of some wretche oute of his mysefe as Lyncolniensis sayeth in the begynnyng of his dictis. So that yf a man shuld effec- Dicto. ij  
 tually do almesse he must loke to whom he shulde do almesse to/ were in myseafe and had nede to be releuyd. In tokenyng wherof/ christ onely assigneth almesse to thos/ in whom he marketh myseafe. 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 almefse/ but rather maketh myseafe. And moche more he dothe none almefse yf be make riche thos perfones that haue no nede. For as moche as they be sufficient to theym selves/ this hath no coloure of almefse. For this may be better called a woodnes or a wastynge of goddes goodes. And ouer this yf a man take thos goodes/ the which god in the best wyse 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 them/ ye to yat which people foche goodes are forfendid. This shuld be called no almefse/ but peruertinge of goddes ordinaunce/ and the destruction of the state of secular lordes ye which god hath approued in his chirche. For as saynt Paule sayeth. ij. Cori. viij. Almefse 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 therefore Christ teachith in the gospels to do almes of thos things that be nedeles or superfluite.

Quod superest date eleimosi-  
nam. Luce.  
xiiij. And in this dede a man shuld haue regarde to the nede of him that he dothe 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 fyth Christ confirmyd to ye Emperour his state/ with thos things that longe therto/ notwithstanding at that tyme the emperoure was hethen. And he hath forfendyd expressly hys clergy in worde and in example foche lordshyppe. And as thys was no allmes/ so we mote saye 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 haue occupied thus worldly lordshyppe/ and also though it hadde be no destruccion nor appeyrynge of any other state/ yet it hadde be no allmes



for to geue to theym foche goodes/ wherfor it may be ryghtfully fayde. No man may put a nother grounde beydes that is put/ which is Christe Iesu.

Here we may fe by the grounde of ye gospel and by the ordynauce of chrisfe/ that the clergie was sufficiently purueyd for lyuelood. For god is so perfyte in all his werkynges/ yat he may ordeyne no state in hys chirche but yf he ordeyne sufficient lyuelood to the same state. And this is open in goddes lawe who so takyth hede/ and that vnder euery lawe of god/ as vnder ye lawe of innocencye and of kynde/ vnder ye lawe geuen by Moyfes and also vnder ye lawe geuen by chrisfe. In ye tyme of the state of innocencye we knowe well by beleue yat god hadde so ordeyned for man kynde that it shuld haue hadde lyuelood ynough withoute any tedious laboure And of ye lawe of kynde/ christ speakyth in ye gospels sayenge thus Matt. vij  
 All thynges yat ye wyll yat other men do to you/ do ye to theym. And yf thys lawe hadde be kepte 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 ordynauce for all hys people howe and wher by they shuld lyue. For he dealyd ye londe amonge the laye people and he assygned ye fyrst frutes and tythes to ye prestes 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.  
 auce agaynst myscheuous nede. And comandyd all the people that ther shuld be in no wyse 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 chrisfe assigned ye seculer lordshyppes to temporall lordes as it is taught before/ And alowed ye comonte her lyuelood gotten by true marchaundyse and husboundrye and other craftys. And in [no] worde and ensauple he taught hys prestes to be proctoures for nedye people and poore at ye ryche men/ and specified thes

poore/ and taught howe they that were myghty/ shuld make a purueaunce for foche poore folke yat they were not constryned by nede for to begge/ as great clerkes marcke vpon thes wordes of ye gospell where chryste Luce. xiiij. sayeth thus. Whan thou makest thy feast/ yat is of allmes/ call poore people/ feble/ lame and blynde He sayeth not lett foche poore men call vpon ye/ but call thou vpon them meanynge in yat/ that thou shuldest make a purueaunce for foche people/ yat they be not myscheuouly fauty. And for ye clergie he ordeined sufficiently/ teching them in worde and ensample howe they shuld holde them appayde with lyuelood and hylinge mynistred to them/ for theyr true laboure in the gospell as it is written before. Of thys than thou mayst se howe god in all hys lawes hath sufficiently ordeyned for all ye states that be founded and approuyd And howe it is agaynst ye goodnes and wysdom of god/ to ordeyne any state/ but yf he ordeyned sufficient lyuelood therto. Syth than thys ordenaunce of god was sufficient as well for the clergie as for other men it semeth a foule presumpcion to brynge in a newe and a contrarye ordinaunce of lyuelood for clerckes vpon the ordinaunce yat Criste hath made for them before. Of ye whiche ordynaunce/ the clergie full many yeres after the begynnyng of Chrystes chyrche/ whan it was best gouernyd/ held them well a payde. For thys meaneth that Chrystes ordynaunce was insufficient/ and worthy to be vndone And yf we take good hede/ they hadde no more nede to pleyne them of thys ordynaunce/ than hadde the other two states of hys chyrche/ which vnto this daye holde them a payde with thys ordynaunce of chryst/ were it fully kepte. And more sekirnes and ensuraunce maye no man make of any thinge than chryst hath of hys lyuelood to the clergie For chryst not onely affermyth to ye people ye he wyll not fayle them in lyuelood and hylinge/ but also prouyth thys by argumentes yat may not be affoyled/ So yat they be true

seruauntes to him. For Chryste meanyth thus in his arguyng there. Syth god fayleth not bryddes and lyles and grasse that groweth in ye felde/ nether he-then men. Howe moche rather shall he not fayle hys true seruauntes? And so 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 them ryche wyth temporall lordshippe/ the whiche bene forfendyd to soche people and namely yf soche almes geuyng be destroyenge or appeyng of any state approuyd by God in his chirche/ it will sue that the endowyng of ye clargye with worldly lordshippe/ ought not to be called allmesse/ but rather all a mysse/ or wastyng of goddes goodes or destroyenge of his ordinaunce/ for as moche as the clargye was sufficiently ordeyned by Chryste. For why/ this almes that clerkes speake of here/ made many wretches and it was geuen to them that had no nede. And thus it is empeyng not only of one estate of ye chyrche/ but of all thre of the which I spake in ye begynyng. And so this almes geuyng hath made all oure realme nedy/ ye and as I suppose full nygh all christendom full poore and nedy and mischeuous ouer that it shulde haue bene yf the clargye had held them a payde with chrystes ordinaunce. But nowe thourough this perpetuall all a mysse/ that the clarkes call almes/ chrystes ordinaunce ys vndon in some landes holly and in Englonde for ye more party and it is lykely to be all vndon in processe of tyme. For by a mortesyng of lordshippes/ ye lordes be vndon in great party. And many noble men because they lacke their owne parte through folishe gifte of their aunceters be full nedy. Forthermore it may be vnderstonde of this processe/ yat withdrawyng of this lordshippes from ye clergy and restoringe againe of them to the states yat god hathe assigned them to/ shuld not be called robbery of holy

