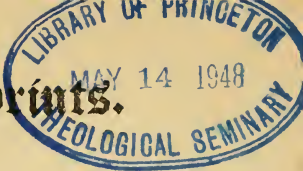




BR 120 .R693 1870
Lever, Thomas, 1521-1577.
Sermons, 1550

English Reprints.



THOMAS LEVER, M.A.

Fellow and Preacher of St. John's College, Cambridge.

SERMONS.

1550.

CAREFULLY EDITED BY

EDWARD ARBER,

Associate, King's College, London, F.R.G.S., &c.

LONDON :

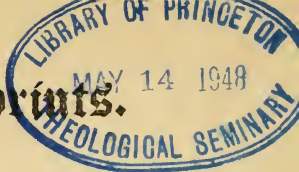
5 QUEEN SQUARE, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

Ent. Stat. Hall.]

15 November, 1870.

[All Rights reserved.]

English Reprints.



THOMAS LEVER, M.A.

Fellow and Preacher of St. John's College, Cambridge.

SERMONS.

1550.

CAREFULLY EDITED BY

EDWARD ARBER,

Associate, King's College, London, F.R.G.S., &c.

LONDON :

5 QUEEN SQUARE, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

Ent. Stat. Hall.]

15 November, 1870.

[All Rights reserved.]

CONTENTS.

NOTES of the Life and Writings of Thomas Lever,	8
INTRODUCTION,	9
BIBLIOGRAPHY,	17
I. <i>THE SERMON IN THE SHROUDS OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH,</i> 19	
<i>Septuagesima Sunday,</i>	} 2 Feb. 1550.
' Hys fourth Sunday after twelwe tyde, ' }	
TEXT. From the Epistle of the day. Rom, iii. 1-3.	
II. <i>THE SERMON BEFORE KING EDWARD VI.,</i> 53	
<i>Mid-Lent Sunday, 16 March 1550.</i>	
TEXT. From the Gospell of the day. John vi.	
III. <i>THE SERMON AT PAUL'S CROSS,</i> 91	
<i>Second Sunday in Advent, 14 December 1550.</i>	
1. The Epistle [to the Counsell].	
2. The Sermon.	
No particular TEXT.	

NOTES
of
The LIFE and WRITINGS
of
THOMAS LEVER, M.A.,

In succession, Fellow, Preacher and Master of St. John's College, Cambridge; Pastor in exile of the English Church at Aarau; Prebend of Durham Cathedral, Master of Sherburn Hospital for the poor.

The earliest account of our Author is the following brief contemporary one by John Bale:—

“Thomas Leuerus, patria Lancastriensis, insignis collegij, diuo Evangelistæ Ioanni apud Cantabrigiensiis sacri, olim præses: nunc autem Anglorum ecclesiæ, quæ est in Arouia Heluetiorum urbe, primarius pastor: pius certè theologus, uitiorum osor, uirtutumque in omni mansuetudine seminator, in idiomate uulgari ad suos Anglos scripsit.

Semitam rectam ad Christum, Lib. 1. *Cum uidissem meam in Anglia moram ac.*

In orationem Dominicam, Lib. 1. *Propter laborem inopum et Conciones aliquot pauuperum.*

Atque alia.

Viuit Arouiæ, in uinea Domini fortiter laborans.” *Script. Illust. Cent. ix.* 96, p. 762. *Ed.* 1557-9.

1509. Apr. 22. Henry VIII. begins to reign.

1542. Lever takes his B.A.

1543. Is admitted Fellow of his college.

1545. He takes his M.A. *Cooper. Ath. Cantab. i.* 366. *Ed.* 1858.

St. Mary's vicarage, Burwell, was given by the King to the University of Cambridge, but only obtained by payment of £600 [= £9000 now] to Sir Edward, afterwards Lord North. This was the first occasion of emptying the University chest. It is denounced by Lever to King Edward VI. at p. 80.

1547. Jan. 28. Edward VI. ascends the throne.

1548. JULY 3. Lever is admitted a senior Fellow of St. John's College.

SEPT. 22. He is appointed a College preacher: from which it is supposed that he was previously ordained.

For public commotions in 1549—1550: see pp. 15, 16.

1550. FEB. 2. *Septuagesima Sunday.* Lever preaches the first of the three sermons here printed, in the Shrouds of St. Paul's church, London.

MAR. 16. *Mid-Lent Sunday.* Lever preaches the second of these sermons before the King at Court.

APR. 1. Bp. N. Ridley is translated from Rochester to London. Lever refers to him at p. 78.

APR. “It was ordered that whosoever should have ecclesiastical benefices granted them by the King, should preach before him in or out of Lent, and that every Sunday there should be a sermon at Court.”—*J. Strype, Eccles. Mem. ii.* 334. *Ed.* 1822.

APR. 9. Lever's two sermons of this year are printed or reprinted, and finished on this day.

JUNE 24. Bp. Ridley ordains 25 deacons before the high altar of St. Paul's, including Lever and John Fox the martyrologist. —*Strype, idem. ii.* 402.

AUG. 10. Bp. Ridley ordains at Fulham several persons deacons: and his chaplain, John Bradford, with Thomas Lever, priests. —*Strype, idem. ii.* 403.

- DEC. 12. *Second Sunday in Advent.* Lever preaches the Third of these sermons at Paul's Cross.
- DEC. . This sermon he immediately publishes with a preface.
1551. APRIL. Sedburgh (Yorkshire) Grammar School refounded by a grant of the King in part the result of Lever's previous exposure of its spoliation : see *p.* 81.
1551. Lowndes quotes the following work by Lever—
 "A Meditation vpon the Lordes Prayer, made at Sayncte Mary Wolchurche, London. Anno MDLi. Lond. by Iohn Daye. 1610."
1551. DEC. 10—1553, SEPT. 28. THOMAS LEVER, SEVENTH MASTER OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.
1552. He takes his B.D.
1552. JULY 7. Roger Ascham writing to Sir W. Cecil from Villacho in Carinthia : thus refers to the then Master of John's.
 Mr *Leaver* wrote vnto me a ioyfull lettre of Mr. *Cheeks* most happie recouery, praying to god in his lettre that *England* may be thankfull to god, for restoring soch a man agein to the King, and well prayed trewlie ; but I am thus firmelie perswaded, that god wist and wold we wold be thankfull and therefore bestowed this benefit vpon vs. Gods wroth, I trust, is satisfied in punishing diuers orders of the realme for their misorder, with taking away singular men from them, as Learnyng by Mr. *Bucer*, Counsell by Mr. *Denny*, nobilitie by the two yong *Dukes*, Courting by ientle *Blige*, *S. Iohns* by good *Eland*. But if Larning, Counsell, Nobilitie, Courte, *Cambridge* shold haue bene all punisshed at ones, by taking away m^r. *Cheke*, then I wold haue thought our mischeef had bene so mochs as did crye to god for a generall plage, in taking away soch a general and onely man as m^r. *Cheeke* is.—
Lansdowne MSS. 3, fol. 1.
- [1553.—Notwithstanding the pressures this and other colleges were under in point of maintenance, which Mr. Leaver complains of in his sermons, occasioned by the courtiers' invading church preferments (that were intended as rewards of learning) by racking their tenants, formerly accustomed to easy rents whilst a great part of the lands of the nation were in the hands of the church, by their neglect of hospitality which ought to have been kept up, and by their want of charity which had formerly been maintained, yet the college flourished in learning, and what usually attends it, in the true religion. The reformation nowhere gained more ground or was more zealously maintained, than it did here under this master's example and the influence of his government, as appeared best in the day of trial, when he with twenty-four of his fellows, quitted their preferments to preserve their innocence.—
T. Baker, B.D., Hist. of St. John's Coll., i. 132. Ed. by F. E. Mayor, 1869.]
1553. July 6. *Mary* succeeds to the crown.
- Lever and twenty-four Fellows resign and leave the country. Roger Ascham thus refers to this exodus in his *Scholemaster* :—
 "Yea *S. Iohnes* did then so florish, as 'Trinitie college, that Princelie house now, at the first erection, was but *Colonia deducta* out of *S. Iohnes*, not onelie for their Master, fellows, and scholers, but also, which is more, for their whole, both order of learning, and discipline of maners. . . .
S. Iohnes stodee in this state, vntill those heuie tymes, and that greuous change that chanced. An. 1553. whan mo perfite scholers were dispersed from thence in one moneth, than many yeares can reare vp againe." *p.* 135.
Ed. 1870.
1554. JULY. John Knox in a 'Comparyson betwixte England and Iuda before their destruction' in his *Godly letter sent too the fayethfull in London | Newcastle | Barwyke | &c.*, thus writes
 'That godly and feruent man mayster Lever / playnlye spake the desolacion off thys common wealthe.'

1534. Bp. Ridley in his *Piteous Lamentation on the state of the Church of England*, writes:—"As for Latimer, Lener, Bradford, and Knox, their tongues were so sharp, they ripped in so deep in their galled backs, to have purged them no doubt of that filthy matter that was festered in their hearts, of insatiable covetousness, of filthy carnality and voluptuousness, of intolerable ambition and pride, of ungodly loathsomeness to hear poor men's causes, and to hear God's word, that these men of all other these magistrates then could neuer abide."
1554. OCT. 25. Lever writes from Zurich to Bradford:—"I have seen the places, noted the doctrine and discipline, and talked with the learned men of Argentine, Basil, Zurich, Bern, Lausan, and Geneva; and I have had experience in all these places of sincere doctrine, godly order and doctrine and great learning, and especially of such virtuous learning, diligence, and charity, in Bullinger at Zurich, and in Calvin at Geneva, as doth much advance God's glory, unto the edifying of Christ's church, with the same religion for the which you be now in prison."—*Writings of Bradford*, ii. 137. Ed. 1853.
1555. FEB. 11. Bradford in his *Farewell to Cambridge*, dated "Out of prison, ready to the stake, the 11th of February, anno 1555;" writes:—
 "Call to mind the threatenings of God now something seen by thy children, Lever and others. Let the exile of Lever, Pilkington, Grindal, Haddon, Horne, Scory, Ponet, &c., something awake thee. Let the imprisonment of thy dear sons, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, move thee. Consider the martyrdom of thy chickens, Rogers, Saunders, Taylor: and now cast not away the poor admonition of me going to be burned also, and to receive the like crown of glory of my fellows."—*Writings*, i. 445. Ed. 1848.
1556. Lever in a preface dated 'at Geneva, 1556,' prints many copies of a treatise *Of the right way from Danger of Sinne, &c.* See 1571.

1558 Nov. 17. Elizabeth begins to reign.

1559. APR. Lever marries a widow, who has three children already.

1560. JULY 10. He speaks of the birth of a daughter.

Lever returns to England, soon after the Queen's accession, with more Puritan views than ever.

Sherburn Hospital was founded by Hugh de Pudsey [who became Bp. of Durham on 20 Dec. 1153, acquired by purchase Earl of Northumberland in 1190: *d.* 3 Mar. 1195: *æt.* 70,] about 1181, in the time of the great plague of leprosy in England in the reign of Henry II., for the reception of sixty-five poor lepers, with a master and other officers to superintend the same. Great abuses being complained of, Thomas Langley, another Bp. of Durham [bet. 17 May 1406—28 Nov. 1437] issued fresh ordinances on 22 July 1434, which *inter alia* directed that the future master should be in clerical orders.

It appears that the leprosy (for the relief of those under which affliction this hospital was founded) was at that time almost eradicated, for Bp. Langley directs, that in the remembrance of the original foundation, two lepers should be received into the hospital, if they could be found, but to be kept apart from the rest of the people admitted to the house. To those, thirteen poor people were to be added, to be provided with meat and drink of tenpence value every week, or tenpence of ready money at their own option, and have yearly the sum of 6s. 8d. for fuel and cloaths, and to mess and lodge in the same house, and daily to attend mass. Upon the death of a brother, another poor man to be chosen by the master within fifteen days, under the penalty of paying a mark to the fabric of the church at Durham. An old woman of good character was to be provided at the master's expense, to attend the brethren, wash their linen, and do other offices. The master

to have the care of all the goods and buildings of the hospital, and to take an oath for the due performance of all things stipulated by those ordinances.-- J. Hutchison's *Hist. of Durham*, ii. pp. 589, 607. Ed. 1780.

1562. JAN. 28. Thomas Lever was born in Lancashire, collated to Sherburn hospital. *Idem*. p. 594.

1563. FEB. 2. Lever is made a Prebend of Durham Cathedral.

1567. Lever supplies *A preface, shewing the true understanding of God's word, and the right use of God's works and benefits, evident and easy to be seen in the exercise of these Meditations*: and also *A meditation on the Tenth Commandment* to the edition of this year, of *Godly Meditations, &c. &c.*, made by John Bradford. [Reprinted in Townsend's *Writings of Bradford*. Ed. 1848.]

1567. He is deprived of his Prebendship.

1568. FEB. 24. There is a characteristic letter of Lever's showing that he was the same zealous and disinterested Reformer and Protestant to the latter end of his life, as when he preached these Sermons.

Grace and peace in *Christ*. For that god hath placed you in authoritie and fauer with the Quenes Maiestie, so as heretofore I and mani others haue bi your meanes had quietnes, libertie and comfort to preach the gospell of *Christ*: therefore of Christian charitie, and bonden dutie must we daili prai, and vse all godli indeuor for the continuance of the same.

And so now as more willing then able to render due thankfulnes vnto god, the Quenes Maiestie and vnto your honors, I haue here noted somme such things as make mich to the subuersion, or preseruacion of godlie honour.

Gen. 34. The *Sichemites* receiuing circumsision partli for voluptuousnes, and partli for coniteousnes were all vtterli destroyed, w[h]ich is a terrible threatning to *Englande*: where as mani euen so farre receive and refuse religion, as semeth to be for pleasure or gaine worldli. *Aud Ios.* 7. The armie of the *Israellites* polluted with the couiteous spoile of *Achan* cold neither vse sufficient power, nor a good policie against their and gods ennemies, vntill that offence was confessed, and such corruption vtterli abolished from amonge gods people: and then did god giue vnto his people the vse of power and policie, to preuaile against their ennemies. So *England* being polluted with mich couiteous spoile especialli of impropriations, grammer scoles and other prouision for the pore, can not vse power and policie to preuaile against the ennemies of god and godli religion, if it sinke still into such corruption, as causeth more sclander, and danger daili to incesse vnto the cheife professors, and promoters of good religion.

And certenli the necessari reuenues of the prince, the bishops, other estates, and the vniuersities, do as yet rather sinke into the corruption then stand vpon the profets, of impropérations.

Wherefore in the vniuersities, and els where no standing but sinking doth appere; when as the office and liuing of a minister shalbe taken from him, that once lawfulli admitted hath euer since diligentli preached, because he now refuseth prescription of man in apparrell: and the name, liuing and office of a minister of gods worde, allowed vnto him that neither can nor will preach, except it be *pro forma tantum*, to kepe gods commandments summe times *per alium*, euer obseruing the prescription of man in wairing apparell and reding *per se*.

Also *Ezech.* 14. When as bi plaines of the prophets notable idolatrie was reprobud in *Israell*, and at the same time the Elders of *Israell* keeping their idols in their hartes, and setting their stombling blockes afore their faces, wold yet bi hearing the prophet and worde of god, seme to be godli: then such Elders and prophettes hearing and answaring, according to the vnclaines of their owne hartes, were both iustli deceiued and destroyed of god. Like wise now is notable papistrie in *England* and *Scotland* proued and proclaimed bi preaching of the gospell, to be idolatrie and treason, and how such idolatrie and treason is yet norrished in the hartes of mani god knoweth, and

how the old stombling stockes be sett openli of mani things in mani places, and especialli of the crucifix in *England*, and of the masse in *Scotland* afore the faces of the hieghest, is daili to be seen of idolators and traitors with reioicing and hoping of a dai; and of christian faithfull obedient subiects with sorrow of harte and feare of the state.

And if in the minstre and ministers of gods worde, the sharpnes of salt bi doctrine, to mortifie affections, be reiected, and ceremonial seruice with flateri, to fede affections, reteined; then doth *Christ* threaten such treding vnder fote, as no power or policie can withstand or abide. Further more vnder *Ahasuerus*, the moost faithfull people of god and obedient subiectes were then falseli accused to be breakers of the kings lawes, and so brought into extreme danger and destresse. Then *Ester* the quene aduertised bi *Mardoche* what occasion god had offered vnto her to help his people, did take and vse the same occasion, vnto the moost comfortable deliuerance of them, and the greatestt incesse and stai of her honor and state.

Contrariwise *Ezech. 29. Egipt* as a staf of rede failing breaking and hurting gods people, in their destresse leaning and trusting vnto it, did bi the iust iudgment of god loose honor and power, man and beast, and so was with dishonor brought to desolation.

The most godli and faithfull subiects be maini times worst suspected and reported, and so brought into greatestt destresse and danger, that bi gods prouidence wonderfulli to gods glorie thei mai be preserued and prosper, seing their ennimies and conterfeited frendes tried, and destroyed by gods iust iudgements.

Now therefore mi praier vnto god, and writing to your honors is, that authoritie in *England*, and especialli you mai for sincere religion refuse pleasure and gaine worldli, and not for worldli praise, profet or pleasure receiue, refuse or abuse religion corruptli: not to allowe ani such corruption amonge *protestants*, being gods seruants, as shold make *papistes* to ioie and hope for a dai, being gods ennimies; but rather cause such abolishing of inward *papistrie*, and outward monuments of the same as shold cause idolatrous traitors to greue, and faithfull subiects to be glad: such casting forth of the vnsaueri minstre and ministers of gods worde as might make onli such as haue the sauerines of doctrine and edification to be allowed in that office, seing such minstre onli mai preserue princes, and prestes and people from casting and treading vnder fote: and so not deceiuing and leauing the godli in destresse, to perissh with the vngodli through vngodlines, but euer traueling to deliuer, defend, and help the godli, be bi gods prouidence and promise deliuered and preserued from all danger, into continuance and incesse of godli honor: which god for his mercies in *Christ* grant, vnto the Quenes Magestie, vnto you, and all other of her honorable counsell. Amen. Scriblet at *Sherborn* house by *Duresme* the 24 of february.

Bi yours at comandment faithfull in *Christ*

THOMAS LEVER.

Addressed on } To the right honorable Lord Robert Erle of Leicestre and Sr
the back } William Cicell Knight and to either of them, at the Court.

Endorsed 24 Febr. 1568 Mr. Levor to my L of Leices. and myself.
Adviseth yat ye refusing or receiving of religion may not depend vpon Worldly respects. *Lands. MS. 11, Art. 5.*

1569. NOV. 14—1570. JAN. The rebellion in the North. It began at Durham. It must have been a dangerous time for such an ultra protestant as Lever.

1571. Lever issues a second edition of *A treatise of the right way from Danger of Sinne and vengeance in this wicked worlde, vnto godly wealth and saluation in Christe*: in the Epistle, dated at London 1571, to which, he states:—

“Of this matter did I wryte a little Booke beyng in Geneua in the time of Quene Maries raigne, when I was there by diuerse English men moued and requested too cause it too bee printed: and so then with a lyttle Preface I dyd send

many of those Bookes so printed, intoo this Realme of Eng-
lande.

And nowe finding none of those Bookes too be solde in anie
place, but being of some desired too peruse one of them
(which was founde in a freendes hande) and putte it too print-
ing agayn, with some admonition meete for this tyme, I haue
written this Epistle or Preface. . . ."

1572. The revised and corrected edition of these Sermons is pub-
lished.

1572. T. Baker, B D., in a folio commonplace book, now *Harl. MS.*
7048, has copied 'a long scroll, on several sheets, pasted to-
gether' and printed by Henrie Bynneman, for Humfrey Toy,
1572, but apparently never published: of what is virtually
the Cambridge Calendar for that year. The number of
Scholars of all the degrees in the Universitie was then 1684.
From this we quote the *Daily exercises for Schollers* by
way of comparison to Lever's account in 1550, at *pp.* 121, 122.

Euery worke daye throughout the whole yeare, in euery Col-
ledge are celebrated Morning Prayers from five of the Clock
untill sixe / at what time also some Common Place is ex-
pounded by one of ye Fellows in order after that he hath
bene Master of Arte. That done from seven of the Clocke
untill eight in all Colledges are plainly and distinctly taught
and reade Logicke and Philosophie Lectures. From eight
of the Clock vntill Eleven, ordinarie Lectures and publicke
Disputations are exercised / and reade in the Common
Schooles. *p.* 541.

1575. A third edition of *The right way*, &c., was issued: printed
by H. Bynneman.

At the end of it is (apparently reprinted) *A meditation vppon
the Lordes prayer*. A copy is in the British Museum.

1577. JULY. On a journey home to the hospital of Sherburn, (which he
was permitted to retain on account of the scarcity of preachers,
though deprived of his prebend for non-conformity) falling
sick by the way, died at Ware the beginning of July 1577, his
body was brought to and interred adjoining the south wall
within the altar rails of the chapel of Sherburn hospital, under
a blue marble stone, whereon is cut a cross flory with a bible
and chalice, . . . and on a brass plate

THOMAS LEAVER PREACHER
TO KING EDWARD THE SIXTE.
HE DIED IN IIVLY 1577.

His brother Ralph succeeded him as Master, being collated
on 16 July 1577.--*Hutchinson, Hist. of Durham, ii.* 589.

Thomas Baker calls Lever 'one of the best masters as well as one of the
best men the college [of St. John's, Cambridge] ever bred.'

*In Haynes's Burghley Papers p 362
there is a letter from L to Sir J Knollys
Sir W Cecil from Coventry 17 Sept
regarding the death of the wife of my
lord Robert Dudley." Retros Rev
2 Series Vol I 1827 p 229*

INTRODUCTION.

NOtwithstanding all that has been said and written ; the Story of the English Reformation has by no means been fully and exactly recovered. It was the strangest and greatest Change that had occurred in England, since she had abandoned Paganism. There happened also to come at the same time, a most trying Social Progress ; which was quite distinct from it, which was greatly misunderstood at the time, and which has since been sometimes confounded with it.

The Reformation was some twenty-five years old, when these Sermons were uttered. Instrumentally, it had been the work of many Scholars, of some of the Town Clergy, Monks, &c., of Merchants and the like, and of the Lollards among the lower classes. It began before Henry courted Anne Boleyn, and would have certainly come to pass had he or she died in Wolfey's life time : but the Divorce Question became for ever mixed up with the change of Faith and Worship among the people of England.

The Reformation—as in the case of the first foundation of Christianity, as indeed of necessity must be the case of the establishment of any religion upon earth—began with a few. These searchers after Truth and Holiness went on leavening the people. The Reformers and the Reformed had been^d and were even now far outnumbered by the Inland Catholic population : the country Clergy, Gentry, Farmers, and Labourers. It was a long conflict between the Government and the more active Intelligence of the Minority in the Nation, residing in University and southern cities : and the Conservatism of a Majority living in purely agricultural districts and in the remoter northern towns.

The process of the Reformation was most difficult to the unlettered people. All that was concrete in a gorgeous ceremonial and worship was replaced by the simple enunciation of principles of life and conduct, and their application to all conditions of society. The Mass and the Procession were succeeded by the long Sermon, which even now sends some of its hearers into a quiet sleep, and which lasted three or four hours, as Latimer intended his Sermon in this same Lent to have done. What had, for ages past, been considered as unerring authority in all matters towards God, had now been indignantly abandoned as a preposterous fraud. Roods, shrines, and other vehicles of adoring worship also became a mock and bye-word. To crown all ; in place of the comfort and certainty of a pretentiously infallible system could only be offered inducements to incessant striving after that which is True, Right, and Pure. The Reformation in leading the people to a higher life, imposed upon them the arduous toil of the ascent.

What then was the task of the Reformers : first in unlearning and in learning themselves ; then in teaching, under all conceiv-

able opposition, the people. The first Reformers engaged against enormous odds. They faced a Hierarchy that could, by power of Law, smite down its antagonists even unto death. So that most of the Reformers came to be judicially murdered for their opinions: and then, by a strange change of fate, some of their Judges followed them in suffering like cruel injustice.

Such survivors of this first Band, as escaped the block and the stake, re-appeared in public life, like Latimer and Coverdale, soon after the accession of Edward VI.: and then regained more than their pristine influence with the Reformed.

With these, joined a second race of Reformers, their spiritual children, such as Lever, Bradford, Knox, and others. The Lent of 1550, witnessed Latimer preaching his last Sermon at Court, his *Ultimum Vale* to Edward VI., and Lever's first address to the King and Nation. One generation was therein overlapping the second.

II. The Reformation found England settling down from the long anarchy of the Wars of the Roses. From the beginning of the century there had been a general Rise in Prices: sometimes a factitious and passing one, by Speculators (Foretallers or Regrators as they were then called) rigging the market; but also through the increasing wealth of the country. This had nothing essentially to do with the Reformation. It was not the case in Germany and Switzerland at the time. It was the recovery of this country from the Civil Wars.

But this enrichment was not general. The rich became richer, and the poor more destitute. There were few to take the part of the poor, but the Preachers. As we listen to Lever we are often reminded of our present Newspapers. The Pulpit then did the work of our Platform, and the Prefs as well. So these Sermons, dealing with troubles and abuses all round, are a perfect revelation to us of those times. The current events, and what is still more valuable, the general talk and impression of the Court and the City in 1550; photographed in them, constitute them most valuable records of the domestic history of England in that year; while the superlative moral bravery of the preacher that could speak such home truths so plainly to the King, the Counsell, and that quick and high-spirited People, cannot but win our admiration of the man.

It is impossible here even to touch upon every fraud attacked by the Preacher: but two chief points may be considered, by way of preparation to the Sermons themselves.

INCLOSURES.—Wool was and had long been the staple product of England. The rise in the Price of Wool was depopulating the country, despite all ordinances and statutes whatsoever. Sir T. Moore, in his Latin *Utopia*, thus protests, in the person

of Raphael Hythlodaye, against the rapacity of landlords of all forts anterior to 1516.

But yet this is not only the necessary cause of stealing. There is an other, whych, as I suppose, is p[ro]per and peculiar to you Englishmen alone. What is that, quod the Cardinal? forsoth my lorde (quod I) your shepe that were wont to be so meke and tame, and so smal eaters, now, as I heare saye, be become so great deuowerers and so wylde, that they eate vp, and swallow downe the very men them selves. They consume, destroye, and deuoure whole fieldes, howses, and cities. For looke in what partes of the realme doth growe the fynest, and therefore dearest woll, there noble men, and gentlemen: yea and certeyn Abbottes, holy men no doubt, not contenting them selves with the yearly reuenues and profytes, that were wont to grow to theyr forefathers and predeceassours of their landes, nor beyng content that they liue in rest and pleasure nothing profiting, yea much noyinge the weale publique: leaue no grounde for tillage, thei inclose al into pastures: thei throw doune houses: they plucke downe townes, and leaue nothing standyng, but only the churche to be made a shepewhse. And as thoughe you loste no small quantity of grounde by forestes, chases, laundes, and parkes, those good holy men turne all dwellinge places and all that glebeland into desolation and wildernes. Therfore that on couetous and vnsatiabable cormaraunte and very plage of his natyue contrey maye compass aboute and inclose many thousand akers of grounde to gether within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust owte of their owne, or els either by coueyne and fraude, or by violent oppression they be put besydes it, or by wronges and iniuries they be so weried, that they be compelled to sell all: by one meanes therfore or by other, either by hooke or crooke they muste needes departe awaye, poore, selye, wretched soules, men, women, husbands, wiues, fatherlesse children, widowes, wofull mothers, with their yonge babes, and their whole houshold smal in substance, and muche in nombre, as husbandrye requireth manye handes. Awaye thei trudge, I say, out of their knowen and accustomed houses, fyndyng no place to reste in. All their housholdestuffe, whiche is verrye little woorth, thoughe it myght well abide the sale: yet beeyng sodainly thruste oute, they be constrained to sell it for a thing of nought. And when they haue wandered abrode tyll that be spent, what can they then els doo but steale, and then iustly pardy be hanged, or els go about a beggyng. And yet then also they be caste in prison as vagaboundes, because they go aboute and worke not: whom no man wyl set a worke, though thei neuer so willyngly profre themselues therto. For one Shepheard or Heardman is ynoughe to eate vp that grounde with cattel, to the occupyng wherof aboute husbandrye manye handes were requisite. And this is also the cause why victualles be now in many places dearer. Yea, besides this the price of wolle is so rysen, that poore folkes, which were wont to worke it, and make cloth therof, be nowe hable to bye none at all. And by thys meanes verrye manye be forced to for-ake worke, and to geue them selues to idlennesse. For after that so much grounde was inclosed for pasture, an infinite multitude of shepe dyed of the rotte, suche vengeance God toke of their inordinate and vnsaciabable couetousnes, sendinge amonge the shepe that pestiferous morrein, whiche much more iustly shoulde haue fallen on the shepemasters owne heades. And though the number of shepe increase neuer so faste, yet the price falleth not one myte, because there be so fewe sellers. For they be almooste all comen into a fewe riche mennes handes, whome no neade forceth to sell before they lust, and they luste not before they maye sell as deare as they luste." pp. 40-42. Ed. 1865.

Ever since Moore wrote, the state of things of which he thus complains had continued to increase rather than diminish.

The Rev. F. W. Ruffell in his *Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk*, Ed. 1859, 4to, tells us that "at this time, the arable land of any village or township, known as 'the field'—a name still in common use—was subdivided by ridges called 'bawlkcs' into

'lands' belonging to the different proprietors, who cultivated them and took the produce: but when 'the corne was inned and haruest don,' then all had right of common over the whole. Just prior to Kett's rebellion, the practice began to be generally adopted by those who had two or more lying together, to enclose these 'lands' as well as others, viz., the waste lands of the manor, that ought to be common, and it was against such enclosures that the efforts of Kett and his associates were especially directed."

A Commission to redress Enclosures was issued by King Edward's Counsell on 2 June 1548. In a speech of one of the Commissioners, Mr. John Hales, preserved by Strype, we have the following official definition:—

But first, to declare unto you what is meant by this word *inclosures*. It is not taken where a man doth enclose and hedge in his own proper ground, where no man hath commons. For such inclosure where no man hath commons. For such inclosure is very beneficial to the commonwealth; it is a cause of great increase of wood, but it is meant therby, when any man hath taken away and enclosed any other mens commons, or hath pulled down houses of husbandry, and converted the lands from tillage to pasture. This is the meaning of the word, and we pray you to remember it.

To defeat these statuts, as we be informed, some have not pulled down their houses, but maintain them; howbeit no person dwelleth therein; or if there be, it is but a shepheard or a milkmaid, and convert the lands from tillage to pasture: and some about one hundred acres of ground, or more or less, make a furrow, and sow that; and the rest they till not, but pasture their sheep. And some take the lands from their houses, and occupy them in husbandry; but let the houses out to beggars and old poor people. Some, to colour the multitude of their sheep, fether them on their children, kinsfolks, and servants. Al which be but only crafts and subtilties to defraud the laws, such as no good man will use, but rather abhor.—*Eccles. Mem.* ii. ii. 361. Ed. 1822

Such was one form of the struggle for the possession of the land of the country, on account of its increasing value. Another form of this covetousness (and can we wonder at Latimer and Lever denouncing covetousness so much!) consisted in

IMPROPRIATIONS OF ECCLESIASTICAL BENEFICES; which were the possession of their revenues by corporations, non-resident clergy, or laymen; and the delegation of the spiritual duties of the benefice to a Curate: and of the temporal duties (collecting the tithes, keeping up hospitality, and the like) unto a Farmer. This abuse also existed long before the Reformation.

Sir Francis Bygod [? of Mogreve Castle in Blakemore], who on a sudden joined, and by joining, ruined *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, in January 1537: for which he was hanged at Tyburn in the June following. Froude [*Hist. of England*, iii. 193. Ed. 1858] wrote a strange tract entitled *A Treatise concernynge impropriations of benefices*, printed by T. Godfrey, without date: but certainly after the birth of the Princess Elizabeth (7 Sept. 1533) and before the suppression of the lesser Monasteries (with less than £200 [=£3000 now] a year) in March 1536; say therefore about 1534.

In this farrago of creeds, Bygod calls Henry the 'supreme

hed,' the Pope the 'gret draffacke of Rome,' approves 'of the preaching of the Gospel,' and yet talks of the 'blessed Mafs.' Notwithstanding all this, Bygod—apparently then a 'Six Articles' man—could write to good purpose on his grievance.

But me thinketh I here you whysper that ye be no murtherers / theues / pykers / sacrylegans / nor yet none of all this geare / No ar nat? Well / than I se well we must haue more to do with you. For as moche as ye denye the cryme layde vnto your charge. You shall vnderstande that good and vertuose men before our dayes / whiche loued the wyll of god / whiche loued his holy pleasure / whiche regarded his commaundement / whose medytayons and studye both day and night was / to set forth his glorie / to auaunce his blessed worde / and to maynteine the ministers of the same / dyd (no dout of it) with the consent of higher powers of kynges and of princes / and of their most honourable counsels / folowyng (in this behalfe) the olde lawe / for the most easyest waye and spedyest prouision / appoynt / assygne and ordeyne (for the same ministers to be maynteyned) decymations or tythes / wyllynge and myndynge by this good prouision / that within euery congregation or parysse / the minister of goddes worde there / shulde be sure at all tymes of a luyng raised and gathered of these sayde decymations / and therein to haue added a certayne name / callyng it a benefyce / personage or vycarage / and lyke wyse turnynge the name of a minister or curate / to the name of a persone or vycare, Furthermore orderynge that one man shall haue authoritie / as patrone / to name this parson / and so to giue this same benefyce: albe[if]t / peraduenture that other in the same paryshe gyue as moche to the annuall luyng of the parson as the patrone doth. Besydes this / they ordeyned him a manton to dwel in among them / to th[e]ntente that for his dilygente administration / he shulde haue euery thinge necessarye for him within his owne gouernance: yea / and haue it brought euen home vnto him / to dyspose at his pleasure / as it shall be most expedyent and necessarye for him / that the more quyetyly he mighte studye and apply him selfe to minister vnto them the pure worde of god / and to be euer redy at hande to enstructe them of all thinges necessarye for ye helth of their soules / and to be their trewe watchman and shepherde to take them from the rauysshyng wolfe / and lyke a good trew herdesman / a pastoure to go afore them in spirytual and vertuose conuersation: and euer when they be scabbed to anoynte them gently with the softe and swete salue of goddes worde / all rancoure and stryfe layde a parte. Nowe my maisters impropriated or improper maisters howe saye ye by youre fathers / haue nat you with your crafty collusyon / almooste through the Englande / dystroyed these holy and godly prouisions / made for the mayntenance of goddes holy word / and for th[e] administratyon of this most blessed sacramentes / for the helth / welth / and saluatyon of mans soule / for the vpholdynge of the trewe and catholyque fayth / for the supportacyon of vertue / and dystroyction of vyce. Haue nat you (I saye) by the glykyng and gleyning / snatchynge and scratchynge / tatchynge and patchynge / scrapynge and rakyng together of almost all the fatte benefyces within this realme and impropriatynge them vnto youre selues / dystroyed this most godlye and holy prouision / bereyed the peple of ye worde of god / of ye trew knowlege of ye blessed sacramentes / of their trew beleue and faith in god the father / and the blode of Iesu Christ. For howe can the peple haue any faith in god withoute preachynge? Howe shulde they haue any preachynge when ye haue robbed them of their ministers? How shulde the ministers serue them when ye haue robbed them of their luyng? If the peple haue no faith how can they haue charyte? If they haue no charytie / what merueyle is it / if they ronne hedlonge and be caryed from one vyce to another / from one mischefe to another? Be nat ye th[e] occasion of all this? Who is elles I praye you? Haue nat ye the impropriations? Be the impropriacions any thinge els sayynge benefyces as parsonages / and such lyke? Do we not saye such an abbot is parson here / suche a priour is parson here? yea / suche a prioress is parson here?

After dealing with the objection 'We haue teachinge inough / and that there is neuer the lesse preachynge for you;' Bygod thus goes on.

But nowe ye wyll obiecte that no ordynaunce of god is broken / hindered / or prohibyted on your behalfe in this mater. For thoughe the benefyce be impropriate to a monste / I wolde saye to a monasterye / yet th[e]abbot or prioure appoynteth a monke or chanon to be the minister / and to preche the worde of god to the parysshe / who shall tarye and abyde amonge his parysshoners / and haue oute of the same benefyce a suffycyente luyunge / and the reste thereof to come home to th[e]abbot and his bretherne : and this is no breakynge of goddes ordynaunce / but rather a turnynge of it to a better vse. Wherevnto I answer / that where any such vicare or mynster is instytuted of his abbot or priour / and trewly laboureth in th[e]administration of goddes worde / it is nat onely well done to gyue him a suffycient luyunge out of the same benefyce / but also he were wel worthy to haue it euerywhitte / and as for the rest that haboundeth / let him kepe hospytalyte / as Paule commaundeth / or of necessytie wylleth him to do / and I saye / there shall but lytell remayne to sende home to th[e]abbot / and if he do nat kepe hospytalyte of the rest / then is he a thefe and th[e]abbot another / for the rest is the poore indygentes. But howe faythfull and diligent suche men be so instytuted by abbotes and priours to preache the worde of god / and howe sore they be therewith charged by their heedes. I thynke though I wolde cloke it / yet th[e]effecte wyl nat suffre it. Yet / I beleue rather that they ben the stronge persecutors of goddes worde / rather than the furtherers therof. . . .

But nowe these men beyng neuer without excuses / may peradventure thinke this to be a good answer for me. We praye for the soules of them that haue impropriated such benefyces vnto vs / and synge masse and diryge for them / and set vp tapers for them to burne both daye and night. Wherevnto fyrst I say / that if a man demaunded of you an accompte to be gyuen of youre so doyng / askynge you who taught you to apply ye blessed masse that waye / with the psalmes and lessons in the diryge conteyned / and desyred you to shew scripture for it. I thynke peradventure that ye might come short home of a wyse answer / which if ye can make / I thinke ther is no man but he wyl be wel content ther with. . . .

Some men that fauoure these newe founde sectes / wyl peradventure say : Well / yet it is better these monkes / chanons / and suche lyke haue the impropriatons (whiche though they preche nat / yet they kepe some hospytalyte) rather than the secular priestes shulde haue them / as they haue had before / which kepe no hospytalytie nor preche nother. To this it is easy to answer : That it is not mete that any man what soeuer he be / shuld receyue the benefyte or frute of a precher / onles he do his duty therfore. . . .