chirche as oure clerkes saye/ but rather rightwife  
 restitution of good wrongfully and theefly withold.  
 And ther fore ther maye none othe or vowe binde any  
 man to maytayne this theft and destruccion of goddes  
 ordinannce/ and this great harmynge of Christes  
 chirche. As ye vowe of Iepte shuld not haue bounde  
 him to kill and sacrifice his owne doughter. 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 pleafynge to god and accordinge with his lawe:  
 As saynt Austyne sayeth vpon the same storye. So  
 Herode shuld haue broken his othe and a saued inno-  
 cent blood and fore a repented him for his vnavysed  
 fwerynge. And so shuld lordes nowe a dayes  
 breake theyr othes that they haue unavyfely and  
 without counseyle of holy scripture sworne to mayn-  
 teine this theefte/ ye heresy and symony as it is  
 proued before/ the which oure clerkes call perpetuall  
 almes And not sue their folishe dedes and othes yat  
 they haue made to maynteyne this mischeuous peruert-  
 tinge of chhristes ordinaunce. For as the state of the  
 clergye hath no power or leaue/ to make the people  
 or lordes to synne 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 lordes or ye people to  
 swere for to maynteyne this endowenge of ye clerkes  
 and religious folke/ which is full great thefte heresy and  
 symony/ and wounder harmefull to chhristes chirche as  
 it is shewed in this processe and in other writen before.  
 But the lordes specially shuld se here/ what were  
 pleafynge not to these clerkes/ but to god/ and that shuld  
 they do. For her to they be bounde by vertue of their  
 office vppe peyne of dampnacion. And there may no  
 no man dispence with them of yat bound stondinge her  
 state. For no man shuld put a nother grounde besydes  
 that/ yat is put which is christ Iesu.

Loke well apon  
 this reason.

And therefore men deme it a great fynne to geue londe entayled by mennes lawe from ye parfone or kynred that it is entayled to/ ye although it be so that the parfone or kynred that soche lande is geuen to be nedye and haue leaue by goddes lawe to occupye soche 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 receyuer hath done to the geuer before/ er elles by waye of almes of releuyng of the per[1]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 reaceyuers as to the geuers/ to take the lordeshippes/ the whiche god that hath full lordshippe vpon all the world hathe 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 neuer neade/ ne leaue of god to occupye it. And yf priestes cleyme tythes because god graunted them to ye kynred of leuy/ yet ther argument is voide. For christe came of the lynage of Iuda/ to whiche lyne was no tythes graunted and so as men suppose this entayle was not confermyd by christe and his apostles to the priestes in the newe lawe.

For Gregory the tenthe ordeyned first tythes to be payed to curates only. And yet they cleyme so ferforthe tythes that no man maye lawefully withholde theym or minstre them saue they. Ne they maye be turned or geuen to any other state or kynred saue onely to theym. Although men wolde do that vnder coloure or by tittle off perpetuall allmes. For this shulde be demyd of the clergie a dampnable fynne and destroyenge of holy chirche and sacrilege. How moche rather is it then an hydeous and dampnable fynne/ to

Policro.  
Lib. vij.

geue or to take away the fecular lordshippes from the state of fecular 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 interrupt nor broken vnto christes tyme and his holy apostles. And than they confermed this entayle by lawe so stronge to the feculer parte yat no man (saue Antichriste and his disciples) may openly impugne this entayle as it is shewed before. And so as no man shulde presume to withdrawe withholde or turne the tithes from the state of presthod/ as they saye/ so moche rather shuld no man presume by geuyng or takinge to aliene ye temperall lordshippes from the state of feculer lordes. And thus clerkes haue not so moche coloure to saye 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 lesse malice in it selfe. For as moche as it is done by simulacion of holynes/ ye whiche is double Gene. iij wickednes. For thus Lucifer robbed Adam both of goodes of fortune/ of kinde and yet dothe the chirche of thes thre maner goodes. For right as lucifer dyd this harme to Adam and Eue vnder coloure of loue and frendshippe and helpinge of them : so do nowe his angells/ those ypocrites that tranfigure them selves into angells of light/ and deceyue ye people by false beheste of heuenly helpe yat they will procure to theym for their goodes as they saye/ and yf a bisshope and his college or an abbate and his conuent maye not aliene fro them any of ye temporalities yat thei haue/ nor geue to their founder any of thos possessions that he hath geuen them/ what nede that euer he haue/ bounde onely by a posityfe lawe or a tradicion that they them selfe haue made. And yf any soche lord shippes be withdrawen/ aliened/ or taken fro them by rechelesnes of their predecessoures/ they ought on all wise/ ye to the deathe labour to get ye possessiones in



to their hondes agayne as they faye. Howe moche more than shuld not a fecular lorde or a laye aliene fro him and his yssue or fro the state of fecular lordes/ ye fecular lordshippes the whiche god hath lymyted to that state/ syth he is bounde by the lawe of kynde to ordeyne for his children. And ouer this he is bounde by godes lawe to susteyne the state of fecular lordes/ the whiche is auctorysed 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 clerckes and religious folke faye that they hold these lordshippes onely by title of perpetuall allmes. For certis syth these tythes and offerynges the which as I suppose counteruayle the fecular lordes rentes of the realme or elles passe as it is full lykely/ for though they belesse in one chirche they passe in a nother and be sufficient for all the priestes in christendome yf they were euen dealed. Than it were no nede to amorteyse fecular lordshippes to the state of the clergie. The which amortesyenge is vndoynge of lordes/ apostasye of the clergie. And yf this amortesyenge 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 perquyfytis/ the whiche smacke of symonye and extortion. As the fyrst frutes of vacante benefyces/ prouynge of testaments and money for halowenge of chapelles/ chirches/ chauncelles/ and other ornamentes of the chirche/ and for sacryng of ordres/ and full many mo that for multitude may not well be numbred. For well nigh all their bleffynge be set to sale and to prijs/in to chrystenynge and confirmacion. Wherefore I may nowe faye as I fayde at the begynninge. No man may put a nother grounde besydes that/ that is put/ the whiche is Christe Iesu. The which grounde of lyuyng christe grauntes to kepe that we maye escape the euerlastinge peynes of hell.

A M E N.



### ¶ The husbandman.

Loo/ nowe by this treatyse may ye well se  
 That aforetymes against the spiritualte  
 Men dyd invey/ shewinge their vyces.  
 Also here after this auctour dothe tell  
 What great Ieoparde it is and perell  
 For priestes to be in secular offices.  
 Ye/ and to lordes which against right  
 Suffre them therein or therto excyte  
 Prounge it by their owne doctours and lawes

### ¶ Gentillman.

I besече the rede forthe the processe  
 That the people may se their vnhappenesse  
 Which make all the world foles and dawes.

¶ Seynt Cipriane sayeth yat by the counceile of  
hist. xxi. [lj.]  
 ij.ca. Cipriane bissshops ther is made a statute/ that all  
 yat bene charged with priesthode and or-  
 deyned in ye feruys of clerkes/ shuld not ferue but to  
 the aulter and to ministre ye sacramentes/ to preache  
 gods worde/ and to take hede to prayers and orysones.  
 It is for sothe writen. No man bering his knighthode  
 to god: entryketh him with secular nedes. The  
 which oure bissshops and oure predecessours beholdinge  
 religiously and purueynge holfomly/ deme that whofo-  
 euer taketh ministres of ye chirche/ from spirituall  
 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 aulter of god  
 in ye prayer off priestes/ the whiche will clepe awaye  
 priestes and ministres of ye chirche from ye aulter.  
 Thus sayeth seynt Cipriane. Here men maye se how  
 perelous it is to ye kyng and secular lordes to with-  
 holde any prieste of christ in secular busynes. This is  
 proued thus. For euery secular lorde by the lawe of

the gospell is gods bayly. But yf any bayly hyred a worckman with his lordes good and put him to his owne feruys/ he must be vntrewe to his owne lorde. Right so is any secular lorde to oure lorde Christ Iesu/ but yf he amende hym/ that taketh a prieste and putteth him in his secular office breakinge the heest of his lorde god that commaundeth/ thou shalt coueyet none other mannes fervaunte. And he withdraweth hym fro the feruys of god and fro the kepinge of christen mennes soules/ ye which he hath taken charge of/ for which soules oure lorde Iesu Christe toke flesche and bloude and suffered harde dethe/ and shedde his owne harte bloode. This parelous døyng of secular lordes is bothe against goddes lawe and mannes. It is ageinst gods lawe for as feynt Paule ij. Th. ij. faieth. No man yat is a perfyte knight of god/ as euery priest 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 seruyce he hathe put him selfe/ and that is good. For soche worldly busynes in clerkes is against their ordre. And therefore ye apostles said as it is writen in Acto. vi ye dedes of ye apostles/ it is not euen/ vs to leue ye worde of god and minstre to boordes of poore folke. And yf it was vnequite as the apostles faide in their comone decree/ them for to leaue ye preachinge of goddes worde/ and minstre to the boordes of poore folke: Howe moche more vnequite and wronge to god and man it is/ preastes to leaue contemplacion/ studye/ prayer and preachinge of goddes wor[d] and ministringe to poore folke for the seruyce of a secular lorde? It is also agaynst the Popes lawe/ for he Linn. ij. de re. speaketh to a bisshoppe and byddeth hym in fine that he warne preastes and clerckes/ that they be not occupied in secular offices ne procurators of secular lordes deades and her goodes. And yf prestes and clerckes be so bolde to occupye them in soche busynes and if they fall after by losse of lordes goodes/ then sayeth the lawe it is not worthy

yat they be holpen and focoured of holy chirche/ fythe  
 through them holy chirche is fclaudred. And faynct  
 Gregorye wrote to the defenfoure of Rome in this  
 maner. It is tolde to vs that oure moſte reuerente  
 brother Baſyle ye byſshoppe is occupied in fecular  
 cauſes and kepith vnprofitable moote halles. Which  
 thinge makyth him foule and deſtroyeth ye reuerence  
 of preſthood/ therefore anone as thou haſt receiued this  
 mandement/ compell him with ſharppre 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  
 fuffre hym any longer to tarye there in/ thou be  
 culpable with hym agaynſt vs. And ſo byſshoppes and  
 other preſtes be bounde to teache and reforme lordes/  
 to withdrawe them fro this fynne and ſharppely to  
 reprove preſtes and curates vnder them yat they  
 occupye no fecular office. This is proued thus by ye  
 Ezechie. xxxij. holy prophet Ezechiell fayenge. Yf ye  
 wayte or ye watcheman ſe enemies come/ and yf ye  
 people be not warned and kepe not them ſelues but  
 enemies come and ſle ye people/ then fayeth god  
 that ye people is taken in their wickednes. And of  
 ye wayte yat ſhulde haue blowen his horne god will  
 axe accountes and reckeninge of the bloode and of the  
 deathe of ye people. But nowe to goſtely vnderſtand-  
 inge/ euery biſshoppe 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 fynne/ and  
 this is ye reaſon why biſshoppes and other prelates and  
 preſtes ſhuld not be occupied with worldly deades and  
 cauſes. For ſoche occupacions and charges make  
 preſtes ſlepinge and flomobringe in fynne. And ther-  
 fore it is great perell to make ouer them goſtly waytes  
 and watchemen/ as biſshoppes/ parſones/ vicaries/ yat  
 ben ſlepers in luſtes of ye fleſſhe and in flomebernes  
 and blinded with pouder of couetyſe of worldly deades  
 yat they nether can ne maye kepe them ſelfes ne no  
 nother man. For of this perell and ſoche other/ a

prelate that hath witte and cuninge shuld sharpely reprove 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 assentyth to their trespases and fynneth deadly. For as fayeth Malach. Prestes lippes kepe cuninge and the people shall Mala. ij aske the lawe of god of his mouth/ for he is the Angell of god/ yf he kepe well the ordre and degre of presthood. And therfor it is not lefull to any man to drawe to secular offices and busynes ye messangeres of christe/ that hath so vtterly forfendyd them both in worde and dede secular offices in presthood. &c.