Is it nat great pitye to se a man to haue thre or foure benefyces : yea peradventure halfe a score or a dosyn / which he neuer cometh at / but setteth in every one of them a syr¹ Iohn lacke laten / that can scarce rede his porteus / or els suche a rauenyng wolfe as canne do nothyng but deuoure the sely shepe with his false doctryne / and sucke their substaunce from them. Lorde / if it be thy pleasure / ones haue mercye vpon vs / and gyue grace that we may haue some remedye founde for thys myschiefe / bothe of impropriatons / and also of them that minister not the worde of god faythfully vpon their benefyces : as they ought to do : for I haue knowen suche / that whan they hauen rydden by a benefyce wherof they haue ben persone / they coulde natte tell that it was their benefyce. This is a wonderfull blyndnesse.

We haue not space here to illustrate the great *fiasco* of the Suppresson of the Monasteries, the decay of the Universities, the uprising of the lower classes against the Nobility and Gentry, the utter destitution of the poor, the pluralities of benefices, the general covetousness, and the other crying abuses denounced in these Sermons. Most of the complaints of that time have been ably collected by Mr. F. J. Furnivall, in his *Ballads from MSS.* Vol. I. Ed. 1868, to which we must refer our readers.

¹ The customary title of respect at this time for priests, as Esquire is now for the laity.

The best setting we can put to these discourfes are the following brief extracts from Stowe, of the commotions of the two yeares 1549 and 1550—

1549. MAY. By meanes of a proclamation for inclosures, the commons of Somersetshire and Lincolnshire made a commotion, and brake vp certain parks of Sir *W. Herberts*, and Lord *Sturtons*, but sir *W. Herbert* slewe and executed many of those rebels.

JULY. The commons of Essex and Kent, Suffolk and Norfolk, rose against inclosures, and pulled down diuers parks and houses.

Also the commons of Cornewall and Deuonshire rose against the nobles and gentlemen, and required not onely that the inclosures might bee disparted, but also to haue their old religion, and act of sixe articles restored: these besieged the citie of Excester, which was valiantlie defended. Against these rebels was sent *John L[ord]. Russell* Lord priuy seale, with a number of souldiers, who entered the city of Excester the 5 of **AUGUST**, where they slew and took prisoners of the rebels more than 4000. and after hanged diuers of them in the towne and country about. The *L[ord]. Gray* was also sent with a number of strangers, Almaine and Germaine horsemen, who in diuers conflicts slewe manie people, and spoiled the country.

31 JULY. *William, L[ord]. marques* of Northampton, entred the city of Norwich, and on the next morning, the rebels also entred the towne, burned parte thereof, put the *L[ord]* marques to flight, and slew the *L[ord]* *Sheffield*.

22 JULY. In this meane time diuers persons were apprehended as aiders of the foresaid rebels or reporters of their doinges, of the which one was the Bailife of Romford in Essex, hanged within Aldgate, and an other of Kent, at the bridge foot toward Southwark, both on *Mary Magdalens* day by martiall law.

8 AUG. The French Ambassador did in name of his maister the *F[rench]* King, made defiance vnto the King of England, and so the war began.

In the beginning of **AUGUST** the French [suddenly attempted Guernsey and Jersey, but were repulsed with the loss of a thousand men.]

The 16 of **AUG.**, a man was hanged without Bishopsgate of London, and one other without Aldgate, the third at Totenham, the fourth at Waltham, and so forth in diuers other places, all by martiall law.

The rebels in Norfolk and Suffolke encamped themselues at mount Surrey, in a wood called *S. Nicholas* wood, neere vnto Norwich, against whom sir *John Dudley* earle of Warwike went with an army, where bothe he and a great number of gentlemen meeting with the rebels were in such daunger, as they had thought all to haue died in that place, but God that confoundeth the purpose of all rebels, brought it so to passe, that aswel there as in all other places, they were partly by power constrained, partly by promise of their pardon, perswaded to submit themselues to their prince: the earle of Warwike entred the city of Norwich the 27 of **AUGUST**, when he had slaine about 5000. of the rebels, and taken their chief captaine *Robert Ket* of Windham [Wymondham] tanner, which might dispend in lands fifty pound [=£750 now] by yeere, and was worth in moueables about a thousand markes, [£666—say £10,000 now]. When he had put to execution diuers of the rebels in diuers places about Norwich, he returned.

The 28 of **AUG.** tidings was brought to *K[ing] Edward* and the lord protector, that the French men had taken Blacknes, Hamiltew and Newhauen by Boleine, and had slaine all the Englishmen, and taken the kings ordnance and victuals.

About this time also, a commotion began at Semer in the north-riding of Yorke-shire, and continued in the east-riding, and there ended; the principall raysers whereof were *William Ombler* of east Hesterton yeomen, *Thomas Dale* parish clearke off Semer, and *Stevenson* of Semer: being preuented by the lord president from rising at Wintringham, they drew to a place at Semer by the sea coast, and there by night rode to the beacon at Staxton, and set it on fire, and so gathered a rude route; then they went to master

Whites house, and tooke him, and *Clopton* his wiuers brother, *Sauage* a merchant of Yorke, and *Bery* seruant to sir *Walter Mildmay*, which foure they murdered a mile from *Semer* and there lefte them naked: their number increased to 3000.

On 21 AUG. the kings pardon was offered, which *Ombler* and other refused, who were shortly after taken, and brought to York, where *Thomas Dale* and other were executed the 21 of SEPTEMBER.

[6-14 Oct. The *coup d'état* of the Earl of Warwick aided by some of the counsell and the Londoners; ending in the deposition of the Duke of Somerset as Lord Protector.]

14 OCT. The Duke of Somerset brought from Windsor and put in the Tower.

29 Nov. *Robert Ket* was hanged in chaines on the top of Norwich castle, and *William Ket* likewise hanged on the top of Windham [Wyndham] steeple.

NOV.-DEC. The Scots tooke Burticrage in Scotland, and other holds then possessed by Englishmen, where the Scots slue man, woman, and childe, except Sir *John Lutterell* the captaine, whome they took prisoner.

1550 27 JAN. *Humfrey Arundellesquire*, *Thomas Holmes*, *Winslowe* and *Bery*, captaines of the rebels in Deuonshire, were hanged and quartered at Tyborne.

2 FEB. Candlemas Day; also Septuagesima Sunday.

(1) Thomas Leber's Sermon in the Shrouds of St. Paul's.

(2) The Duke of Somerset makes his Submission in the Tower.

(3) The Lords of the Counsell are changed, Warwick's faction coming into office

6 FEB. The Duke of Somerset delivered out of the Tower.

10 FEB. One *Bel* a Suffolke man, was hanged and quartered at Tyborne, for mouing a new rebellion in Suffolk and Essex.

16 MAR. Mid-Lent Sunday. Thomas Leber's Sermon before the King.

31 MAR. Peace proclaimed between England and France.

8 APR. The Duke of Somerset came to court at Grenewich and was sworn of the Privy Counsell.

2 MAY. Joan of Kent was brent in Smithfield for heresie.

14 MAY. *Ric. Lion*, *Goddard Gorran*, and *Ric. Ireland* were executed for attempting a newe rebellion in Kent.

Trinity Terme (11 JUNE—2 JULY) was adiornd till Michaelmas, for that the gentlemen should keepe the commons from commotion.

11 JUNE. At night the high Altar in Pauls Church was pulled down, and a Table set where the altar stooede, with a Vayle drawne beneath the Steppes, and on the Sundaie next [15 June] a Communion was sung at the same Table, and shortly after all the altars in London were taken downe, and Tables placed in their room.

14 DEC. Second Sunday after Advent. Thomas Leber's Sermon at Pauls Cross.

All these evils were by many charged to the Change of Faith. Hence the energy of the Preachers to rebut the slander, by expofing their true and many causes. The political economy of that time—faulty as we now see it to be—was based upon the principle of disinterested service for the common good. Men were urged not by their self-interest, but by the dread and love of God, to do their duty to each other and the State. Among all those preachers none more bravely fought the battle of the loyal poor; none more vigorouly, even to personal hazard and danger, expofed the cruelty, covetousness, and craft of the rich and the clergy than Thomas Lever, the Cambridge Fellow, and the Boanerges of the Reformation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Lever's printed Sermons were very popular when first published. No less than five editions of the three discourses were published in 1550: viz., two of the Sermon in the Shrouds, two of that before the King, and one of that at Paul's Cross.

Twenty-two years later, they were revised by Lever, and published together, under a fresh title. Since then, they have not been printed until the present edition.

One reason for this has been the excessive scarcity of copies of all these first Editions. They were soon thumbed out of existence, like the Author's *Right way from the daunger of sinne, &c.* printed at Geneva in 1556, which had all but perished by 1571: and after his death they were virtually lost in oblivion.

It may be useful therefore to quote their titles and colophons: and to distinguish the present possessors of copies, so far as I know.

ISSUES IN THE AUTHOR'S LIFETIME.

I.—As separate publications.

Sermon in the Shrouds of St. Paul's.

Septuagesima Sunday, 2 Feb. 1550.

∴ *A dated and an undated edition.*

1. TITLE. A fruitfull Sermon made in Poules church at London in the Shroudes, the seconde daye of Febuari by Thomas Leuer. Anno M. D. and fiftie.

COL. ¶ Imprinted at London by Iohn Daie, dwelling ouer Aldersgate, and William Seres, dwelling in Peter Colledge (∴) *Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.* H. PYNE.

2. 1550. APR. 9. TITLE: as at *p.* 19.

COL.: as at *p.* 52. H. PYNE (wants title); BODLEIAN.

Sermon before King Edward VI.

Mid-Lent Sunday, 16 March 1550.

∴ *A dated and an undated edition.*

3. 1550. APR. 9. TITLE, as at *p.* 53.

COL.: as at *p.* 90. H. PYNE (T. Baker's copy); BODLEIAN.

4. 1550. TITLE. A Sermon preached the thyrd Sondaye in Lente before the Kynges Maiestie, and his honorable Counsell, by Thomas Leauer. Anno Domini. M.ccccl. l. * . * *

COL. ¶ Imprynted at London by Ihon Day dwellinge ouer Aldersgate, beneth saint Martyns. And are to be sold at his shop by the litle conduit in Chepesyde at the sygne of the Resurrection. *Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.* *Per septennium.* H. PYNE.

There is a misprint in most of the title-pages. These copies have 'the thyrd Sonday in Lent,' but the text is the same. Lever took his text from 'the gospell of this day, written in the. vi. of Iohan,' see *p.* 58. This fixes

the particular Sunday with absolute certainty, for in Edward VI.'s first Prayer-Book, which came into use on the Feast of Pentecost (9 June) 1549, as in our present version of it, the Miracle of Feeding the Five Thousand is the Gospel for the fourth Sunday in Lent, which fell in 1550, on 16th of March. Lever also puts the true date in the revised edition of 1572. See below.

∴ There is no authority for the above order, as regards the undated impressions. It will be seen that **1, 2** and **3** are printed by Day and Seres jointly: and **4** by Day alone.

Sermon at Paul's Cross.

Second Sunday in Advent, 14 December 1550.

5. 1550. TITLE, as at *p.* 91.
COL., as at *p.* 144. BODLEIAN.

II.—Collected together.

6. 1572. FIRST TITLE. ¶ Three fruitfull Sermons, made by Thomas Leuer. Anno domini. 1550. ¶ And now newlie perused by the aucthour. London. Imprinted by I. Kyngston, for Henry Kirckham. 1572.

TITLE TO SECOND SERMON. A Sermon preached the iiii. Sondaie in Lente, before the kynges Maiestie and his honorable Counsaile, by Thomas Leuer. Anno Domini. 1550.

TITLE TO THIRD SERMON. A Sermon preached at Paules crosse the xiiii. daie of December, by Thomas Leuer. Anno Domini 1550.

COL., as at *p.* 144.

LAMBETH LIBRARY: ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, (See Rev. C. H. Hartshorne's *Book Rarities of the University of Cambridge*, *p.* 443. Ed. 1829.)

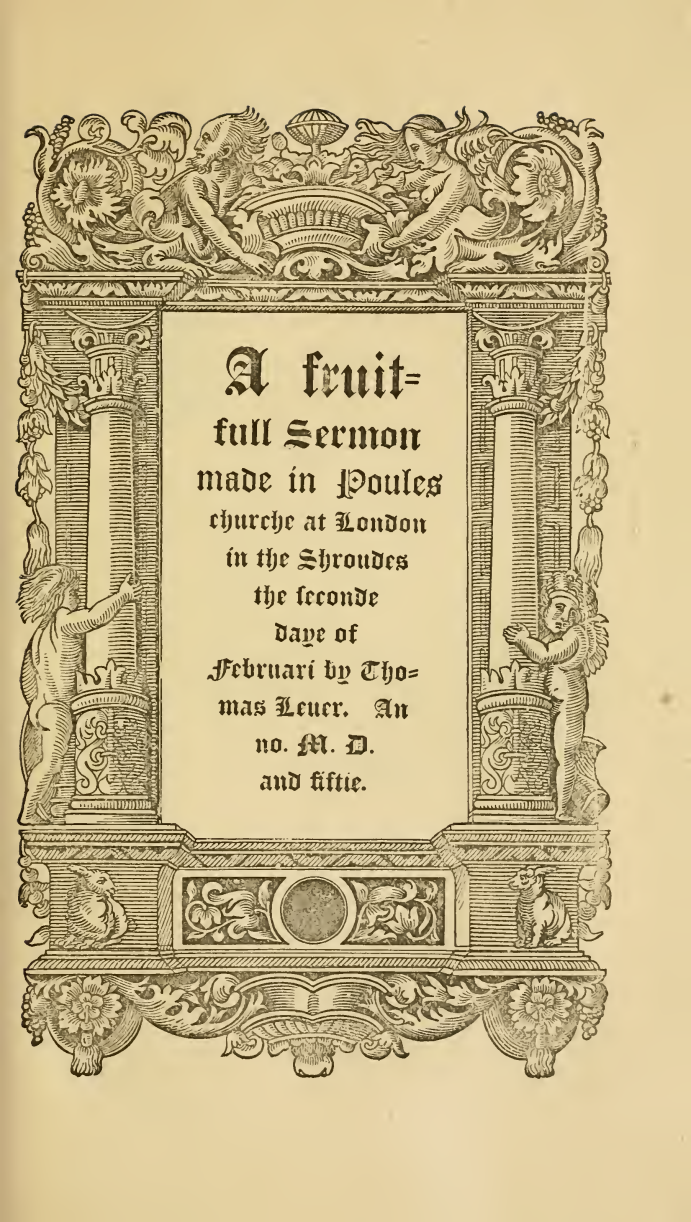
∴ The principal variations of this edition are shown within [], words omitted in it that are in the earlier impressions are asterisked *. One characteristic of the revision is the prefix of *Saint* to the Apostles' names.

ISSUES SINCE THE AUTHOR'S DEATH.

I.—Collected together.

1870. Nov. 15. 8vo. *English Reprints*: see title at *p.* 1.

∴ Cordial thanks are due to Mr. Pyne, (who first pointed out to me the importance of these Sermons,) for the loan,—out of his splendid collection of English Books, before 1600 A.D.,—of his copies of them; and to the Hon. Librarian of Lambeth Library, for permission to collate the 1572 edition.

The page is framed by an intricate woodcut border. At the top, two winged figures, possibly cherubs or angels, are shown in profile, facing each other. They appear to be holding or supporting a central, ornate architectural element that resembles a stylized sun or a decorative canopy. The sides of the border are decorated with two tall, fluted columns. On the left, a winged figure is depicted from the waist up, leaning against the column. On the right, another winged figure is shown from the waist up, also leaning against the column. The base of the border features a central oval medallion with a floral or scrollwork design. On either side of this medallion, there are smaller figures: a bird-like creature on the left and a dog-like creature on the right. The entire border is filled with detailed scrollwork, floral motifs, and decorative flourishes.

A fruit-
full Sermon
made in Poules
churche at London
in the Shroudes
the seconde
Daye of
Februari by Tho-
mas Leuer. An
no. M. D.
and fiftie.



Od be merciful unto vs.

Good Christen people Christe Iesu the sonne of God, the wysedome of the father, the sauour of the worlde, whyche hath redemed vs with his precious bloud most pitifully lamentyng our myseries, and earnestlye threateninge our wylfull

blyndnes, cryeth oute by the voyce of the wyse king Salomon, sayng: *Quia uocauit, et remissis. et cete. Proue. i.*² Because I haue called (sayeth the wysedome of God) and ye haue denyed, I haue stretched forth my hand, and there was none that woulde beholde: yea ye haue dispised all my counsels, and [al] my rebukes haue ye not regarded, I therefore shall laugh at your destruccion, and I shal mocke, when it is come vpon you whiche ye haue feared. Assuredlye good people, God, *Qui mortem non fecit, nec lætatur in perditione uirorum,*³ God whiche (as the boke of wisedome sayth) made not death, ne dothe not delyghte in the perdition of manne, cannot be of suche affection, as to delyghte in laughynge or mockyng our miseris: but euen as that man whyche dothe delyghte to laughe at other mens griefes, is a man most farre of from lamentynge and pytyng them to do them good: so is God so sore offended and dyspleased wyth them that dispyse hys counselles, threatning or promises, while they might haue mercy, that he wyll as it were rather of mockyng, laughe and skorne, then of pitye lamente and help their miserable wretched griefes, when as they would haue conforte. Se therefore howe mercyfully God hath called by the saynges and wrytinges of Moyfes, the Prophetes, and the Apostles, and howe fewe haue

¹ in the Shroudes in London. 1572.

² Prov. i. 24.

³ Wis. of Solomon, i. 13.

harkened to beleue. Se how wonderfully God hath stretched forth hys hande, in creatynge heauen and earthe, and all thynges in them conteyned, to the vse, commoditie, and conforte to man: and how fewe do dayly behold these creatures, to be thankfull vnto the creatoure. Se howe muche good counfell and earnest threatenyng God hath geuen of late vnto Englande, by settinge forth of his worde in the englyshe tonge, causynge it to be read dayly in ye churches, to be preached purely in the pulpites, and to be rehearsed euery where in comunicacion, and how many continuing, yea increasynge their wycked lyues, regarde not gods worde, dyspise his threatenings, desyre not his mercye, feare not his vengeance.

Wythoute doute good people verye manye haue deserued the vengeance of God, and yet by repentaunce founde plentye of mercye: but neuer none that euer refused the mercye of God hath escaped the vengeance of God in the time of hys wrathe, and furye.

Yea but what mercyes of God haue we refused, or what threatenynge of God haue we here in England not regarded: whyche haue forsaken the Pope, abolyshed idolatrye and supersticion, receyued goddes worde so gladly, reformed all thynges accordinglye therto so spedily, and haue all thinges most nere the order of the primitiue churche vniuerfallye? Alas good brethren, as trulye as al is not golde that glystereth, so is it not vertue and honesty, but very vice and hipocrisie, wherof England at this day dothe moste glorye. Wherefore the worde is playne, and the sayynges be terryble, by the whyche at thys tyme God threateneth to punyshe, to plage, and to destroy England. It is a wonderous playne worde to faye that Englande shall be destroyed: and vpon thys worde ensuinge, it should be a terrible fight to se hundred thousandes of Scottes, Frenche menne, Papists, and Turkes, entryng in on euery syde, to murther, spoyle, and to destroye. Thys playne worde of a credyble person spoken, wyth thys terrible seyng afore our eyes in fight [our iyes in pre-

fence,] woldmake oure corage to fall, and oure hertes to ryue in peces, for wofull forowe, feare, and heauinesse.