### ¶ Husbandman.

Syr howe lyke ye nowe this olde treatyse  
Yf so be noble men wold it aduertyse  
Puttynge a parte pryuate affeccion.  
Shuld they not perceyue here euydently  
That the clergye dothe them great iniury  
Retaynyng thus temporall possessyon?

### ¶ Gentyllman.

Nowe I promyse the after my iudgement  
I haue not hard of soche an olde fragment  
Better groundyd on reason with scripture.  
Yf soche auntyent thynges myght come to lyght  
That noble men hadde ones of them a fyght  
The world yet wolde chaunge perauenture  
For here agaynst the clergye can not bercke  
Sayenge as they do/ thys is a newe wercke  
Of heretykes contryued lately.  
And by thys treatyse it apperyth playne  
That before oure dayes men did compleyne  
Agaynst clerkes ambycyon so stately.

**¶ Husbandman.**

Concernynge thys treatyse and lyke matters  
I haue hard saye of my forefathers

Howe in kynge henry the. v. raygne.

What tyme as ye dyd specyfye

The clergye persecutyd the gospell fercely

Caufynge moche chrysten people to be slayne

The kynge at the last hauynge informacyon

Thourough feryous confyderacyon

Of soche proper matters as thys is,

Beganne to note the clergyes tyranny

And what temporaltees/ they dyd occupye

Their spirituall state ferre a myffe.

Wherfore he determyned certeynly

To depryue theym temporally

Of all theyr worldly gouernaunce.

Whos pretence/ as sone as they perceyued

Amonge theym selves they Imagyned

To get the kynge ouer in to fraunce.

That whyles he conqueryd ther his ryght

In england do what they lyst they myght

Their froward tyranny to fulfill.

Which counfeil/ thus brought to passe

The kynge euer after so busyed wasse

That he could not performe hys sayde wyll.

**¶ Gentyllman.**

So moote I the/ it was happye for the kynge

That by soche a colour they could hym brynge

From medlynge with that case any more.

For hadde he it ones earnestly begonne.

They had put hym to a confusyon

Euene as they dyd other kynges before.

**¶ Husbandman.**

What suppose ye they wold haue done?

**¶ Gentyllman.**

Mary/ fyrst with a fayre interdyccion  
 To courffe the lande as blacke as pytche.  
 Than to inhybyt fayenge and fyingnge  
 Of mattyns/ masse/ and belles ryngyng  
 With christen buryall of poore and ryche.  
 Befyde that precheres euery where  
 Shuld haue brought men in soche fere  
 By theyr threatnyng exclamation.  
 That their malycyous partye to take  
 Subgettes shuld theyr prynce forsake  
 Contrarye to goddes ordynacyon.  
 Euene as they dyd in hygh Germany  
 To the Emperour lewes of Bauerye  
 Whom Pope Ihone fought to confounde  
 And so dyd the clergy as I vnderstande  
 Vnto kynge Ihon here in Englande  
 To kynge Steuen/ and henry the secounde.

**¶ Husbandman.**

They faye kynge Ihone was poyfoned  
 Because an halfe peny lofe of breed  
 He sayde/ he wold make worthe. xij. pence.

**¶ Gentillman.**

Tushe that is a cast of theyr comon gyfe  
 Soche infamy of prynces to deuyse  
 To cloke theyr 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 so shamefully  
 They can geue it a cloke full craftely  
 Sayenge/ nobis non licet occidere quenquam.  
 Whan they brennyd the newe testament  
 They pretendyd a zele very feruent  
 To maynteyne onely goddes honour.

Which they fayde with proteſtacyon  
 Was obscured by tranſlacyon  
 In englyſſhe/ cauſynge moche error.  
 But the trueth playnly to be fayde  
 Thys was the cauſe why they were a frayde  
 Leaft laye men ſhuld knowe theyr iniquite.  
 Which through goddes worde is fo vttered  
 That it were not poſſyble to be fuffred  
 Yf to rede ſcripture men had lyberte.  
 Alſo after the ſame maner a faſſhyon  
 Subtelly to colour theyr abhomynacyon  
 They deſtroyed cronicles not longe a gone.  
 Which for certeyne poyntes vnreuerently  
 Soundynge agaynſt the kynges auncetrye  
 As they faye/ were brent euerychone.  
 But for all that/ they ſhulde haue been ſpared  
 From burnynge : had they not ſo declared  
 The clergyes abhomynable exceſſe.

**¶ Husbandman.**

I ſuppoſe then/ that they uſe the ſame wayes  
 In burnynge of heretykes nowe a dayes  
 Whom they purſue with great furyouſnes.

**¶ Gentillman.**

No fayle/ they perſwade temporall menne  
 Theſe heretykes (as they faye) to brenne  
 Leaft other good chriſtians they ſhuld infecte  
 But ye cauſe why they wolde haue them rydde  
 Is onely that theyr vnhappynes nowe hydde  
 They dreede leaft they ſhuld openly detecte

**¶ Husbandman.**

By my trowth it is nothinge vnlickly.  
 For let one lyue neuer ſo wyckedly  
 In abhominable ſcandalifacion.



As longe as he will their church obaye  
 Not refusyng his tithes duely to paye  
 They shall make of him no accusacion.  
 Howbeyt let him ones begynne to pynche  
 Or withdrawe their tithinge an ynche  
 For an heretike they will him ascite.  
 Wherefore I wonder moche of the temporalte  
 That in performyng the clargyes cruelte  
 To burne soche parfones they haue delyte.

**¶ Gentillman.**

It is no merueil yf thou marcke well  
 The clargye fayenge yat it is goddes quarrell  
 Their mischeuous murdre to execute.

**¶ Husbandman.**

So they are not a knowen by their wyll  
 That it is their cause christen men to kyll  
 But the faute vnto other they impute.

**¶ Gentyllman.**

Touchinge that/ another tyme at leyser  
 I shall shewe the more of their maner  
 But nowe I can not tary verely.

**¶ Husbandman.**

Well fyr/ yf ye may no longer abyde  
 Oure lorde be your continuall gyde  
 Grauntinge ye trouth to be knowen openly.

# A compendious

olde treatyse/ shewynge/ howe that we  
ought to haue the scripture in  
Englysshe.

## Th[e] excusacyon of ye treatyse

Though I am olde/ clothed in barbarous wede  
Nothyng garnysshed with gaye eloquency  
Yet I tell the trouth/ yf ye lyst to take hede  
Agaynst theyr frowarde/ furious frenesy  
Which reckon it for a great heresy  
And vnto laye people greuous 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 ignorance 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.

## ¶ Vnto the Reader.

**G** Race and peace: not that ye worlde geuyth/  
but from god the father and oure sauioure Iesu  
Christ with increace of the holy spryt be with  
the and all that thurste ye truthe. Amen. ¶ Con-

fyderynge ye malyciounes of oure prelatz and theyr adherentes whiche so furiously barke a geynst ye worde of God/ and specially the new testament translatyd and fet forthe by Master William Tyndale/ which they falsely pretende to be fore corrupte. That ye may knowe yat yt is only the inwarde malyce whiche they haue euer had ageynst the worde of God. I haue here put in prynte a trefyfe wrytten aboute ye yere of oure lorde a thousande foure hundryd. By which thou shalte playnly perceyue/ yat they wolde yet neuer from the begynnyng 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 leyser Inough to put forth a nother well translatyd. But yt is theyr owne myscheuous luyngye yat mouith them accordyng as Christe sayd. Ihonn. iij. Euery man that workyth euyll hatyth ye lyght/ ner comyth to ye lyght lest hys workes shulde be reproued. &c. Thus mayst thou se that bycause their workes are nought and not bycause yt is euill 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. Wherefore I exhorte the reder not to confydre and note ye wordes but the matter. And praye to god to sende ye rulers hartes to vnderstonde ye trewth and further ye fame and the god of all comferte be with the AMEN

¶ Thys treatyse more than an. C. yere olde  
 Declareth howe owre prelatis do ferre a mysse  
 Which of frowarde presumpcion are so bolde  
 To forbede the worde of god in englishe  
 For as the prophete saieth bleffed he is  
 That exercyseth him selfe diligently      Psal. 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 brent the bokes of gods lawe/ and compelled ye people to do maumentry. So now Antichrist ye kinge off clergy that lyuen worse 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 deceyue wellnygh all the worlde/ and to proue ye seruauntes of god. For nowe god shall knowe who will stande by his lawe/ for Sathanas as prophetes faye is nowe vnbounde and hathe ben. CCCC. yeres and more for to inhabit oure clergie/ as he did the clergie of the olde lawe/ but now with moche more malyce. For as they dampned Christ so nowe oure bisschopes dampne and bren goddes lawe/ for bycause it is drawen into our mother tounge. But it ought to be (and we faued shuld be) as we shall proue by open euidence thorowe goddes helpe. First we take witnesse of Boetius de disciplina scolarium/<sup>2</sup> 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 pullished Wisdome shall not enter into a wicked soule. And moche is herof the sentence of Bede. And Al-

Ye may se it is  
no nouelteis yat  
the bishoppes  
burne ye gos-  
pell.<sup>1</sup>

Reade robyn-  
hode/ saye  
oure masters.

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

<sup>2</sup> It must be recollected that the whole of these references are to manuscript copies.

gafell in his logyke faieth/ the soule of man is a cleane myrror newe pulished in which is feyn lightly the ymage of vertue. And for the people haue not cunynge in youthe they haue darke soules and blinde with ignorance/ so that they profyt not in vertue but in falsnes and malice and other vices/ and moche is therof ye matter. Sythen hethen philosophers wolden the people to profyt in naturall science/ howe moche more shuld christen clerckes will 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 gaue it to his people in ther mother tonge of Ebrue/ that all the people shuld vnderstande it/ and commaunded Mofes to reade it to them vntyll they vnderstode 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 therto/ in so moche yat the people fell into greate weping for ye miskeping of ye lawe. Also gods lawe saith Deutero. xxij. that fathers shuld make the lawe knowen to their sonnes/ and the sonnes yat shulde be borne of them shuld ryse and teache these thinges to ther sonnes. And ye holy apostle seynt Peter in ye fourth chapter of his first boke speakeh after this maner/ fayenge. Whosoouer speake/ speake he as ye worde of god: and euery man as he hath taken grace of knowinge/ so ministre he forth to other men It is wrytten playnly in the boke of noumbres Chapter. xi. When the prophet Mofes hadde chofen feuenty eldermen/ and the sprite of god rested on them and they prophesyed. Two men besydes them/ Eldad and Medad/ prophesyed in ye tentes/ and Iosue the ministre of Mofes said to Mofes/ forbyd thou them. And Mofes <sup>moses letted</sup> fayde/ what enuieft thou for me? Who <sup>no man to pro-</sup> shall let yat all the people prophesye/ yf <sup>phesye.</sup> god gyue them his spirite? Also it is redde in ye

gospell yat faynct Iohn euangelist said vnto Christ,  
 Luce. ix. lorde we shall forbid one that casteth out  
 spirites in thy name/ which foloweth not vs. And  
 Christ said do not forbid for who so is not against vs  
 is with vs. And vnto the same agreyth well the  
 prophefy of Iohell whiche seynct Petre preachinge to  
 the Iewes strongly alleged as Luke recyteth in the  
 seconde chapter of the actes of the apostles sayenge  
 after this maner. That god nowe in the laste dayes  
 shall shede out his spirite vpon euery flesc.

But they saye  
 only master  
 doctor can  
 vnderstande  
 ye scripture.