Alas England, God, whom thou mayest beleue for his truthe, hathe sayd playnly thou shalt be destroyed, and all thyne ennemyes, bothe Scots, Frenchmen, Papistes, and Turkes, I do not meane the men in whome is some mercye, but the most cruell vices of these thy enemyes beyng wythout all pitie, as the couetoufenes of Scotland, the pryde of Fraunce, the hypocryfy of Rome, and the Idolatrye of the Turkes. A hundred thousande of these enemies are landed at thy hauens, haue entred thy fortes, and do procede to spoyle, murther, and vtterly destroy: and yet for all this thou wretched Englande beleuest not gods worde, regardest not hys threatninge, callest not for mercye, ne fearest not gods vengeaunce. Wherfore God beinge true of hys word, and righteous in hys dedes, thou Englande whyche wylt haue no mercye, shalt haue vengeaunce, whyche wylte not be faued, shalte be destroyed. For God hath spoken, and it is wrytten.

*Omne regnum in fediuifum desolabitur.*¹ Euerye kyngdome that is deuyded in it selfe, shall be desolate, and destroyed. And Salomon fayeth: Because they haue hated learnyng and not receiued the feare of God, destruccion commeth sodaynlye: Yea trulye, and bryngeth Idolaters vnto misery, and proude men vnto shame. Ye all here fele, see, knowe, and haue experience, howe that this Realme is deuyded in it selfe by opynyons in relygyon, by rebellious sedicion, yea and by couetouse ambicion, euerye manne pullynge and halyng towards them selues, one from another.

It is not onelye diuyded, but also rente, torne, and plucked cleane in peces. Yea and euerye couetouse manne is an Idolater, settyng that mynd and loue vpon ryches, whyche oughte to be geuen vnto God onely.

Euerye couetouse man hateth learnyng, and receyuethe not the feare of God, for the gredy desire that he hathe to the lucre of thys worlde. Euerye couetouse man is proude, thynkyng hymselfe more worthy a

¹ Matt. xii. 25.

pounde, then a nother man a penye, more fitte to haue chaunge of fylkes and veluettes, then other to haue bare frise cloth, and more conueniente for hym to haue aboundaunce of diuerse dilicates for hys daintye toth, then for other to haue plenty of biefes and muttons for theyr hongry bellyes: and finnally that he is more worthy to haue gorgeoufe houfes to take his pleasure in, in bankettyng, then laborynge men to haue poore cotages to take rest in, in slepyng. Vndoubtedlye God wyll make all those to fall wyth shame, which set them selues vp in pryde so hygh, that they can not see other men to be chyldren of the same heauenlye father, heires of the same kingdome, and bought wyth the same pryce of Christes bloude, that they take them selues to be. That realme, that realme that is full of couetousnes, is full of diuision, is full of contempt of goddes mercye, yea and sclaunder of hys worde, is full of Idolatry and is full of pryde. Diuision is a signe of destruccion, contemning of goddes mercye causeth his vengeance to come sodeynly: Idolatrye euer endeth in misery, and pryde neuer escapeth shame. Then if you fele, knowe, and haue experyence, that Englande by reason of couetousnes is full of diuision, is full of contempte of goddes mercye, is full of Idolatrye, is full of pryde, Flatter not your selues in youre owne phan[tasies, but beleue the word of God, whiche telleth you truelye that Englande shall be destroyed sodainly, miserably, and shamefullye. The same destruccion was tolde to the Sodomites, was tolde to the Niniuites: was deserued of the Sodomites, and was deserued of the Niniuites: but came vpon the Sodomites, and was tourned from the Niniuytes. And why? For because the Sodomites regarded not goddes threatenynge and were plaged wyth gods vengeance, the Niniuytes regarded goddes threatnynges, and escaped gods vengeance.

Now all you Englyshe men at the reuerence of God, for the tender mercyes of Iesu Christ, for the reuerent loue to youre most gentle and gracious kynge, for the

sauegarde of your cuntry, and for tender pyty of your owne wiues, your children, and your selues, cause not Englande to bee destroyed wyth gods vengeaunce, as was the Cytie of the Sodomites : but repent, lament and amend your liues, as did the good Niniuites. For if ye spedely repent, and myserably [and pitifully] lamente, and beashamed of your vainglory, couetousnes, and ambicion, ye shal cause couetous, sedicious, proude, and vicious England, sodenly, miserablye yea and shamefully in the fyghte and iudgement of the world, to vanysh away. And so sinne and abhominacion destroyed by the repentaunce of man, this pleasaunte place of Englande, and good people shal be preferued and saued by thy [the] mercy of God. For els if man wil not forsake his synne, God wyll not spare to destroye both the man and hys place with his synne.

Wherefore the Epystle by the order nowe taken, apoynted for thys fourth Sunday after twelwe tyde, is a lesson most mete to teache you to knowe and lamente youre greuous finnes of late committed, whyche as yet be in fuche case, that man wythout greate repentaunce cannot sone amende them, nor god of hys ryghteousnes much longer suffer them. It is written in the beginning of the. [x]iii. Chap. of Paul to the Rom. on this wyse.



Verye soule be subiecte vnto the hygher powers, for there is no power but of God. Those powers whych be, are ordeyned of God. Wherefore he that resyfteth power, resyfteth the ordinaunce of God, but they whyche doo resiste, shall receyue to themselues iudgement. For Rulers are not to be feared for good doinges, but for euil. Wouldest thou not feare the power? do that whiche is good, and thou shalt haue

praise of it. But if thou do euyl, feare: for he beareth not the fweard wythout a caufe, for he is the minifter of God to auenge in wrath, hym that doeth euyl.

Wherefore ye must nedes be fubiecte, not only for wrathe, but also for confcience sake. For thys do ye paye tribute: For they are the minifters of God attending to thys fame thyng. Geue therefore vnto euery one duties: tribute to whome trybute is due, custome to whome culfum is due, feare to whom feare is due, honoure to whom honoure is due.

Thus haue ye heard howe that euery one oughte to be vnder obedience, and geue vnto other that whych is due. Howbeit experience declareth howe that here in Englande pore men haue been rebels, and ryche men haue not done their duetie. Bothe haue done euyl to prouoke goddes vengeance, neyther doth repente to procure gods mercye.

Nowe for the better vnderftandng of thys matter, here in thys texte, fyrft is to be noted, how that *Anima*, the foule, for as muche as it is the chiefe parte of man, is taken for the whole man: as we in oure englyshe tonge, take the bodye beyng the worfe part for the whole. As if I faye, euery bodye here, I meane euerye man or woman here. So in the fourth of Leuiti. *Anima quæ peccauerit, ipsa morietur.*¹ The foule that finneth, it shall dye: meanyng the man or woman that fynneth. And euen fo here Paule by the Ebrue phrafe and maner of fpeche, commaundeth euery foule, whych is by the englyshe phrafe euery bodye, that is to faye, euerye person, man, woman, and child to be fubiect. As thou art in dede, fo acknowledge thy felfe in thine own mynde *Hypotaſteſtho* [*ὑποτασσέσθαι*], yat is to faye, fet or placed vnder the hygher powers, yea and that by God. For as there is no power of authorithy but of god, fo is there none put in fubiieccion vnder theym but by God. Thoſe powers whiche be are ordeyned of God. As is the power of the father euer hys chyl dren of the husband ouer hys wyfe, of the maſter ouer hys ſeruauntes, and of the kyng euer hys

¹ Ezel. xviii. 4.

lande and subiectes : wyth all kynde of magistrates in their offices ouer their charge.

Nowe to proue that these bee the ordinaunces of God, we haue by goddes word bothe in the olde testamente and in the newe, their names rehearsed, theyr offices dyfcribed, and theyr duties [duetie] commaunded. Yet that* notwythstandynge some there be that labour by wrestynge of the scripture to pulle them selues from vnder due obedience : saiynge that it appeareth in the actes of the Apostles how that they hadde all thynges comen, and therefore none more goodes or ryches, power or auctheritie, then other, but all alyke.

Truthe it is, that the Apostles had all thynges comen, yea and that christen men, in that they are christen men rather then couetous men, haue all thynges comen, euen vnto thys day. How be it ther can be nothyng more contrarye or further disagreynge from that phantastical commenneffe, or rather from that diuelyshe disorder, and vnrighteous robry [robberie], where as Idle lubbers myghte lyue of honeste mennes laboures, then to haue all thynges comen as the Apostles hadde, as christen men haue, and as I do meane. And thys is theyr vsage, and my meanyng : that ryche menne shoulde kepe to theym selues no more then they nede, and geue vnto the poore so muche as they nede. For so Paule wryteth to the Corinthes. I meane not (saythe Paull, speakynge to the ryche) to haue other so eased, that you therby shoulde be brought in trouble of nede, but after an indif[er]enc[i]e, that at this tyme your abundaunce, myght helpe their nede.

And so dyd the Apostles take order as appeareth in the fourth of the actes. *Quotquot habebant agros et possessiones. etc.*¹ As many as hadde landes and possessions dyd sell them, and broughte the prices vnto the feete of the Apostles, and diuision was made vnto euerye one accordinge vnto euerye mannes neede. So they whyche myght spare dydde frelye geue, and they whiche hadde nede dyd thankfully receyue.

For so is it [it is] mete, that christen mens goodes shuld

¹ Acts *iv.* 34.

be comen vnto euery mans nede, and priuate to no mans luste. And those [these] comune goodes to bee disposed by liberall geuers, and not spoyled by greedy catchers. So that euery man may haue accordyng to hys nede sufficient, and not accordyng to hys spoyle so muche as he can catche, no nor accordyng to the value of the thyng, euerye man a peny, a grote, or a shyllyng. For they that Imagyne, couet, or wyshe to haue all thynges comune, in suche sorte that euerye man myght take what hym luste, wolde haue all thynges comen and open vnto euerye mans luste, and nothyng reserved or kept for any mans nede. And they that wolde haue like quantitie of euery thyng to be geuen to euerye man, entyndyng therby to make all alyke, do vtterly destroy the congregacyon, the mysticall bodye of Chryst, wherasthere must nedes be dyuers members in diuerse places, hauyng diuerse duetyes. For as [sainct] Paul sayth: yf all the bodye be an eye, where is then hearyng? or yf all be an eare, where is then smellyng? meanyng therby, that yf all be of one sorte, estate, and rouse in the comen wealth, how can then dyuerse duetyes of diuerse necessarye offices be done?

So that the fre herte, and liberall gyfte of the ryche, must make all that he may spare, comen to releue the nede of the poore: yea yf there be great necessitye, he must sell both landes and goodes, to maynteyne charitie: And thus to haue all thinges comen, doth derogate or take away nothyng from the authoritye of rulers. But to wyll to haue all thynges comen, in suche sorte that idle lubbers (as I sayde) myghte take and waste the geines of laborers wythout restraint of authoritye, or to haue lyke quantitye of euery thyng to be geuen to euery man, is vnder a pretence to mende al, purposely to marre all. For those same men pretendinge to hate [haue] couetousnes, wold be as ryche as the rycheft: and sayyng that they hate pryde, wold be as hyghly taken as the best, and femyng to abhorre enuye, can not be content[ed] to se any other rycher or better then they them selues be. Now I heare some saye that

thys error is the fruyte of the scripture in englyshe. No, neyther thys, nor no other erreure commeth because the scripture is fet forth in the englyshe tonge, but because the rude people lackynge the counsell of learned menne to teache them the trewe meanyng when they reade it, or heare it, muste nedes folowe theyr owne Imaginacion in takynge of it. And the chieftest cause that maketh them to imagine thys abhominable error, that there shuld be no ryche menne nor rulers, cummeth because some ryche men and rulers (marke that I saye some, for all bee not suche) but I saye some ryche men, and rulers by the abuse of their ryches and auctoritye, dothe more harme then good vnto the comen wealth, and more grieve then confort vnto the people. For nowe a dayes ryche menne and rulers do catche, purchesse, and procure vnto them selues great commodities from many men, and do fewe and small pleasures vnto any men.

As for example of ryche men, loke at the merchauntes of London, and ye shall se, when as by their honest vocacion, and trade of marchandise god hath endowed them with great abundaunce of ryches, then can they not be content with the prosperous welth of that vocacion to satisfie theym selues, and to helpe other, but their riches muste abrode in the countrey to bie fermes out of the handes of worshypfull gentlemen, honeste yeomen, and pore laborynge husbandes. Yea nowe also to bye personages, and benefices, where as they do not onelye bye landes and goodes, but also lyues and soules of men, from God and the comen wealth, vnto the deuyll and them selues. A myscheuouse marte of merchandrie is this, and yet nowe so comenly vsed, that therby shepehardes be turned to theues, dogges into wolues, and the poore flocke of Christ, redemed wyth his precious bloud, moste miserablye pylled, and spoyled, yea cruelly deuoured. Be thou marchaunt of the citye, or be thou gentleman in the contrey, be thou lawer, be you courtear, or what maner of man foeuer thou be, that can not, yea yf

thou be master doctor of diuinitie, that wyl not do thy duety, it is not lawfull for the to haue perfonage, benefice, or any fuche liuyng, excepte thou do fede the flocke spiritually wyth goddes worde, and bodelye wyth honeste hospitalite. I wyll touch diuerse kyndes of ryche men and rulers, that ye maye se what harme some of them do wyth theyr ryches and authoritye. And especiallye I wyll begynne wyth theym that be best learned, for they seme belyke to do moſte good wyth ryches and authoritye vnto them committed. If I therefore beyng a yonge simple ſcholer myghte be ſo bolde, I wolde aſke an auncient, wyſe, and well learned doctor of diuinitie, whych cometh not at hys benefice, whether he were bounde to fede hys flocke in teachyng of goddes worde, and kepyng hospitalitie or no? He wold anſwere and ſaye: fyr my curate ſupplieth my roume in teachyng, and my farmer in kepyng of houſe. Yea but maſter doctor by your leaue, both theſe more for your vauntage then for the paryſhe conforte: and therefore the mo fuche ſeruantes that ye kepe there, the more harme is it for your paryſhe, and the more ſynne and ſhame for you. Ye may thynke that I am ſumwhat faucye to laye ſynne and ſhame to a doctor of diuinitie in thys ſolemne audience, for ſome of them uſe to excuſe the matter, and ſaye: Thoſe whych I leaue in myne abſence do farre better then I ſhoulde do, yf I taryed there my ſelfe.

Nowe good maſter doctor ye ſaye the verye truthe, and therefore be they more worthye to haue the benefice then you your ſelfe, and yet neyther of you bothe ſufficient mete, or able: they for lacke of habilitie, and you for lacke of good wyll. Good wyll quod he? Naye I wolde wyth all my harte, but I am called to ſerue the kynge in other places, and to take other offices in the comen wealthe. Heare then what I ſhall aunſwere yet once agayne: There is luynges and rewardes due and belongyng to them that labour in thoſe offyces, and ſo oughte you to be contente

wyth the luyng and reward of that office onelye, and take no more, the duetye of the whyche office by your labour and diligence ye can discharge onlye, and do no more. And so Paule wryteth vnto the Corrinth. sayinge: The Lord hathe ordeyned that they whyche preache the Gospell, shulde lyue vpon the Gospell.¹ And vnto the T[h]essalonians. He that dothe not labour shulde not eate.²

By these textes well fet together, you may conclude and learne, that there as you bestowe your labour, there maye ye take a luyng, and ther as ye bestowe no labour, there ought ye to take no liuyng. Well let vs procede further vnto other nowe, for I perceyue that all that which I haue spoken agaynst them that take greate geynes of theyr benefices, and do lytle good to theyr benefice, maye seme to be spoken agaynst the vniuersityes, yea and agaynst the kynges mayestye: whyche now by reason of improporacions haue no lytle geynes of benefices, and yet bestowe no great labour nor almes vpon the paryshioners of those benefices. Surely, for as muche as I feare the vengeance of God more yf I shoulde not speake the truthe, then the displeasure of man yf he be offended in hearynge of the truth, trulye I wyll tell you. Seyng that improporacions beyng so euyl that no man can alowe theym, be nowe so employed vnto the vniuersities, yea and vnto the yerelye reuenues of the kynges maiestye, that fewe dare speake agaynst them, ye maye se that some men, not onelye by the abuse of ryches and authoritie, but also by the abuse of wysedom and pollicie do much harme, and specially those, by whose meanes thys realme is nowe brought into such case that eyther learnyng in the vniuersitie, and necessarye reuenues belongyng to the moste hygh authoritye is lyke to decaye, or elles improporacions to be mayntained, whyche bothe be so deuylyshe and abhominable that yf eyther of them come to effecte, it wyll cause the vengeance of God vtterly to destroy this realme. Do not thynke that I meane

¹ 1 Cor. ix. 14.

² 2 Thess. iii. 10.

any thyng agaynst that whyche the kynges mayestye by acte of Parlizment hathe done: no nor that I wyll couer in scilence, or alowe by flatterie that whyche couetouse officers (some as I suppose nowe beyng presente) contrarye to goddes lawes, the kynges honour, and the comen wealth vse to do. For in suppressinge of Abbeyes, Cloysters, Colleges, and Chauntries, the entente of the kynges maiestie that dead is, was, and of this our kynge now, is verye godlye, and the purpose or els the pretence of other, wonderoufe goodlye: that therby fuche abundaunce of goodes as was superfliciously spente vpon vayne ceremonies, or voluptuously vpon idle bellies, myght come to the kynges handes to beare hys great charges, necessarilie bestowed in the comen wealthe, or partly vnto other mennes handes, for the better releue of the pore, the mayntenaunce of learning, and the settinge forth of goddes worde. Howe be it couetouse officers haue so vsed thys matter, that euen those goodes whyche dyd serue to the releue of the poore, the mayntenaunce of learnyng, and to comfortable necessary hospitalitie in ye comen wealth, be now turned to maynteyne worldly, wycked couetouse ambicion.

I tell you, at the fyrste the intente was verie godly, the pretence wonderoufe goodly, but nowe the vse or rather the abuse and myforder of these thynges is worldlye, is wycked, is deuilyshe, is abominable.

The kynge maye haue, and wolde to God he hadde in hys handes to bestowe better, all that was euell* mispente vpon superflicious Ceremonies, and voluptuous Idle bellies.

But you whych haue gotten these goodes into your own* handes, to turne them from euyll to worfe, and other goodes mo frome good vnto euyll, be ye sure it is euen you that haue offended God, begyled the kynge, robbed the ryche, spoyled the pore, and brought a comen wealth into a comen miserye. It is euen you, that must eyther be plaged with gods vengeaunce as

wer the Sodomytes, or amende by repentaunce as did the Nineuites. Euen you it is that must eyther make restitution and amendes spedely, or elles fele the vengeance of God greuoufly. Do not thynke that by restitution and amendes makying I meane the buyldynge agayne of abbeyes or cloysters, no I do not: For yf charitable almes, honeste hospitalitie, and necessary scholes, for the bryngynge vp of yougth had ben indifferently maynteyned and not cleane taken away in some places, I woulde not at this time haue spoken of restitution. Howe be it sure I am, that if at* the orderinge of these thynges there had been in the officers as much godlines as there was couetousnes, superstitious men had not bene put from their liuings to their pensions out of those houses, wher they myght haue had schole masters to haue taught them to be good, and for lesse wages: or for the reseruacion of their pensions, receyued into cures, and personages, where as they can do no good, and wyll do muche harme. Here as concerninge these thinges I saye, if man do not make restitution, God wyll take vengeance. For the people that by thys meanes contynue in deuelyshe supersticion, and begyn vngracious rebellion, do dye, and are damned in their owne synnes, but the bloud of their bodies and soules shall be required at youre handes. Yea and the abhominable error of those that would haue no rulers in authoritie, cometh partelye by your occasion, whyche vnto your owne vayne glorye, and pryuate commoditie [priuate authoritie], do abuse the power and authoritie ordeyned of God to hys glorye, and to the commen wealthe. Thus ye perceyue howe that some ryche menne and rulers abusynge their ryches and authoritie, do make some eyther to iudge that it shoulde be farre better then it is, if there were neyther riche men nor rulers: Howbeit those men are farre deceyued. And Paule telleth the truth, sayinge that those which be, are ordeyned of God.