For god fayeth your sonnes and doughters  
 shuld prophefy/ and your yong men shall  
 se visyons. And vpon whit sonday god  
 gaue knowlege of his lawe to diuerse na-  
 tions without any excepcions in ther mother tonge/  
 by the vnderstanding of one tounge. And of this it  
 is notabyll sithen the laye people in the olde lawe had  
 their lawe in ther mother tounge/ but the lay englishe  
 people in the newe lawe haue it as all other nacions  
 haue/ fyns Christ bought vs as he did other and hath  
 grauen to vs the same grace as to other. For faynt  
 Peter. Actu. xi. was reprovred for he had baptyfed  
 Cornelij and his felows 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 saythe it lyeth not in the power  
 of men. Than who art thou yat forbiddest ye people  
 to haue gods lawe in ther mother tounge? we faye yat  
 thou art Antichrist himself. For Paule saieth. i. Corin.  
 x. I will euery man to speake with tounge/ more for-  
 sothe to prophefy/ also he saith howe shall he faye  
 Amen vpon thy blesyng that woteth not what thou  
 sayst. Vpon this faith doctor Lyre.<sup>1</sup> Yf  
 the people vnderstonde ye prayer of ye  
 priest it shall the better be ledde vnto god/  
 and the more deuoutly answere Amen.

Here youre  
 owne ma ter  
 Lire yf ye will  
 not here Paul.

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas de Lyra, a voluminous writer. He was a converted Jew who became a Minorite at Verneuil in 1291, and died at Paris in 23, Oct. 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 incarnation of christe 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 same tyme was a flemmyng whose name was Iames Merland which translated all the bible into flemyshe. For whiche dede he was somonned before the Pope of great malyce. And the boke was taken to examinacion. And truely he approued it. And then it was delyuerd to him agayn vnto confusion of all his enemyes. Worshupfull Bede in his first booke called de gestis Anglorum. chapter. iij. telleth that faynt Oswolde the Kyng of Northumberlande asked of the skottes an holy bishoppe Aidan to preache to his people/ and the kyng him selfe interpreted it in englishe to the people. Sythen this blessed deade of this Kynge is alowed of all holy churche/ whye not nowe ought it as well to be alowed/ a man to reade ye gospels in Englishe to the people/ fythen that seynt Paule faith yf oure gospel be hidde/ it is hidde in them that shall be dampned. And he faith also he that knoweth not shall not be knowen of god. And therefore venerabilis Bede ledde by the spirite of god translated a greate parte of the bible into Englishe/ whose originalles ben in many Abbeyes in England. And Cisterciensis. libro v. chaptre. xxiiij. saythe that the Euangely off Iohn was drawn into Englishe by the forsayde 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 reigned in the yere off oure lorde god. vij. hundred and. xxxij. Also Cistercien.

A fearefull  
sayenge.



libro. vi. chaptre. i. faythe that kyng Al[f]red ordyned open scoles of diuerse artes in Oxforde and he turned the best lawes into his mother tounge and the Pfalter also/ he reigned 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 yat he readeth in his mother tonge. Wherefore the apostle faith If I knowe not the vertue of the voice to whome I speake I shalbe to him barbarus/ that is to faye/ he vnderstandeth not what I faye/ nor I what he faith. And so all tho prestes that vnderstonde not what they readyn by ther mother tonge be called barbarus/ and therfore Bede did drawe into englishe liberall artes lest englishe men shuld be come barbarus/ hæc Thomas. Also Lincoln<sup>1</sup> fayeth in a fermon that begynnith/ Scriptum est de leuitis. Yf any priestle faye he can not Resygne in no preache/ one remedye is/ resigne he vpp wise but apou his benesyce. Another remedye yf he a good pen- will not thus/ recorde he in the weke the syon. naked texte of the sondaye gospell that he haue the grosse storye and tell it to the people/ that is yf he vnderstonde latyn/ and do he this euery weke in the yere he shall profyt moch. For thus preched oure lorde sayenge Ihonn. vi. The wordes that I speake to you be spirit and lyfe. Yf he do not vnderstonde latyn go he to one of his neighboures yat vnderstondeth/ which will charitably expoune it to him/ and thus edifye he his flocke. Vpon this argueth a great clerke and faith/ yf it be lafull to preache ye naked texte to ye people/ it is also lefull to write and read it to them. Also fir<sup>2</sup> William Thorisby arche- The same treatise is in ye bishop of Yorke<sup>3</sup> did do draw a treatyse in

<sup>1</sup> The famous ROBERT GROSSE-TETE, who was Bp of Lincoln, bet. 11 June 1235—9 Oct. 1253.

<sup>2</sup> The usual prefix at the time to a priest's name.

<sup>3</sup> Rather JOHN DE THORESBY, who was Archbishop of York bet. Sept. 1348—Nov. 1356.

englishe by a worshipfull clercke/ whose name was Gatrike/ in the whiche were conteyned the articles of beleue/ the feuedly fynnes/ the feuen workes of mercy/ the. x. commandmentes.<sup>1</sup> And sent them in small pagines to the commyn people to learne it and to knowe it/ of which yet many a cotype be in england. Also Richard<sup>2</sup> the heremyte of Hampole drewe into englishe the Pfalter with a glose and the lessons of dirige and many other treatices/ by the whiche many englesmen haue ben greatly edified. And they ben curfed 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 offended in him greuoufly. And though suche as be slayne do myracles/ neuertheles they ben stynkyng marters. This saieth Richard ye heremyt expounding this verfe/ Ne auferas de ore meo verbum veritatis vsquequaque. And Christ saieth yat men shuld deame them self to do great plefaunt seruice to god in killing of his people. Arbitretur se obsequium prestare deo. &c. Also a man of london whose name was Wyringe had a bible in english of northen speache whiche was feyne of many men and it semyd to be. C C. yeres old. Also it is knowen to many men in ye tyme of king Richerd ye. ii. yat into a parlement was put a bible by th[e] assent of. ij. archbiffhops and of the clergy to adnulle the bible that tyme translated into Englishe with other Englishe bookes of th[e] expoficion off the gospels whiche when it was harde and feyn of lordes and of the comones. The duke of Lancaster Ihon answered thereto ryght sharpely sayenge this sentence/ we will

chirch over  
againste Lon-  
don stone at  
this houre.