Then some wyll aske thys questyon: Seynge there is

no euyl of God, howe can euyl rulers or officers be of God? You honeste men that be here, and dwell in the countrey, heare this lesson, and marke it, and take it home wyth you, for your selues, and your neyghbour. It is God, *Qui facit hypocrita regnare propter peccata populi.* It is God, as the scripture in the xxxiiii. of Iob doth testifye, whych maketh an hypocritie to be a ruler for the fynnes of the people. Nowe the people of the countrey vse to saye, that their gentlemen and officers were neuer so full of fayre woordes and euyl dedes (whych is hypocrify) as they nowe be. For a gentleman wyl saye that he loueth his tenaunt as well as hys father dyd, but he kepeth not so good a house to make them chere as hys father dyd, and yet he taketh mo fynes, and greater rentes to make them neadye, then hys father hadde.

Another wyl say that he would bye a Lordshyppe of the kyng, for the loue that he hath to the tenaunts thereof, but affone as he hathe boughte it, by takynge of fynes, heyghnyng of rentes, and fellyng away of commodities, he maketh the same tenants pay for it. Another sayth that he would haue an office to do good in hys contrey, but as sone as he hath authoritie to take the fee to hym selfe, he setteth hys seruaunte to do hys duetye, and in stede of wages he geueth them authoritie to lyue of pyllage, brybry and extorcion in the countrey.

Now you of the countrey, marke your lesson I saye, and take it home wyth you. It is God that maketh these euyl men to be gentlemen rulers, and officers in the countrey: it is the finnes of the people that causeth God to make these men youre rulers. The man is sometymes euyl, but the authoritie from God is alwayes good, and God geueth good authoritye vnto euyl men, to punysh the fynnes of the euyl people. It is not therefore repynyng, rebellyng, or resifyng gods ordinance, that wyl amende euyl rulers. For [sainct] Paule sayeth, that all powers be of goddes ordinance. And in Iob it is playne, that euyl menne bee made rulers

by God: So that who soeuer resyfteth the offycers, be the menne neuer so euyl that be in office, he resisteth the ordinaunce of God, he can not preuayle againste God, but surely he shall be plaged of God. And as the people can haue no remedye against euyl rulers by rebellyon, so can the rulers haue no redresse of rebellious people by oppreßyon. Example of bothe we haue in the thyrd booke of Kynges, where as it appeareth that Roboam leauyng good counsell to vse the people wyth gentlenes and folowyng euyl counsell to kepe them vnder by extremytye, dyd so exasperate and styrre vp the hertes of the people against him beyng their kyng, that ten partes of them dyd by sedicious rebellion, burste oute from hym, and were neuer after subiecte vnto hym, nor to none of his posteritie. And those rebellious people by Ieroboam whom they them selues chose to be their kynge, or rather the captayne of theyr rebellyon, were brought into farre worse case and more myserye then euer they were afore, compelled to forsake God, and to vse Idolatrye, and were euer after plaged wyth sodeyne deathe, hunger, dearthe, warres, captuytie, and all kynde of myserye.

Learne therefore ye people if ye inforce to ease your selues, wheras ye imagine that ye be euyl entreated of men, be ye sure that ye shall fele in deede that ye shall be more greuouflye afflycted by the ordynaunce of God. And learne ye rulers if ye intende by onely suppression to kepe vnder rebellion, be ye sure if ye thruste it downe in one place it wyll braste out wyth more vyolence and greater daunger in ten other places, to the further dysquietyng of you beyng rulers, and to the vtter destruccyon of all youre people beyng rebelles.

Heare ye people what God sayeth by those people that wyll not be in subieccion, because they thynke the men to be euyl whiche be in authoritye. Yea harke what the Lord sayeth as concernyng the proude, ambycoufe, and vncircumcyfed Kynge Nabugodonozer whyche was an euyl manne in dede, in the twentie

and feuen Chapter of Hieremye. *Gens et regnum. et cetera.*¹

That people and realme that doth not ferue Nabugodonezer ye kinge of Babilon, and whosoeuer putteth not his necke vnder the yocke of Nabugodnozer the kynge of Babilon, I (sayeth the Lorde) wyl vifet vpon that people in fweard, honger, and in pestylence. And in the xxvii. of the same Prophete. *Catenas ligneas contriuisisti, et facies pro eis [catenas] ferreas.*² Thou hast broken the fetters of wood, and shalt make for them fetters of yron. By the whiche he declareth yat as a pryfoner in ye keypyng of a gayler, if he breake hys fetters of wood, shall not therefore by the gayler be fet at lybertye, but rather cheyned wyth more stronge fetters of yron: Euen so, people beyng in the keypyng of God, if they by rebellyon breake their yocke of subieccion, whych they nowe haue, shall not therfore by God be putte at libertie, but rather be thruste into a more straite, greuous, and stronger yocke, where they shall be fure neuer to haue libertie nor ease.

Wherefore ye people, if ye fele your burden is heauye, and your yocke greuouse, pacyently suffer, and call vnto the Lorde: for then he wyll heare thee, and he wyl relieue thee, and he wyll delyuer thee.

And you rulers, because ye knowe that the people oughte not to forsake or refuse what burden or yoke so euer ye charge them wyth all, see that ye charge them with no more then they maye beare and suffer. For if they cry vnto you for reliefe and easemente, and you wyll not regarde theyr sorowes, but imagynyng that they be to wealthy, ye wyll encrease their miserye, and decay their wealthe, as Pharao, and Roboam dyd: Well then, if the examples of Pharao and Roboam wyll not suffyce you, marcke what God, by the prophet Ezechi. sayth (I pray you) in the. xxxiiii. of Ezechiel, *Audite pastores. &c.*³ Do not thynke that for because pastors be named there, yat therfore it is al spoken onely vnto the clargye, but for asmuche as all officers and rulers ought rather to be feders then spoilers, it is

¹ Jer. xxvii. 8.

² Jer. xxviii. 13.

³ Ezek. xxxiv. 8.

spoken vnto you officers, which do not enter in by ye dore of loue, as the shephearde to feede, but clime ouer another awaye [an other waie] thorowe couetoufnes as a thiefe, to robbe and spoyle the flocke of Christ in your office. Here what the Lorde sayeth vnto you officers yat fede youre selues by seking of gaines, and not your flocke by doing your dutie. Thus sayth the Lord: I my selfe wyl vp on these pastors, and I wil require my shepe at their handes, and wyll make them to cease from fedying of my flocke, yea the pastors shal fede them selues no more, for I wyll delyuer my flocke out of their handes, and they shall be no longer a praye for them to fede vpon. Vndoubtedly if ye shuld entende by your authority rather your selues to liue in riote, then to kepe ye people in quietnes, your rulynge shulde not longe continue. Surely ther is none other remedy for ryche or poore, high or low, gentleman or yeoman, to helpe to amende the disquietnes in thys realme, but to pulle and rote that* out of youre hertes, which is roted in euery one of your hertes, the rote of all euyll, whyche is couetoufnes. For euen you husbandmen whyche crye out vpon the couetoufnes of gentlemen and officers, it is euen couetoufnes in you, yat causeth, and ingendreth couetoufnes in them. For, for to get your neyghbours ferme, ye wyll offer and disire them to take bribes, fynes, and rentes more then they loke for, or then you your selues be wel able to pay. It is a wonderous thing to se gentlemen take so great rentes, fynes, and ingressaunce for couetoufnes to aduaunce theyr owne landes: Howebeit it is a farre more wonderfull thyng to see husbände men offer and geue so greate fynes, rentes, incomes, yea and bribes for couetoufnes to gette other mennes fermes. It semeth to come of great couetoufnes for riche men, to make strayte lawes to saue their owne goodes: Howebeit it is in deede a farre more couetoufnes for poore men by rebellion to robbe, and spoile other mens goodes. And this dare I saye, takyng all you to beare recorde, that the forest lawes that euer any tyraunt made in any

lande, if they shuld continue many yeares coulde not cause such and so great murther, myschiefe, and wretchednes as ye perceyue and know that thys rebellyon in England contynuyng but a fewe monethes, hath caused: by the which ye may learne that althoughe lawers be comenly called most couetous, yet compare them with rebels, and as pickinge theft, is lesse then murtheryng robrye [robberie]: so is the couetoufnes of gredy lawers which begyle craftely, farlesse then the couetoufnes of rebelles, whych spoyle cruelly. Lette vs therefore euerye one acknoweledgyng our owne fautes, where as most euyll spryngeth, there labour fyrste wyth moste diligence to plucke vp the roote of that euil, whyche is couetoufnes: that God ingraftyng grace in vs, maye geue occasyon vnto oure Rulars rather to bee occupied in rewardyng of vertue, then in punysheyng of vyce: Yea that God be not prouoked by our finnes to sende euyll rulers to punyshe euyll men, but rather moued by oure repentaunce, to preferue these good rulers whiche be sente alreadye to the greate comfort of all good men: especially the kinges maiesty, whose godlynes, vertue, and grace, is lyke to make this realme to floryshe, if oure synnes do not cause God to thinke our realme vnworthy to enioye the treasure of so precyous a Iewell. Manye other noble men therebe as I truste, some that I do certaynlye knowe, whose tender heartes do mucche lamente youre griefes, and whose godlye prouision wyll be mucche vnto youre comforte, if your vnpaciente stubburnes do not disapoynte their good purpose. If euer at any tyme God did send vnto any afflycted people releyse, comforte, and prosperytye, it came alwayes by good rulers, at such tyme as the people beeyng in afflyccyon, dyd humble them selues in pacyence, and cryed vnto the Lorde wyth prayer, as is apparente in the houndreth and feuen Psalme. *Clamauerunt ad dominum cum tribularentur, et de necessitatibus eorum liberauit eos.*¹ When they were in trouble they called vnto thee [the] Lorde, and he de-

¹ Ps. cvii. 13.

liuered them forth of their troubloufesome gryefes. And in the bookes of the iudges and of the kynges, ye maye reade how that God, to delyuer his people forth of miserye, and to prosper them in wealth, dyd reyse vp good rulers as Gedeon, Barac, Iepthe, Sampson, Dauid, Samuel, and suche other. And wythoute doubt euen at this time here in England, God hathe rayfed vp a gracyous kynge, and some suche noble men as be neyther cruell nor couetous. If ther be therefore in vs pacience, humility, thankfulness, and prayer, surelye we shall soone feele relyefe, conforte and prosperitie.

Thei therefore yat as yet feele them selues greued, let them cal vnto ye lord, lokinge for his helpe in paciente suffering, not prouoking his vengeaunce by vngracious rebellinge agaynste hys officers, vnhappye resisting hys ordinaunce : vnhappy resistyng may I well call it, for vnhappye are all they that vse it, purchasing thereby to them selues iudgement, vengeaunce, and damnacyon. O howe vnhappye haue they been here in England, whiche haue not quietlye suffered a comfortable reformacion of their greatest griefes and harmes, to procede from god to them by his ordinaunce, but vnpacientlye grudginge haue offended god, disquieted this realm, and vndone them selues, by resyftyng goddes ordynaunce. For the greatest griefe that hathe been vnto the people in thys realme, hath bene the inclosing of comens, as concernyng the whyche the powers ordeyned of GOD for that purpose, made an acte of parlyamente, forbidyinge anye man to enclose vnto hys pryuate vse, that whyche of long tyme had bene taken, and vsed as common. And afterwardes, the same powers dyd sende forthe proclamacions, warnyng theym whyche contrarye to thys acte of parliament had inclosed groundes, offendyng the people, that they accordyng to these Proclamacions shoulde laye the same inclosed landes abroad agayne, to satysfy the acte of parlyamente, and to releue the people. And for becaufe neyther of

these wayes toke effecte, there was immediatly further commissions dyrected to put suche men in authority, as could easelye, and woulde gladly, and were purposed spedely to haue layed vnlawfull inclosed landes abrode agayne, in such quiet sorte as shoulde haue bene most to the kynges honour, to ye wealth of thys realme, and to the greatest comferte of those whyche were most greued. Now howe the people dyd take or rather how they dyd resyste and wythstand thys, ye know.

And I shall rehearse whan as I haue telled you of one other thyng whyche beyng of longer contynuanee in Englande, hath done ferre more harme, and yet the gryef therof fer lesse, yea nothyng at all felt. For the deadely wound therof dyd bryng the people past all felynge of gryefe. And the venomous poyson broughte the people in suche a Maze, that they dyd not fele and perceyue them selues to be in most horryble myserable wretchednes, whan as the worde of GOD, the breade of lyfe, the sauyng health in Christ Iesu, was taken a way, and in a straunge language shut, and closed vp from them, so that they wythout felyng were led from God by mannes tradicions vnto vayne ceremonis, to be most venemously poysoned wyth dyuelishe supersticion. Therefore whan as the mercyfull goodnes of God beholdyng the miseries of the people, by the prouydence of the kynges maiestye, and his counsell, purposedly ordeined of God to comferte, healpe, and amend the people of thys realme, by the restoryng of goddes worde, and settinge it playnelye forthe in the Englysh tong, with the ryght vse and dew administration of hys sacramentes to be imprynted, and confirmed in our hartes: Whan as I saye, by these gracyous meanes, and godlye order, God hym selfe dyd offer vnto the people, relyefe, comferte, and prosperitie: Then the vngodlye, vngracious and vnhappye people, beyng mooste vnkynde, where as they shoulde haue bene mooste thankfull, dystrusted GOD, dyspised hys ordinaunce, and presumed of theyr owne wylfulnes

so farre as they coulde or myghte, to wythstand the ordynance of God, refused the grace of God, and procured to theym selues the vengeance of God. Wherefore we hauynge thys terrible example in fresh memorye, and feynge a gracyous Kyng, and Godly rulars ordeyned of GOD, to amende oure gryefes, althoughe all that cannot be amended in one day, whyche hath bene appayrnyng manye yeres, yet let vs pacientlye suffer for a tyme, not doubtynge but that that reliefe, comferte, and wealth, whyche God hathe promysed vnto Englande by hys word, offered of hys goodnes, and begon by his ordynance, shalbe brought vnto passe, by hys wyfdome and myghte: in suche wyse as shall be mooste for hys glorie, the kynges honoure, the wealth of the realme, and most to the comferte of theym that mooste pacyentlye in hope, truste to [in] goddes goodnes. These examples haue I rehearsed to teach you as it were by experience, howe true this saying of [saincte] Paul is: They whyche wythstande or resyste the powers ordeyned of God, receyue vnto them selues Iudgemente: whyche is vengeance, and damnacion. Let vs therefore amend our lyues, and be good men, and we shall not nede to hate and feare, but haue greate occasion to loue, and truste those whyche be nowe our chyefe rulars. For they be as [S.] Paule sayeth, made rulars, not to put theym in feare that do good, but theym whyche do euyll: so that none nedeth to feare these rulers, but euell doers. Whyche in euyll doynge haue deserued of the rulers to be punyshed, and in resyftyng their power ordeyned of GOD, do hasten, and aggrauate towards theym selues, the fore vengeance of GOD. It foloweth: Wouldest thou be without feare of power, do that whyche is good, and thou shalte haue prayse of it: for he is the mynyster of God to do the[e] good, but yf thou do euyll, feare. For he beareth not the swearde without a cause, but is the mynister of GOD to aduenge in wrath hym that doeth euyll.

All these wordes [sainct] Peter concludeth bryefelye in

the second of hys fyrst Epistle, saying that those that haue rule and authoritye, be sente *ad vindictam malorum, laudem vero bonorum*.¹ That is to saye: to take vengeance of euell doers, and to commende the good.

Whosoever thou arte therefore and of whatsoever degree or sorte thou bee, yf thou bee a Subiecte thou muste remember, and confyder howe that powers be ordayned of God for the, yf thou be euill to make the good by dewe correccyon: yf thou be good to make the[e] better, by the encorage of commendacyon, prayse, and mayntenance. Looke therefore all you that haue power, and authoritye of GOD, that ye vse it, as ye are commaunded by God: to correcte and punyssh the euill doer, and to encourage, rewarde, and mayntaine the good.

Se that for so ferre as your power extendeth, there be no euill vnpunyshed, nor no good vnrewarded. But harcke a lytle, and I shal tell you of an ab[h]omynable robbery done in the Citye, knowen to the officers of the city, and as yet not punyshed, but rather mayntayned in the city. There is a greate summe of monye sente from an honorable Lord by hys seruaunte vnto those whome he is indetted vnto in the citye. The officers knowynge that they to whom thys monye is sente haue great nede of it, knowe also in what places, at what tymes these vnthryfte seruauntes by whome it is sente, at gamnyng, banckettyng, and riot, do spende it. If thys be an euell dede, why is it not punyshed? Bycause it is not knowen some saye. But whyther they meane that it is not knowen to be done, or not knowen to be euill I doubt. And therefore here now wyll I make it openlye knowen boeth to be done, and also to be euell done, and worse suffered. But doeth not manye of you knowe? sure I am that all you that be officers oughte to know that all that ryches and treasures whyche ryche men, and rufflers, waste at gredye gamnyng, glotonous bancketting, and suche riote, is not their owne, but sente by theym from the honorable Lord of heauen, vnto other that be honest, pore,

¹ 1 Peter ii. 14.

and nedye: vnto whome God by hys promyse is indetted. Ye knowe, that *Domini est terra et plenitudo eius*.¹ The yearthe is the Lordes, and the plenty therof. So that no man hath any thyng of hys owne: But hath receyued all of the Lorde. For, *Quid habes quod non accepisti?*² What haste thou that thou hast not receyued: Yea thou as a seruaunte haste receyued of thy Lord, whych gyueth vnto hys seruauntes the Talentes of hys treasures. And to knowe for what purpose he gyueth theym vnto you, reade Esaye, the xviii. [lviii.]. *Frangefurienti panem tuum. etc.*³ Breacke thy breade vnto the hungrye, and the nedye: and the wanderyng leade into thy house: whan thou feest one naked cloth hym, and do not dyspyse thyne owne fleshe. Heare you seruauntes of the Lorde, whyche haue receyued the treasures of the lord, vnto whom the lorde by you hath sente them: vnto the houngrye, the nedye, the naked, and those that be of the same fleshe and bloude that you youre selues be. Nowe you offycers knowynge that greate ryches, and treasures sente from the honorable lord of heauen, vnto his welbeloued people, the nedy members of Christes bodye, by these vnthriftye seruauntes is spente at gamnyng, and riote, within your offyces, ye muste nedes knowe that an euyll dede is done. Let vs therefore I praye you, knowe howe it is punyshed. Peradventure ye wyll saye: ther is no lawe in Eng-land that appoynteth any punyshmente for gamners. If therefore euyll dedes maye be done in Englande wythout feare, than is the swerd of authoritye borne in Englande, wythout a cause. But I wyll tell the that art an offycer in England or in what Chrysten lande so euer it be: whereas there is no certayne punyshment for any euyl dede by mans law, there the offycer may and ought to vse any kind of punyshment to amende or restreyn the euyll doer, by goddes lawe. But without doubte yf those same men should spende in the same sorte of ryot, so great treasures sente from the Kynges Maiestye vnto the Aldermenne

¹ Psa. xxiv. 1.² 1 Cor. iv. 7.³ Isa. lviii. 7.

of thys Cytye, there shoulde be punysshmente, correcyon, and reamedye founde for theym quyckely.

And of very confciencie is not god as much to be feared as the kynge, and the poore, and nedye as well to be pytied and prouyded for as the ryche and wealthy?

Well, gamners, ryotters, and all euell doers, yf they do not repente, shalbe damned in theyr owne synnes: but the bloude of theyr soules shalbe requyred at the handes of the cffycers, whyche by feare shoulde haue caused them to leaue synne. Yea but what shall me [we] than saye by vsurye, whyche is nowe made so lawefull that an offycer yf he would, can not punyssh, to make men to leaue it? As concernynge thys matter we haue playne commaundemente in the fiftene of Deutro [nomie]. And in the fyfte of Math. To lend to hym that nedeth, and wold borowe. And in the fyxte of Luke it is playne. *Date mutuo, nihil inde sperantes.*¹ Lende sayeth Chrifte, trustyng to haue no gayn therby. Here we haue two commaundementes, the one is to lende, and the other not to lende for lukar [lucre]: nowe he that breaketh goddes commaundement must nedes go to the deuyll. So that in breakynge these two commaundementes, here is two wayes for you ryche men to go to the dyuyll: Eyther in lendynge for luker [lucre], or els in not lendynge anye thyng at all. Manye of you there be, that whofoeuer sayeth nay, wyll nedes the one of these two wayes. For yf mans lawe do stop vp vsurye, so yat by lendyng thou canst haue no gaynes, than wylte thou the other waye apace, and lend nothyng at all. So shalte thou be fuer to come ther away to the deuyll. For than shall no man in no case haue anye vse of thy goods. Therefore neyther the lawe, nor the officer in sufferynge a lytle vsurye, and commaundinge none, doth mayntayne or allow vsurye. But for because you [thou] beyng an vsurer wylte nedes to the dyuell, they suffer the to goo such awaye as some commodytye myght come to other by some vse of thy goodes, rather than by stoppyng vp that

¹ Luke vi. 35.

waye, to dryue the there awaye as no man coulde haue any vse of anye of thy goodes. For where as God commaundeth, and thy nedye neyghbour desyreth the to lende, and thou neyther at the reuerence of God, nor for pitye of thy neyghboure wylte lende of loue frelye: but contrarye to goddes commaundemente wyth out pytye of the poore, thou wylte not flycke to lende for gredynesse of luker couetouslye: thy owne dedes declare the to be so voyde of all godly charity, and so ful of diuilysh couetousnes, that thou art fer past all mans cure, and helpe, either by law or punishmente. So wyl I leue the, and speake of those that myght, and oughte to be healed by men beyng in authoritye, and yet wyll not.

For ther be sum suche ioyly felowes that they wylbe subiect to no powers, which by feare myght cause them to forbear theyr vayne pleasures in euil: vnto those now consequentye doth [saincte] Paule speake, sayinge: ye must nedes be subiecte, not onely for wrathe, but also for conscience sake. If ye be suche ioyly felowes that ye feare not the wrathe or dyspleasure of officers, whan as ye do euyll, yet grope youre owne conscience, that ye may fele what a greuous synne it is to wythstande the powers ordayned of GOD to minister dewe correcyon vnto euyll doers. For not onely thy conscience, but also thyne owne deede in that thou doeste paye tribute for thys thyng, shall testifye agaynst the: that thou knowest them to be the mynisters of GOD, attendynge to thys same thyng, to thys bryngynge euell doers in feare. It is therefore a matter of conscience for the[e] so to withstande the powers ordayned of God, that thei take no place in the, but that thou wylt do euell wythout feare, and maintaine that whych is euell done, by worfe presumpcion. I do not saye that whatsoever the magystrates commaunde is a matter of conscience, but what soeuer is euell, is a matter of conscience. And to resyste ryghte by myghte, so that thou wylte not be subiecte in humylitye, vnto those powers whyche God by hys righte hath set ouer the[e] in

authoritie is a greate euell, and therefore a greate matter of conscience. Manye examples we haue whyche doeth proue that euerye commaundement of magistrates be not matters in conscience, and yet euerye resisting or rebelling against their authority is a matter in conscience. The Iewes had a custome confirmed by their elders whiche were magistrates, that no man should eate wyth vnwashen handes: Christe Iesu leaste thys custome, brake thys tradicion wythout any grudge of conscience.

Dauid knowynge Saule the kyng to be a wycked man and hys deadly enemy, and hauyng Saule in a denne, where as if he would, he myghte haue kylled hym: this Dauid hadde a good conscience not to touche the lordes anointed, to suffer Saule to be kyng and to submitte hym selfe. Daniel was commaunded not to praye to God: the Apostles were commaunded not to preache gods worde. These dyd not rebell against the higher powers, no nor yet for conscience obey men, but rather they obeyed God. For Daniell did praye, and the Apostles dyd preache. So ryse not, rebell not, resiste not, what soeuer the rulers them selues do: And be ye not so scrupulous as to thynke the bond in conscience vnto euerye thing that a man beyng a ruler commaundeth the to do it especiallye, if God commaund the contrary. Nowe it foloweth, geue vnto euerye one that which is due: Euerye dutye belonging to euery body, can not here be declared, no nor at this tyme rehearsed, I wyll therefore speake briefly of one thyng whych shall be a generall example for all duties. Pau. i. vnto the Cor. xi. *Vnus panis vnum corpus multi sumus*:¹ One bred fayeth he one body we are that be many: by the whiche he declareth that as of diuers cornes of wheate by the liquor of water knoden into dough is made one loafe of breade: so we being diuerse men, by loue and charitie, whyche is the liquor of lyfe, ioynd into one congregacion, be made as dyuers members of one mysticall body of Christe, where by I

¹ 1 Cor. x. 17.

fay, as by one example in the ftede of many, learne that the more gorgeous you youre felues bee in filkesand veluettes, the more shame is it for you to see other poore and neady, beyng members of the fame bodye, in ragges and clothe, yea bare and naked.

Doest thou not thynke them to be members of the fame bodye that thou arte? Then arte not thou a member of Christe, then arte not thou a chylde of God, then art not thou a christen man. One member oughte as well to be prouided for, as a nother: I do not say that one oughte to haue as costely prouision as a nother.

But as there be dyuers members in dyuers places, hauyng dyuers duties, so to haue dyuers prouision in feedyng and clothyng.

And as they be all in one body, so none to be without that feedyng and clothyng, whych for that part of the bodye is meete and necessarye. Euen as ye do prouide indifferentlye for euery parte of youre naturall bodye, by reason of the which, ye are bounde, and subiecte to corruption: So let no parte or member of your Christen bodye be vnprouyded for: By reason of the whyche bodye, ye be heyres of the heauenly kyngdome. And this one example generally shall teache you to gyue that whych is due vnto euery one feuerally. Nowe here foloweth euen. iiii. [fower] wordes: Tribute, custome, fere, honor. Of these. iiii. [fower] wordes wil I conclude almost in iiii. [fower] wordes. Ye must gyue trybute, to whome trybute is due: custome, to whome custome is due: feare, to whome feare is due: honour, to whome honoure is due. Vnder trybute be contained taxes, fiftenth, subsidies, and suche as be payed at sometymes to the Rulers, and be not continuall. Customes be tythes, tolles, rentes, and such as the people paye vnto the officers continually. For payyng of trybute besydes thys commaundemente of Paule, we haue example of Christes mother, whych beyng at the houre of her trauell went out of Galyle

vnto Bethlem, a toune in Iewry, there to be taxed, and pay trybute vnto Cefar.

As concernyng custome, Christ hymselfe commaunded Peter to pay for them both, lest that they shulde offend: that is, lest that they, in not paying, shuld geue euyl example vnto the people. So Christen men must nedes paye both trybute and custome. What trybute and custome good men may take, it appereth in that that goeth afore: surelye euen so muche and no more as shall sufficientlye discharge their costes, necessarily bestowed in correctyng of euyl, and rewardyng good. Marke that I say they may or oughte to take no more: for here I tell them their duty. For truly if they do requyre more of you that be their subiectes, then is it youre duty to pay that whiche they aske, and not to be curyous to know for what cause it is asked, but this onlye to take hede that with due reuerence ye pay it, as Paule commaundeth, and as Christe and hys mother haue geuen you example. Feare and honoure belonge chieflye, yea in a manner onely vnto God. For God onely for hym selfe is to be feared and honoured.

All other for gods cause, are so to be feared and honoured: as that feare and honoure which is geuen vnto them, may procede and come finally vnto God. For, *dominum deum tuum adorabis et illum solum coles.*¹ Thou shalt honoure the Lorde thy God, and hym only shalt thou reuerentlye serue. As for the Deuyll, feare hym not, for he wyll doo no lesse harme vnto thee then he canne: he canne do no more then God wyll suffer hym. Feare therefore leste that thou offende God, and he sufferre the Deuyll to vtter hys malyce, and myschyefe towards thee.

That feare, honoure, or seruice whyche accordyng to goddes commaundemente is done vnto those personnes whom God hath authorysed to receyue it in hys name, is done vnto God.

As that money whych by thy commaundemente is payde to thy seruaunt in thy name, is paid vnto the[e].

¹ Matt. *iv.* 10.

Therefore Christe rulynge in magistrates by authcryte, and beyng houngrye and coulde in the poore by pytye, doeth commaunde vs to geue, and promyseth that he hym selfe wyll receyue and rewarde that honoure of reuerence, seruyce and obedyence doone to the hygher powers, as to hys ordinaunce in the common wealthe: and also that honoure of charitablealmes [almose], relyefe, and conforte, whych is bestowed vpon the poore and needy, as vpon the lyuely members of his owne body. As for that whych wythout goddes commaundement, of mans phantasticall imaginacion is doone vnto Images, must nedes be hyghe dyshonoure, and greuous displeasure vnto God, when as the lyuely ymage of God created wyth hys owne hande in fleshe and blood, doth honor, reuerence, and homage vnto a dead picture of man, grauen in stocke or stone, wyth a workemans tooles.

God is also honoured in all hys creatures, when as they be taken wyth thanks, and vsed as he hath commaunded: and therefore, when as they be vnthankfully taken, or wyckedly abused, then is he dishonoured, and displeasid.

Nowe, heare a short conclusion, *Qui ex deo est, uerbum dei audit.* He that is of God, heareth the worde of God. All you I saye that be Christen men, Gods chylde, and indued wyth Goddes spiryte, wyll heare the worde of Gods threatenynge, and fearyng his vengeance, repent, wyll heare the worde of gods commaundement, and folowyng his counsels amende youre lyues, wyl heare the worde of Gods promyse, and patiently sufferynge, trust to hys goodnes. As for you that wyll not heare and regarde goddes worde, ye declare your selues not to be of God. But for because ye haue the deuyll to your father, ye wyll fulfyll the lustes and desyres of the Deuyll, whyche is your father. And the luste and desire of the Deuyll is, to hynder the worcke and pleasure of God: and thys is the worcke and wyll of God, that we should repose

oure faythe and truste in Christe Iesu, and bestowe oure laboure and diligence in our owne vocacyon.

herfore the deuyll poyfonyng all hys wyth greadye couetousenes, wyll cause them euer to trust to their owne prouision, and neuer to be content wyth their owne vocacion, but beyng called of God to be marchaunt, gentleman, lawer, or courtear, yet to be readye at a becke of their father the deuyll, besydes this their godly vocacion, deuylllyshelye to proule for, seke, and purchase farmes, personages, and benefices, to discourage housbandemenne from tyllinge of the grounde, and ministers from preachynge of Goddes woorde: that therby maye come a greuouse hunger, dearth, and lacke both of naturall substaunce for the bodye, and also of heauenly foode for the soule. And then those in the cuntry that be not gods chyldren, but deuylllyshe vipers, will hyffe, whisper, and swell wyth venemous presumpcion, and their sling of rebellion to destroy both them selues, and al the cuntry. But they of ye cuntry or els wher, that be the chyldren of God in dede, knowynge couetous riche men and officers to be sparpled abroad in the cuntry as the scourges of god, to beat them for their synnes, lyke gentle chyldren, wyl acknowledge their owne fautes, and patiently suffryng correccion, pitifullye crye vnto their heauenly father for mercy, forgeueneffe, and conforte. So all you in England, that haue any godly knowledge, grace, and charitie, wyll say with the prophet Dauid: *Virga tua, et baculus tuus, ipsa me consolata sunt*:¹ Thy rod, O Lorde and thy staffe, they it be whyche haue comforted me. Thy rodde of correccion, whych is these couetous ryche men, and officers, and thy staffe of conforte, whyche is the kynges maiestie, whom thou hast endowed wyth a gracious gentle nature, godly educacion, wonderful wyt, and great learnyng: yea, and those noble men whom thou hast called from their vayne pleasures, to take great paynes, of a reuerent loue towards the kyng, and of a chari-

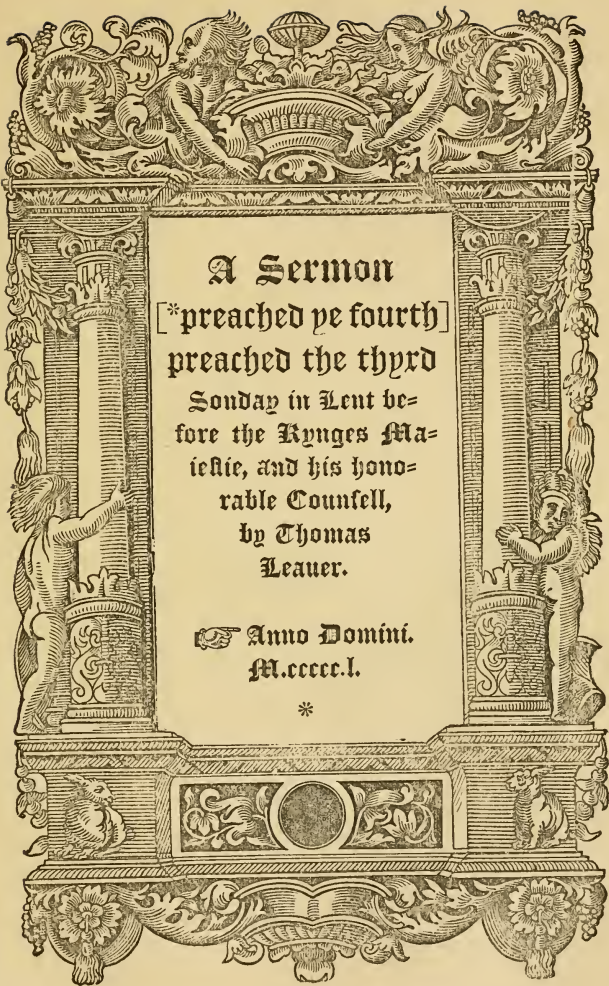
¹ Ps. xxiii. 4.


table pitie towardes vs, to bestowe their landes and goodes, tyme, and studie, and all that euer they haue, to prosper the Kynge, to prouide for hys realme, and to cherish vs his people therof. Thus thy rodde of correccion, O Lorde, hath taught vs to be subiecte in humilitie vnto all hygher powers, as to thy ordinaunce: and this thy staffe of conforte o Lorde, doth encorage vs to loue and trust them, especially vnto whome thou hast geuen hiest power and authoritie. So that we can nowe wyllinglye geue vnto euerye one that whyche is due: vnto ye higher powers, reuerence, seruyce, and obedience, vnto all in general faythfull dealyng, and vnto the poore and needye, charitable almes [almose], releefe and conforte.

Giue therefore vnto vs, o Lord, mercye and grace, that we maye render vnto thee thankes and prayse for euer. Amen.

I Imprinted
at London by John
Daie, dwellinge ouer Al-
dersgate, and Wyl-
liam Seres dwel-
ling in Peter
Colledge.

The yeare of our Lorde God
M. D. L. the nynt
daye of Aprill.



 *Cum priuilegio imprimendum solum.*

* As incorrectly printed on some title pages to this sermon.

In nomine Iesu Christi.



OD be mercifull vnto vs: For the tyme is euen nowe comynge, when as God muste needes either of his mercye here in Englande, worke suche a wonderfull miracle vnto our conforte, as farre passeth mans expectacion: or els of his righteousnes take such vengeance of this

lande to th[e]example of all other landes, as shall be to our vtter distruccion.

Ye know, that immediatly after the preachynge of Noe, came the great floud that drowned ye world. After the warnyng of Loth, came fyre, brymstone vpon the Sodomites and Gomorrians. When Moises had declared Gods thretnynges in Egipte, kyng Pharao and his people were plaged vpon the lande, and drowned in the red sea.

Suche plages came euer where Gods worde truly preached, is not beleued, receaued, and folowed. But at the preachyng of Ionas, the Niniuites repented wonderfully. When the boke of the law was reade vnto Iofias the kyng, he, with all his people spedely repentynge, found exceedyng mercy, blessing, and grace: as lykewyse all other shalbe sure to find, which heare the worde of God and keepe it.

For when Christ and his Apostles had preached the Gospel vnto the Iewes, those that beleued were delyuered from the curse of the law, vnto the blessing of grace, out of worldly misery, to be inheriters of the heuenly kyngdome: and those that did not beleue, were cast from God, oppressed of men, ouercome, spoyled, murdered, and destroyed of their enemies.

Wherfore Englande, whiche at this present tyme, by

reason of the worde of God setfurth, reade, preached, and comuned, dothe in euerye place heare the counfell of Noe, the warnynge of Loth, the law of Moyfes, the threatnynges of the Prophetes, and the grace of the Gospell, as it was declared and taught by Christ and his Apostles: Thys Englande muste nedes, either by beleuyng of these thynges, obteyne of God wonderfull grace of amendement, or els by neglecting them, prouoke the vengeance of God, as a dewe plague and punishment.

Take heede therefore England, for if thou by vnbelefe, let and stop God from workynge of miracles to thy confort, then surely dooest thou prouoke God to powre down vengeance vpon the, to thy vtter distruction: But if thou doo regarde, receaue, and beleue Gods worde, he wyll worke wonderfull miracles to thy conforte, wealthe, and prosperitie. Yea, let euerye man, of what estate or degree foeuer he be, grope his owne conscience: for if he dooe not there feele that the worde of God dothe take place to moue hym to repentaunce and amendment of lyfe, then shall he be sure sone to haue experience, that the vengeance of God, by a shamefull shorte ende of his wretched lyfe, wyll bryng him vnto an euerlastynge dampnable deathe. For all those that wyll not creepe vnder the merciful wings of god, as the chikynnes of Christ, shalbe caught and deuoured of puttockes, haukes, and kytes, as a pray for the deuyll. The wynges of God be stretched abroad here in Englande, by the kynges gracious maiestye and his honorable counfell, of mighty power, with ready wyll to shadowe, defende, and saue all those that with reuerent loue, come humbly creepynge vnder their ordinaunce, rule, and gouernaunce, whiche is the power, the wynges, and the honour [the order] of God.