This prophesye  
of christ must  
be fulfilled take  
hede

<sup>1</sup> 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 *Archæologia*. xxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> RICHARD ROLLE de Hampole [d. at Thornton in Yorkshire, d. 1349.] His *Pricke of Conscience* was published by the Philological Society in 1863, and some of his *Prose Treatises* by the Early English Text Society in 1866.

not be refuse of all other nacions. For fythen they haue goddes lawe whiche is the lawe of oure belefe in there owne langage/ we will haue oures in Englishe whofoeuer fay naye. And this he affermyd with a great othe. Also Thomas Arundell Archebischoppe off Canterbury sayde in a fermon at westmester/ at the buryenge of Quiene Anne/<sup>1</sup> that it was more ioye of here than of any woman that euer he knewe. For she an alien borne hadde in englishe all the. iiij. gospels with the doctours vpon 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 fermon sharply the negligence of the prelates and other men. In fo moche that he faide that he wold leaue vp the office of Chaunceler and forsake worldly busynes/ and gyue him to fulfyll his pastorall offyce/ for that he had seyn/ and redde in tho bokes. And after this promyse he became ye moste cruell enemye that mighte be againste englishe bokes. And therefore as many men fayne God smote him with a cruell dethe<sup>2</sup> as he didde also Richard flemyng bisschoppe of Lincolne.<sup>3</sup>

Ypocrisy is ye nature of all bishoppes.

Neuer trust bishop as longe as he kepeth his possessions

<sup>1</sup> ANNE OF BOHEMIA, the first wife of Richard II. She was buried on Monday, 3 August 1394, at Westminster. Arundel was at this time Archbishop of York.

<sup>2</sup> 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. 1596. 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.

<sup>3</sup> The see of Lincoln was filled in succession by two men who at one time had been disciples and coadjutors of Wyckliffe. PHILIP DE REPINGDON, who was Bishop between 24 Mar. 1405—10 Oct. 1419; and RICHARD FLEMING, who was consecrated Bp. by the Pope's own hand on 28 Apr. 1520, and died at Sleaford on 25 Jan 1531, 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 oure bishops ben so indurate and so ferre  
 frayed from god that they haue no grace one to be-  
 ware of a nother/ but proudly agaynst all rea-  
 sons and euidence of gods lawes/ and doctours  
 sentences/ they brenne gods worde the whiche  
 hathe brought thys realme to vndoynge  
 for euer but if godes grace be the more/  
 for thys cruell deade is cause of pestilence/  
 hungers/ warres/ and that also this realme  
 shalbe conquestyd in short tyme/ as faynct Edward ye  
 kyng and confessor prophesyethe in his booke yat be-  
 gynnith thus/ Sanctus Edwardus rex vidit spiritualibus  
 oculis. And therefore it were good to the Kyng and  
 to other lordes to make some remedy agaynst this  
 constitucion of Antichrist that saythe it is vnlawfull to  
 vs englyshemen to haue in englyshe goddes  
 lawe/<sup>1</sup> and therefore he brennythe and  
 sleithe them yat maynteyne this good  
 deade/ and that is for default that the kyng  
 and lordes knowen not ne wyll not knowe ther owne  
 office in maintenance of god and his lawe. For as  
 faint Austen faithe the Kyng with his knyghtes re-  
 presentyn the godhede of Christe/ and prestes the  
 manhede of Christe/ Rex est vicarius diuinitatis/ et  
 sacerdos est vicarius Christi humanitatis/ hæc Auguf-  
 tinus in de questionibus veteris et nouæ legis. ca. xci.  
 And if the kyng desyer to knowe perfytyly his offyce/  
 he maye fynde men to shewe to hym bookes that  
 truely and perfytyly shal enforme hym to doo his office

Wher is ye  
 auncientblode  
 yat was in  
 england in  
 these dayes.

Et nunc reges  
 intelligite eru-  
 dimini qui iudi-  
 catis terram.

<sup>1</sup> 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 Diocesean 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 *Provinciale*, &c. V. c. 4. *De Magistris*, p. 286. *Ed.* 1679.

to the plefaunce of god. But this can not he lerne of Byfhoppys for they enforme hym after Antichriftes lawe and ordenaunce for his lawes nowe reignen. Yet agaynst them that fayn ye gofpell in englyshe wold make men to erre/ wote they well yat we fynde in latyn langage more heretykes then of all other langages for the decre. faythe. xxiiij. xciiij. Quidam autem heretici/ that there be founden fyxty laten heretykes. And if men shuld hate any langage for herefy then must they hate laten. But god forbede that any langage shuld be hated for herefy fythen manye heretykes were of ye disciples of ye apostles. For saint Ihonn faithe they haue gonn owt of vs but they were not of vs. And Paule faithe it behouyth herefys to be/ and antichrist makythe many mo heretykes then there shuld be for he stoppythe so the knowyng of gods lawe/ and punyfheth so them that he knoweth yat haue it/ yat they dare not comen therof openly to haue trewe informacion/ and thys makyth layemen yat besyren and louen to knowe gods lawe to goo to gyther in pryuyte and conceyuen by theyr owne wyttes many tymes herefys ye which herefies in short tyme shuld be destroyed/ yf men myght haue free comenyng openly/ and but if this maye be had moche of ye people shall dye in herefy/ for it lyethe neuer in Antichriftes power to destroye all englyshe bookes for as fast as he brennethe/ other men shale drawe/ and thus ye cause of herefy and of ye people that dyeth in herefy is ye frowardnes of byshoppes that wyll not suffer men to haue opyn comoning and fre in the lawe of god and therefore they be cowntable of as many fowlys as dyen in thys default/ and are traytors to god in stoppynge of his lawe ye whiche was made in saluacion of ye people. And nowe they turne his lawe by ther cruell constitucyons into dampnacion of ye people

Bisshops will not teache agaynst their god their bely.

How Antichrist is cause of al heresyas.

Is not this turninge ye rotys of ye tres vpward

as it shalbe prouyd upon them at the dayte of dome  
for gods lawe faithe/ *Stabunt iusti in magna constantia*  
*aduersus eos qui se angustiauerunt, & qui abstulerunt*  
*labores eorum. &c.*

For that the <sup>Reade Sapien</sup>  
other men laboren they brennen/ and yf <sup>vi. and vij.</sup>  
owre clergy wold study well this lesson of sapiencie to  
ye ende/ they shuld mowe rede therin theyr oune  
dampnacion/ but yf they amend this defaulte with  
other defaultes. Saithe 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 faithe so diden ye apostles. But we couet not  
thys/ but yat Antechrist geue vs leaue to haue the lawe  
of ower beleue in englishe. Also they yat haue comonyd  
moche with ye Iewes/ faye yat they haue in euery lande  
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 amongest ye people  
of ther prestes to fulfyll ther prestes office and to ye  
edificacion of ye poraile/ that for worldly busynes and  
flewthe maye not studee it. Also the. iiij. euangelistes  
wrote ye gospell in diuerse langages/ as Mathewe in  
Iurye/ Marke in Italy/ Luke in Achaie/ and Ihonn in  
Asie. And all these wrotte in ye langages of the same  
contreys/ also Tobye saithe Chap. xiiij. that god dis-  
perged/ sprede/ or scaterid ye Iewes abroad among the  
hethen people yat they tellynge vnto theym ye  
merucylles of godde: they shuld knowe that there  
were nonne other god/ but god of Israell. And god  
ordyned his people to beleue his lawe wrytten among  
them in ther mother tounge/ vt patet Ge. x. vij. 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.



Also Ezechiell the prophet prophesied in Babylon/ and leste his prophesye vnder the mother tounge of Babylon/ vt pater per Hieronimum in prologo eiusdem Also the propheye of Ifaie is translated in to the tounge of Ethiope/ as Hie. concludyth in primo prologo Gene. Then sythen the darke prophesyes were translated amonges the hethen people yat they myght haue knowlege of god and of the incarnation of Christ/ moche more it ought to be translatyd to englyshe people that haue receiuyd the faythe and bounden them selfe to kepe it vpon payne of dampnacion/ sythen Christ commaunded his apostles to  
 Mathei. xxvij. preache his gospell vnto all the worlde and exceptyd no people nor langage. Also Origen translated the byble owt of Ebrewe into Greke with helpe of other in the yere of owre lorde god CCxxx-iiij. Also Aquila translated in the tyme of Adrian the emperoure in the yere of oure lorde. C.xxiiij. also Theodosion translated it in ye tyme of th[e]emperowre Comede. liij. yere after Aquila/ also Simacus translated it in the tyme of th[e]emperowre Serene. xxx. yere after Theodosion. viij. yere after Simacus it was translated the auctor vnknowen yn the tyme of Aialexander the emperowre/ And Ierome translated it into latyn/ vt in cronicis Cistercien. li. ij. ca. xxxij. And after that Ierom had translated it into laten/ he translated to women moche of the bible. And to the maydens Eustochia and Paula/ he translated the bookes of Iosue of Iudicum and Ruth and Hester/ and Ecclesiastes/ Jeremy/ Ifaie and Daniell/ and the. xij. prophetes/ and ye. vij. canonyke epystyllles/ 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 wrytythe in his. lxxvij. epystle to this man Acleta/ that he shuld enforme his daughter in the bookes of the olde lawe and the newe/ Also in his.



lxxv. epistle he wrytythe 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 vnto her that she also rede **the gospell**/ and the epistylles of the apostles And thus Th[e]nglyshe men desyre to haue the lawe of god in englyshe/ sythen it is called the lawe vndefyled conuerting fowlys in to clennes/ *lex domini immaculata conuertens animas*/ but Antechrist saithe that it is corrupte with ye litterall letre yat sleyth fowlys takyng his auctorite of Paule/ that saithe/ *litera occidit spiritus autem viuificat*. That is the letre of the ceremonies of ye olde lawe sleyth the Iewes/ and them that nowe vsen them/ but the spirite of the newe lawe quykenethe trewe Christen men/ sythen Christ saythe 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 slewe them for the keping therof. Of these foresaid auctorites it is prouyd lauffull/ that both men and women lauffully may reade and wryte gods lawe in their mother tonge/ and they that forfenden this they shewe them selves heyers and sonnes of the first tormentors/ and werse/ for they shewen them selves the veraye disciples of Antichrist/ whiche hathe and shall passe all the malyce of tyrauntes that haue ben before in sloppying and peruertynge of gods lawe whiche deade engendrythe greate vengeance to fall in this realme/ but yf it be amendid For Paule saithe Roma. i. The wrathe of god is shewyd from heyn vpon cruelnes and vnryghtfulnes of these men that with holden the trowthe of god in vnryghtwysnes/ *Reuelatur enim ira dei super omnem impietatem et iniusticiam hominum eorum qui veritatem dei in iniusticio detinent*. Now god of hys mercy geue vnto ower kyng/ and to ower lordes grace of trewe vnderstandyng to amende this default principally and all

But my lordes  
say yat it  
maketh men  
heretikes and  
peruerteth  
soules.

other/ then shall we mowe easely to be amendid. For  
vntyll it be amendid there shall neuer be rest and  
peace in thys realme.<sup>1</sup> Who that fyndythe or redythe  
this lettre put it furthe in examinacyon and suffer it  
not to be hydde or destroyed/ but multiplyed for  
no man knoweth what proffyt maye come therof.  
For he that compiled it / purposyth with goddes  
helpe to mayntayne it vnto the deathe/ yf  
neade be. And therefore all christen  
men and women/ praye that ye  
vorde of god maye be  
vnbounde/ and de-  
liuered from  
the po-  
werof  
An-  
tichrist/ and renne amonge his people. Amen.

**¶** Emprinted at Marborow in the lan-  
de of Hessen/ by me Hans Luft/  
in the yere of owre lorde. M.  
CCCC. and. XXX.

<sup>1</sup> From this, it would seem that this Treatise was written in the turmoll  
and troubles of the Wars of the Roses.