The filthye gredye puttockes, wylde haukes, and rauenyng kytes be superstitious papistes, carnall gospellers, and fedicious rebelles, which as ye haue seene, by late experience, haue most cruelly caught, spoyled, and

deuoured the lambes, the chekynnes, the chyldren of God, redemed and boughte with Christes bloude. Wherefore as Christ in his owne persone dyd once lament and bewayle Ierufalem, so dothe he nowe many tymes in the persons of his propheticall Preachers, lament and bewayl Englande, saying: O England, howe ofte wolde I haue gathered thy chyldren, as a hen gathereth her chikens vnder her wynges, and thou woldest not. Euen with the same affeccion that the shepherde cryeth, feeyng the wolfe le[e]ryng towards the shepe, and with the same affeccion that the hen clocketh and calleth, spyeng the kyte houeryng ouer her chekyns: with the same affeccion it behoueth the minister and preacher of God, feeyng vntollerable vengeance hangynge ouer Englande, to crye, to call, and to geue warnyng vnto the people, saying as [it] is written in the first of Esay: If ye willyngly wyl heare and obeye, ye shall eate the good comfortable frutes of the earthe: but if ye wyll not, and prouoke me vnto angre, the swoorde shall deuoure you: *Quia os Domini locutum est.*¹ For it is the mouth of the lord that hath spoken.

Now your reuerende maiestie, most gracious kyng, and you honourable wyse godly counsellors, you are the chiefe shepherdes, you are the most reuerende fathers in Christe, hauynge the wynges of power and authoritie, to shadow, saue, and keepe these lambes of god, these [the] chekens of Christ, and these chyldren of the heauenly father, redemed with Christes bloude, and committed vnto your handes, to be saued, kepte, and prouyded for.

God be prayfed, with thankful obedience, and louynge reuerence dewe to your gracious maiestye and honorable counsell, whiche haue surely wyfely prouyded for, diligently kept, and charitably saued this realme, by driuyng away the wylde [wylie] foxe of papisticall supersticion, and by castynge out the vn-cleane spirit of ignorancē, to gods glorye, your honour, and our comfort.

¹ Is. i. 20.

But alas most gracious Kyng and godly gouernors, for the tender mercyes of God, in our Sauour Iesu Christ, take good and diligent heede when ye be chafyng the wylde [wylie] fox of papisticall supersticion, that the greedy wolfe of couetous ambicion, do not creepe in at your backes : For surely he wyll doo more harme in a weeke, then the foxe dyd in a yere.

Take heede, that the vncleane spirite of ignorance, returnyng with. vii. other worfe then himself, fynde no place vnwarded, where he may creepe in agayne. For if he returnyng with his felowes, enter in agayne, then wyll he make the ende of this generation to bee worfe then the begynnyng.

Then shall you leese the rewarde of your former diligence, and be dam[p]ned for your later negligence. Then shall the welspryng of mercye, which of long tyme hath watered thys Realme with the grace of God be closed vp, and the blodye fouds of vengeance gushing out from the wrath and indignacion of God, ouerflowe all togyther. Then wyll not God, by working of miracles declare mercy, but by takynge of vengeance, execute rightoufnes.

But God beyng as mercyfull yet, as euer he was, if you contynewe as faythfull, wyfe, and dilygent as ye haue ben, to handle the wolfe, as you haue doone the foxe, to keepe out the deuyll, as to cast out the deuyll: then shall the people of this lande feede in quyetnes, without feare of euyl: then shal you continuyng to the[e]nde, be sure of an hunderdfold reward in this lyfe, and afterwards, euerlasting lyfe, ioye and glorie. Then shall God doo wonderfull miracles in Englande, to declare howe mercy shall triumphe ouer rightoufnes.

And that wee maye all dyspose our selves the more conuenientlye for God to worke suche a miracle amonge vs, wee haue appoynted for the goppell of this day, writen in the. vi. of Iohan, a wonderfull miracle of. v. thoufande men, fed and satisfyed with. v. loaues and ii. fyses, wheras euery man may and ought to learne

his owne dutye, whiche shall cleare[ly] appeare too a kyng in Christ, to head gouerners vnder the kyng, in the Apostles, beyng most neare about Christ, and to all other men, in that multitude of the people, whiche folowynge Christ, were obedient to fyt doune at the commaundment of his Disciples, not knowyng, nor enquiring why they were so commaunded.

And as surely as this wonderfull miracle was done to the great confort of them in Christes tyme: so truly is it left in writyng for to learne vs by pacience and confort of the Scriptures, to haue good hope at this tyme.

And as Christe, hauynge alwayes speciall respecte vnto hys audience, dyd teache the fysbers by talkyng of nettes, preachynge vnto the Iewes by dyuers parables, and called the Gentyles by the eloquence of Paule: so I, in handlyng of this miracle, hauing respect vnto thys audience, wyll applye the wonderfull great charitable prouision of Christe, vnto the Kynges Maiestye: the faythfull diligence of the Apostles, vnto the nobilitie: and the dewe obedience and hertye thankfulness of the multitude, vnto all other of the communaltye. Not doubtyng but that charitable prouision of liberall benefites, wyll be a thyng most plesant and honorable for the Kynges Gracious Maiestye, and faythfull diligence in disposyng great benefites most conuenient, and commendable for all that be in high authoritie: and finally, humble obedience, and vnfayned thankfulness to be most necessary, requisite, and looked for at this tyme, in all inferiours and commune sorte of people in Englande.

Marke a litle after the begynnyng of the fyxt Chap. of Iohan, and ye shall heare, when as much people [commynge vnto Iesus, hauyng nothyng to] eate, what Iesus dyd. I wyll passe the discripcion of the wyldernes, with the causes and the maner of the peoples goyng together, and begynne at that whiche Christ dyd, when they were cummyng towards hym.



Iesus lifting vp his eyes, and seeyng muche people come vnto hym, sayde vnto Philip: Frome whence shall wee b[u]ye bread, that these may eate? This he sayd temptyng hym: for he himself knew what he wolde do. Philippe answered vnto hym: Two hundreth penyne worth of breade wyll not be sufficient vnto these so that euerye one myght take a lytell. One of hys disciples Andrew, Symon Peters brother, sayth vnto hym: There is one boye here, whych hath .v. barley loaues and .ii. fyses, but what ar those amongest so many? Iesus said: Make the men to fyt down. There was muche grasse in the place. The men therefore sat doune, about the nombre of .v. thousand. Iesus tooke the breade, and after thanks geuyng, dyd diuide it vnto his disciples, and the disciples to them that were sette: And lyke wyse of the fyses, so muche as they woulde. And when they were filled, he sayde vnto his disciples: Gather vp the broken meates remaynyng, that nothyng bee lost. They gathered therefore, and fylled .xii. baskets full of those meates which remayned, after that thei hadde eaten. The men therefore seeyng what a sygne Iesus hadde done, sayde that this is trulye the Prophet whiche cummeth vnto the worlde.

O Mercifull Lorde, what a greef is it to see those which a man loueth hertely, with suche diseases infected, that euery thing ministred by the Phisicion to doo them good, by their owne vnquietnes and misfynge of the same, doth encrease their greuous dangerous fycknes. For these [people in the wildernesse, destitute of all prouision, and in great lacke and neede of bodily sustenance, were then by a wonderfull

miracle, plentifully fedde of Christ, occasionyng then by the yearthly and bodily foode, to desire and seeke the bread of life, descendyng from heauen: but then tooke, and turned that occasion cleane contrary, imaginyng to make Christe an yearthly Kyng, and were so greedie to feede their bodies, that thei had no desire nor tast of the foode of the soule. And now England hauyng occasion, by the abolishyng of Papistrie, to embrace sincere Christianitie, toured that occasion, to take the spoyle of Papistrie, whiche is the cause that many neglecte, and sclaunder sincere Christianitie. And so haue, and doe tourne all occasions of godly charitable reformation, into worldly couetous corruption. And the] people [of this audience], hauyng great occasion of confort, bi reason that in [t]his place, through the true preachyng of gods word, all synne is plainly and freely rebuked: and those synnes especially which dooe appertayne vnto magistrates, wherby any man of indifferent iudgement, may thynke that these magistrates beeyng present, and willingly hearynge, bee purposed to amende: These people I saye, that thus haue a great occasion of conforte offered vnto them, by their owne mistakyng of it, dooe tourne all to their further grieue and daunger. For they speake vnreuerently, and vntruly flaunder the magistrats, not only with the faultes that bee here named, but also with rebukyng, imprisonyng, and forbiddyng of the Preachers. And when as by the same mouth of the true preacher, their venemous tongues be rebuked, then thei spare not to say, that the Preacher hath learned his lesson in Iacke an apes court: doyng as much as lieth in them, to make other men, neither to reuerence the magistrates, nor beleue the Preacher. What thei them selves mean thereby, peraduenture by reason of blyndnesse, they wot not. But we knowyng the craft of the deuyll, as Paul writeth. ii. Cor. ii. perceiue yat he wold haue nothing in this place layde to the Rulers charge: Not fearyng how muche be spoken to those of the people, which be past any amendment by

wordes: But all that the deuyll feareth, is, lest that the Rulers be put in remembraunce of the great daunger that they be in, for sufferynge so great enormityes vnpanyshed amongest the people.

I therefore trustyng to do most good in that whiche the deuyll laboureth the most to hyndre, wyll laye great and many fautes vnto them that haue most power and authoritie. For sure I am, that rulers ordeyned by God to see the ignoraunt instructed, and the euyll punyshed, be in great daunger of Gods vengeance, for the great and manifolde enormities whiche do grow and spring of ignoraunce, for lacke of knowledge, and of dissolutenes for lacke of due correction.

And you people be ye sure that the more their daunger is, for lacke of prouision and punyishment for other mens faultes, the greater is the damnacion of them that commit and doo these fautes.

Nowe I trustyng to God, and not fearyng the deuyll, wyll proceede to declare and applye this parte of scripture vnto this Audience, so that for no man I wyll cloke or flatter anye vyce.

Iesus lyftyng vp his eyes, and seeynge muche people cummyng vnto hym, &c.

Here note two thynges: in the people note coming vnto Christ, and in Christ, note charitable prouision for the people. For in this people dothe Christ declare by example, and proue in experience his doctrine to be true, whiche he had afore taught, saying: Fyrst seeke for the kyngdome of God and the rightoufnes, therof, and all these other, meanyng necessaryes, shal bee ministred vnto you. For here they folowyng Christ, to seke the kyngdome of God, had not onlye this kingdome of God, this bread of lyfe, this woorde of saluacion preached vnto them, but also, all their diseases healed, and their hungrye belyes withe good meates plentifully fylled.

Yea, the plentye of these people hauyng enough,

euen so much as they woulde, was farre more then the plenty of crafty Lawers, disceitful Merchauntes, couetous greedygutttes, and ambitious prollers, whiche canne neuer haue ynough : but alwayes contynew in vnfaciable hunger, and neede of couetousnes. As [in] the. [xx]xiiii. Psal. declareth : *Diuites eguerunt*:¹ The ryche haue felt neede and hunger : but they whiche seeke the Lorde, lacke no goodnesse [gooddes].

He that seeketh to be ryche, be he neuer so poore a slaue, or so mightye a Lorde, he falleth into dyuers temptacions and snares of the deuyll : but they that seeke the Lorde, shall lacke no goodnes. Seke for to be ryche, and thou shalt fynd sorow, miserye, and mischeif : Seeke for to be godlye, and thou shalt fynd confort, welth and prosperitie, with al maner of felicitie. If thou wylt be godly, thou must folowe Christ : thou must not folow the steppes of his feete, which be taken vp into heauen oute of thy fyght, but thou oughtest to folowe the doctrine of his worde, which is lefte here [here left] vpon earth, to guyde the steppes of thy lyfe, in the way of peace. And whyther wylt Gods worde guide the in the tyme of thy trouble and necessitie? Surely vnto the Lorde, whyche sayth: *Propter miseriam inopum, &c.*² For the miseryes sakes of the confortlesse, and fyghynges of the poore, now wylt I ryse, sayth the Lorde.

O Lorde, seeynge thou haste manye people in Englande, that as yet be in miseris without confort, and in pouertie, and lacke helpe, how dooest thou aryse vnto them? Vnto this the Lorde answereth, in the. xxxiiii. of Ezechiel : *Suscitabo super eos pastorem vnum*,³ &c. I wylt set vp ouer them one pastor, euen my feruaunt Dauid, he shall feede theym, and he shall be their pastor, and I the Lord, wyl be their God. This prophecye was written longe after Dauids tyme. Wherefore by Dauid here named, is signified and meante suche a Kyng as shalbe as faythfull and diligent to keepe, feede, and cherysh his subiectes within hys owne Realme, as was Dauid to his people within Israell [that same is Christ in his Kyngdome, in his auctoritie?]

¹ Psa. xxxiv. 10 (Latin).² Psa. xii. 5.³ Ezek. xxiv. 23.

[And] We hope truste and beleue, that oure gracious Kyng, indued with the faythfull diligence of Dauid, is ordeyned of God, to gouerne, cherish and feede vs the people of this his Realme. Wherfore accordynge to the[e]xample of Christe Iesu, most Christen and Gracious Kyng, for the reuerence of God, which hath set you vpon the high hyll of honor and authoritie, lyst vp your gracious eyes of charitable pitie, and behold much people throughoute all Englande, comyng to seeke releefe, ease, and conforte, sente from God vnto them, by your excellent Maiestye. For althoughe there hathe ben to much mercy shewed vpon the generacion of vipers, the vngracious rebels: Yet is there manye poore people, whiche lyke symple sheepe, shorne to the bare skynne, haue as yet little prouision and great neede: euen as .v. thousandes in wildernes folowed Christ and his Apostles, so many thousandes in Englande, past all other hope and refuge, folow your gracious maiestye and honorable Counsell. For their persons [parsones], which shouldelyke shepheardes feede them, doo lyke thieues robbe, murther and spoile them. And their landlords, which shuld defend them, be most heauye maisters vnto them: Yea, all maner of officers doo not their duties to kepe the people in good ordre, but rather take such fees as maketh the people veraye poore. Who so hathe eyes, and wyll see, mai easely perceiue that those personages, which be most in nombre, and greatest in value. Throughout all England be no shepherds houses to laye vp fodder to feede the poore sheepe of the parish, but theeuysh dennes, to conuey away great spoyle from all the ryche men of the parish. I say ther is no person there to releue the poore and nedy, with natural sustinaunce in keepyng of house, and to feede all ingenerally with the heuenly foode of Gods woorde by preachynge: But there is a persons deputie or fermer, which hauyng neither habilitie, power, nor auctoritie to doo the persons dutye in feedyng and teachyng the parysh, is able, sufficient, and stout

ynough to chalenge and take for his maysters dutie, the tenth parte of all the parish. Likewise other officers take many fees, and do few duties: And especially landlordes take exceedynge fynes and rentes of their tenautes, and doo no good vnto their tenautes.

Now my Lordes, bothe of the laitie and of the clergie, in the name of God, I aduertise you to take heede: for when the Lorde of all Lords shal see his flock scatered, spylte, and loste, if he folowe the trace of the bloude, it wyll leade him euen streight waye vnto this court, and vnto your houses, where as these great theues which murther, spoyle, and distroye the flockes of Christ, be receaued, kepte, and mainteyned.

For you mainteyne your chapleynes to take Pluralities, and your other seruautes mo offyces then they can or wyll discharge.

Fye for synne and shame, eyther gyue your seruautes wages, or els let them go and serue those which do gyue them wages. For nowe your chapleynes, your seruautes, and you* your selues haue the persons, the shepherdes, and the offycers wages, and neither you nor they, nor no other dooeth the persons, the shepherdes or the offycers dutye, except peraduenture ye imagen that there is a paryshe prieste, curate, whiche dooeth the persons duty. But although ye do so ymagen, yet the people do feele and perceyue that he doeth meane no other thing but pai your duty, paye your dutye. Yes forsoth, he ministreth Gods sacramentes, he sayeth his seruyce, and he readeth the homilies, as you syne flating cowrtiers, which speake by imaginacion, tearme it: But the rude lobbes of the countrey, whiche be to symple to paynte a lye, speake foule and truly as they fynde it, and saye: He ministreth Gods sacraments, he flubbers vp his seruice, and he can not reade the humbles. Yet is there some that can reade very well: but how many of those be not either superficialis papystes, or els carnall gospellers, whiche by their euill example of luyng, and worse

doctrine, do farre more harme then they do good by their fayr reading and faiyng of seruyce. But put the case, as it maye be, that there bee at a benefyce in some place at somtime, some good curate: all those fummes wyll make but a fewe in nombre, and yet ye see many persons in many places absente from their benefices, whiche if they be seldome absent, may be good, but if they be continually or for the most part absent, then can they be neither good, honest nor godly. For if their dutye be vndone, then can no man excuse them: if it be doone, then is it by other, and not by them: and then why dooe they lyue of other mens labours? He that preacheth the gospell, shulde lyue vpon the gospell, as God hath ordeyned: As for those, *Qui mollibus vestiuntur, in domibus Regum*,¹ whiche go gaye in Kynges houses, and either mosell the labouring oxe, or els spoyle the poore parish in the cuntry, be of the deuyls ordinaunce. As there is in all offyces, some putte in by Christ, some by the deuyl: so is there in personages [Parsonages], some sente from Christ as shepherds to fede, and some from the deuyl, as theues to deuoure. Yea, amongst all kyndes of offycers, some bee true Prophettes and shepheardes in dede, and some haue shepe skyns, and be rauenyng wolves in deede. The one taketh paynes in doying of his dutye, and the other seketh gaynes in professyng of his duty. Take heede of those, for they are erraunt theeues.

Alas, if all those whiche take the names and professyons of offycers, for desyre of luker and honor, and do not execute the duties belongyng to their offyces with paynful diligence, be errant theues, as they be in deede, then is there manye a stronge erraunt theefe amongst them that be called honest, worshipfull, and honorable men.

For they haue the names, the authorities and vauntages of those offyces giuen and payed vnto them, the duties of the whiche be veray slenderly or nothyng at al executed amongst the people.

¹ Matt. xi. 8.

If I were in anye other place in all Englande, I could and wolde vse an other trade of preachynge afore an other audience: but beyng called of God by your appoyntement vnto this place at this tyme, my conscience doth compell me to vse this trade and no other, afore this solemne audience. Wherefore with dreede and feare of God, with charitable pitie of the people, with most reuerende loue and homage vnto your honors, I must needes crye with the prophet Efaie: *Principes Sodomæ, populus Gomorrae*.¹ Heare the woorde of the Lorde ye Princes of Sodome, ye people of Gomorra: *Quo mihi multitudo victimarum vestrarum*.¹ What care I for the great nombre of your sacrifices, *Dicit Dominus*, sayth the lord: rebukyng all the sacrifices, ceremonies, and feastes of the Iewes, which he himselfe had commaunded to be obserued and kepte: by the which thyng left in writynge, he doth teache and commaunde me howe to speake of your wel doynge here in England. Heare therefore ye Princes of Sodome, and ye people of Gomor, thus sayth the Lord. What pleasure haue I, yea what care I for al your Englishe Bibles, Homilies, and all youre other bookes: fet furthe no more godly seruyce to honor me with: I hate them all with my herte, they are greuous vnto me, I am wery of them: Yea, it is a great payne for me to suffer them. Why, o lord, these be good, these be godly, and these be necessary thynges.

Truth it is, the faulte is not in the thynges that be fet furthe, but in you that haue fet them furthe. *Manus enim vestræ plenæ sunt sanguine*.² For your handes are ful of blood.

Your handes, your seruyces [seruice] and your houfes be ful of persons luynges, Preachers liuynges, and offycers liuynges. And by you, the persone hath his dispensacion, the preacher is put to scilence, and the offycer vnpunysht, for neclectynge of his dutye. And so through the negligence of the keepers, [(]good order, which is the pale of the parke of this commune welth decayed[]), the dere therof, most dearly bought with

¹ Isa. i. 10, 11.

² Isa. i. 15.

Christes bloude, haue frayed oute of their owne feedynge, to distroy the corne of all mens liuynges : Where as very necessity hath compelled you with such force to driue them backe, as must needs distroye manye of those dere. Those people I mean, which you haue cheryshed and kept, and as yet doo loue and pitie aboue all other iewels, commodities and pleasures. Alas, these that take the liuynges, and doo not the duties of Persons, Preachers, landlordes, Bailyes, and of other officers : These flatterers, these wolves in lambes skyns, these deuyls in mens vyfers haue caused you to be thought and taken as cruell oppressers of those [these] people, whose furious wylde rage ye dyd suppress and keepe vnder, of veraye charitable pitie towards them, and all other, whiche with that rebellious rage, shulde haue be all together distroyed, if the help of your power and auctoritie had ben anye longer differed.

Surely, vntyll that these prollers for them selues, these children of the deuyll, these sowers of sedicion be taken out of the way, either by reformation, or by distruction, your charitable pitie and prouision for the people, and their reuerende loue and obedience towards you, shall neuer be seene, felt, and knowen. Nowe, as Helye was guilty of the whordome, extortion, and abhominacion of his sonnes, so are your hertes full of crueltye, and your handes full of bloude, not so muche by doying, as by sufferyng all these euyls. Wherefore *Lauamini, mundi estote* :¹ Wash, and make your selves cleane, with the teares of repentaunce. *Auferte malum cogitationum vestrarum ab oculis meis* :¹ Awai with the euil of your thoughtes from afore my eyes. Open your heartes, that the sworde of Gods word may come to wype awaye couitousnes, whiche is the roote of all euyll, planted in your hertes. For if that roote continew there, than can no good spring from you : but euen the most pure and holsome woorde of God sette furth by you, continuyng in couitousnes, wyl be abhominable in the syght of God, offense vnto

¹ Isa. i. 16.

the people, and damnable vnto your felues. Wherefore, *Quiescite agere peruerse*:¹ Seace to peruerte, manye thynges from euyll vnto worfe. *Discite benefacere*:¹ Learne to do well, in conformyngal thyngs that be amisse, vnto a good ordre. *Querite iudicium*:¹ Seeke [Search] for righteous iudgement, which is almost banyshed out of Englande. Alas what a iudgement is this, a superfluous papiste, whiche hathe made the faulte, shall haue a pension out of a Chauntrie, so longe as he lyueth, and a poore paryshe whiche hathe great neede and doone no faulte, shall lose and forsayte many Chauntries vtterly for euer. *Subuenite oppresso*:¹ Helpe the oppressed people that be loaden with heuye burdeyns of paynge wages to manye offyces, and faynte for lacke of releefe, and due seruyce of the offycer. *Iudicate pupillo*:¹ Iudge so to the fatherles chyldrens behofe, that wardship mai be a good prouision for fatherles chyldren, and not an vncharitable spoyle of yong mens landes. *Defendite viduam*:¹ Shielde the wydow from all mens iniuryes, and compell them not to marye your vnthrifty seruantes.

Thus hath God by Esaye in his tyme, and by me at this tyme described Rulers Faultes, with a waye how to amende them. Therefore, *Principes Angliæ*:¹ Ye head rulers and gouernors of England, fyrst see, acknowledge and* amende your owne fautes: And then, perusyng all vnder offycers, confyder, and note how few shepheards and offycers doo feede and keepe, by doying dutyes, and how many theeues, and wolves do robbe and spoyle the flockes, by takyng fees here in Englande: and then shall ye perceauie that there must nedes be manye sheepe, that with their hertes, myndes, and expectacion, do folow the Kynge's Maiestye, and you of his honorable counsell, so farre paste the houses and cyties of their owne prouision, that yf thei haue not spedy reliefe at your handes, many of them is lyke to feynte and decaye by the way.

Therefore this confydered and knowen, as Christ lyftyng vp his eyes, dyd teache you to see and con-

¹ Isa. i. 16, 17.

fyder the people: so learne by that whiche foloweth in Christes dooyng, what shalbe your dutye after that ye see and knowe the multitude, the state and condition of the people.

And he sayd vnto Philip: From whence shall we bye breade, that these maye eate? But this he sayde to proue him: for he him selfe knewe what he wolde doo.

Christ said to Philip, as euery Christen King ought to say to his Counsell: From whence shal we that be gouernors, keepers and feders, bye and prouide with our own costes, labor, and diligence, bread, foode and necessaryes, that these may eate and be releued, which be our subiectes, in obedience, brethern in Christ, and fellow heyres of the heauenly kyngdome.

Pharao with his Counsell in Egipte, consulted howe to bryng the welthy people vnto miserye: so that he is a very Pharonicall tyrant, which laboreth by oppression to thrust down the welthy people: And he is a saythful christen kyng, that humbleth himselfe by diligence to releue, conforte, and set vp the afflycted people. For the one, by worldiy policy, wolde haue much honor, and the other of godlye charitie wyll do much good. Christ also sayde this, to proue and trye Philip, knowyng him selfe what shoulde be done. So that here, Kynges and great men may lerne to trye and proue the honestye, wyt, and fidelitie of their Counsellers in such matters as they them selues be so perfect that they can discerne with what discrecion and mynde the Counseller doth answere.

[And in this we maie se, that God doeth not lacke, or neede any counsaile, or helpe of any manne, to dooe any good thyng, but would haue men to vnderstande how muche and wel that God, and how little or nothing menne can deuise, and dooe when as neede is. So therefore will God vse, and exercise men, as Christ here doeth vse, and exercise Phillip, Andrewe, and the other Disciples, for their owne necessitie, comferte, and commoditie to receiue, and

learne of hym, wherewith they maie dooe good vnto others. And this lesson had not Phillip yet learned.]

Philip aunswered, that two hundreth peny worth of breade wyll not serue vnto these, so that euerye one myght take a lytell.

In the which answere, as concernyng his wytte, he declareth it to be to slender to prouyde for so great a matter in so short tyme. And his mynde seemed to be such, as wolde not haue Christ to trouble him selfe with so great cares, but rather as the other Euangelistes do declare, to sende the people awai, and let them prouide for them selves. The same mynde and affection was in Peter, after that Christ hadde tolde his Disciples howe that he must go to Ierusalem to suffer fore paynes and miserable death. For then Peter tooke him a syde and sayde: Maister, fauour your selfe, doo not entre in to suche daunger and forowes.

And it is not vnlyke, but if your Magestye, with your Counsell, speake vnto your nobles for prouision now to be made for the people, ye shall fynde some that bee Philippians and Peters, whiche by settinge afore your eyes the hardnes of the matter, the tendernes of your yeares, and the wonderfull charges that shulde be requisite, wyll moue and counsell you to quiet youre selfe, to take your ease, yea, to take your pastyme, in haukyng, huntyng or gamnyng. Vnto whom your Magestie may answere, as Christe dyd vnto Peter: Auoide fro me Sathan, thou hyndrest me by thy carnall temptacion, to doo that thyng whiche God hath moued me vnto by his gracious inspiracion. Thou hast no tast nor fauour how delicious God is vnto a pure conscience, in godlye exerfyce of good workes. But all that thou regardest and felest, is voluptuous pleasure in worldly vanities. And therefore thou doest not perceauie, how that they, which be indued with a speciall grace of God, maye fynde more pleasure and pastyme in godly gouernaunce, to keepe togyther, and faue symple men, then in haukyng and

huntyng, to chafe and kyll wylde beastes. Yea, a godly kyng shall fynde more pleasure in casting lottes for Ionas, to try out offenders, whiche trouble the ship of this commune wealth, then in castyng dice at hafarde, to alow and maintayne by his example, such thynges as shulde not be suffered in a commune wealth. Yea surely, a good Kyng shall take farre more delyte in edifyng with conforte and deckyng with good order the Congregacion of his people, the Church and House of God, the heavenly Citie of Ierusalem, then in buildyng fuche houses as seeme gaye and gorgeous, and be in deede but vile earthe, stoncs, tymber and claye. Suche lyke answere ought your Magestye, and all noble men to make, if ye fynde anye of youre Counsellors more carnall than spiritual, more worldly then godly. Orels turne awai your eares from fuche Philippians, and heare other, as Christ dyd.

Then sayde vnto hym one of his Disciples, Andrew, Symon Peters brother, There is a boy here that hath fve barley loaves and two fyshes, but what auayle those among so manye?

Note here that this boye was the Apostles page, and these loaves and fyshes were their vittayles. For as appeareth in Marke, when he had made fearchc how many loaves they them selues had, this answer was made, that thei had. v. loaves and. ii. fishes: but what be thei amongest so many? As who shulde say: although these be al that euer we haue, and seeme more meete to be kepte amongest a fewe, then to be gyuen vnto many: yet forbicause thei [that] be cum [come], [whiche beyng] many haue more nede then we: yet [therefore] ar we willyng to giue them to be disposed, and wysshe that they were of more value to dooe more good amongest the people.

These men cared more for the Commune people then they dyd for them selues, and therefore were very meete to be Counsellors, and neare about a great Kyng. [And surely none can continue neare, and deare vnto our

kyng Christ but fuche, for others that euer prolle for priuate profite, bee hypocrites and flatterers as was Iudas.

And] Here wee perceyue what symple Philip, and good Andrewe thynke, but here is nothing declared of couetous Iudas counsell. No, for Christ beyng fully purposed to doo a good deede, dothe neither aske, nor heare any counsell of couetous Iudas: teaching all them which intende any goodnes, neuer to aske nor admit anye counsell of those whom thei know to be couetous. For trulye the couetous mans counsell, although it seeme neuer so good and honest, yet is it in deede nought and deuylsh. For what could seeme better counsell, then yat a litle ointment, the fwete smell of the whiche continued but a whyle among a few, shuld haue ben foulde for. iiii. hundreth pence, the great price of the whiche, bestowed amongest manye poore, shulde haue done them good for a great ceason [season]?

The Euangelist dothe shewe howe that Iudas dyd gyue thys counsell, not for that he had anye care of the poore, but because he was a theefe, and baire the bagges.

Iudas pretence was wonders goodly, to sell the oyntment for a great summe of money, to relieue the poore with: but his purpose was deuelysh, to get the money in his bagges, and keepe it to him selfe. And those in Englande, which dyd pretende, that besydes the abolyshynge of supersticion, with the landes of Abbeyes, Coliges [Colledges], and Chauntries, the Kyng shuld be enriched, learnyng mainteyned, pouertye relieued, and the commune wealth eased, and by this pretence, purposely haue enriched them selues, setting abroad incloystred papistes, to get their liuyngs by giuyng them pensions, yea, and thrustyng them into benefices to poyson the whole commune welth for the resignacion of those pencions, and so craftly conueying much from the King, from lernyng, from pouertie, and from all the commune welth, vnto their owne priuate vauntage. These mennes counsell semed better then Iudas counsell was: and their couetousnes, by their owne deedes appeareth

no lesse then Iudas couetousnesse dyd. Well, beware, for if ye play Iudas part on styll, and make no restitution, vntil ye go to hangyng, ye ar lyke to fynde desperation at th[e]ende of your life, bicause ye wold not by restitution amende your life. Ye noble men, and especialli you of the kings counsel, for the reuerence of God, pitie of the commen wealth, and safegarde of your selves, awaye with these Iudasses, let them go hang them selves: excepte peraduenture ye thynke yt fytt and necessary, that you fyrst hang them afore they betray you. For vndoubtedly, he that hath the couetousnes of Iudas in his hert, he wyll playe all the other partes of Iudas, if he euer haue fuche oportunitie as Iudas had.

Away with Iudas, and learne at Andrew, to faye vnto this kynge and his counsell intending to relieue the multitude of his people here in Englande, learne ye noble men to faye: Here is a boye: Here be seruantes and retainers of ours, which haue fyne loaves and two fyshes, many benefyces, some prebendes, with dyuers offices: yea, and some of vs our felues haue mo offyces then we can discharge. Pleaseth it your maiestie to take these into your handes, which haue ben kepte for vs, that they nowe in this greate nede, may be better disposed amongst your people. *Quid hoc inter tantos?*¹ These be verye small thynges towardes the amendment of so many lackes, in so great a multitude. How be it these wyll serue, so that there may be mo good Persons, good Preachers, and good officers placed abrode in euery countrey, whiche in doing their offices, keping of houses, and preachyng of gods word, may teache the ignoraunt, relieue the poore, punyssh the fau[l]tye, and cherysh the honest, and so repayre the pale of good ordre about this commen welth. For the loue of god gyue your seruantes wages, and cause them to restore these liuings, which comyng of the sweate of the labourer, be in dede the reliefe of the poore, ye maintenaunce of honesty, and the reward of vertue, yea, the very pale,

¹ John vi. 9.

wall, and bulwarkes of the commen wealth. The Apostles gaue al that thei had of their own, frely vnto other: stycke not you to restore yat now which ye haue of long time vncharitably kept from other.

Heare what foloweth: whan these fishes and loaues were brought vnto Iesus, make (sayth he) the people to fyt doune. God alwaies bestoweth his benefites vpon them that fyt doune in quietnes, and powreth furth his vengeaunce vpon those that be vnpacient, vnquiet, and full of busynesse. For as appeareth in Genesis: The people gathered together in the plain of Sannaer [Sanner], and made a great vprere, buyldyng a towre lyke rebels agaynst god, to get them a name. Howbeit god destroyed their handywork, confounded their langage, and scatred them abroad.

The Scribes and the Phariseys came vnquietly, tempting Christ, and requyred a sygne from heauen. Christ rebuked them sharply, and shewed them no sygne, but called them a frowarde and aduoutrous generacion. So the people in Englande gathered togyther, thei woulde make maistryes, and bee notable felowes, yea, the towre of their presumpcion shuld be buylt vp vnto heauen, in dispite of gentyl men and nobilitie: they haue partlye felte, and we haue ryghte pitifully seene how fore God was therewith offended. Now I heare saye there is as yet remainyng in Englande sum stiffe necked Iewes, which come presumptuously tem[p]tyng God, and say: if these our rulers be sent of God to take better order then other haue done, well then let theym begynne betyme to gyue vs a notable sygne and token, for els we wyll not bileeue, trust, nor obey them.

Well, I wyl tell you that thus whyfper: Euen as Christe was *Positus in resurrectionem et ruinam multorum in Israell*:¹ Set to restore and deokay manye in Israell: So be Christen rulers in euerye commune wealth, fet and ordeyned of God, to beate doune and kepe vnder these flurdye rebels, whiche be so euyll

¹ Luke ii. 34.

themselues, that thei can not thynke that any man doth intende to doo them good, and to reise vp, confor-te and cherishe the simple pacient people, which be of a good trust towards their rulers, knowynge that they themselfes haue deserued no euil: orels if they haue done euill, yet by repentaunce and amendment, do not dout to obteyne mercye at their rulers handes. So God hath ordeyned rulers to cheryshe the[e], if thou be made quiet and pacient, orels to punish the if you [thou] be vnquiet, busy, and sloborne. Learne at [S.] Paul. Ro. xiii. If you do wel, to trust wel of thy rulers, and if thou do euil, not to be without fere of their powers: for he beareth not ye sword without a cause. Take hede therefore ye rulers, for gods sake, and pitie of the people, seyng yat god hath geuen you a sword, to cut of rotten cankred membres, for ye safegard of ye hole body, knowing no canker to be so dangerus as is rebellion in a comen welth: If ye finde one person infected with that canker, away with him, for ye safegard of ye body of yat house. If one house be infected, away with it, for the safegard of yat toun. If ye toun be infected, awai with it, for ye safegard of the contrey. Yea, if a thyre or contrey be al poysoned, away with it, for the pitie and safegarde of the hole body of the comen welth. So ye se that the sharper yat your sword is, and ye soner that ye strike rebellion, ye more pitie ye shew [shewe ye] in cutting awai the lesse, and sauing ye more part and porcion of the people, being al of one body, of one realme and comen welth. Consider that Christ went from Ierusalem vnto wildernes, to draw ye gentle people from among ye sloborn scribes: and so christen rulers must now nedes defer ye time to draw ye people yat be good and trust well, from among this froward generacion, whiche of presumcion loke to haue ordre taken as they require and appoint ye time, ye place, and ye thing. Wherefore ye yat be good quiet people beware of these busi felowes, and as this multitude which ought to be your example, folowed christ into wildernes, so

folow you christen rulers, gods officers, your chefe gouerners in england. And as thei dyd not murmour, saiing: why shal we fyt doune here in wildernes, being an infinit number wher no meat is, feing that in the cities where was more meate, and lesse gatherynge of the people, we had neuer feast gyuen of hym by his Apostles?

So I say, do not you grudge and faye: why shall we quiet our selues nowe, trustynge to releefe, where wee see nothyng, and were nothyng at all releued when there was great plentye of landes, and goodes of Abbeyes, Cole[d]gies, and Chauntries? Do not murmour so vngodly, but see that there bee no faulte in you, and ye shal fynde no lacke in God. Surely, excepte ye do fytte doune quietly, ye shall sooner prouoke Gods vengeaunce to your damnacion, then deserue any releefe of Gods offycers, to your comfort. Syt doune and be quiet, for the same rulers and ministers are ordeyned of God, to feede you with plentye: whiche be commaunded of God to make you fyrst to fytte doune in ordre and quietnes. Yea, and herke all ye that be godlye Rulers: there was much grasse in the place. God had prouided much grasse for them that loked for no carpets: geuing all godly gouernours example to prouyde thynges necessarye for those people that loketh for no superfluities. But alas, here in England, superfluous gorgeous building is so much prouided for ryche mens pleasures, that honest houses do decay, where as labouryng men ought to haue necessary lodgyng. It is a comen custome with couetous landlodes, to lette their housynge so decaye, that the former shalbe fayne for a small rewarde or none at all, to gyue vp his leasse, that they takynge the groundes into their owne handes, may turne all to pasture: so now Olde Fathers, poore Wydowes, and yong Chyl-dren lye beggyng in the myrie stretes.

O mercyfull Lorde, what a numbere of Poore, Feble, Haulte, Blynde, Lame, fycklye, yea, with idle vacaboundes, and dissemblyng kaityffes mixt among them,

lye and creepe, beggyng in the myrie streates of London and Westminster?

Nowe speakyng in the behalfe of these vile beggers, forasmuche as I know that ye vilest person vpon erth, is the liuely image of almightye God, I wyl tell the[e] that art a noble man, a worshipful man, an honest welthye man, especially if thou be Maire, Shirif, Alderman, baily, constable or any such officer, it is to thy great shame afore the worlde, and to thy vtter damnacion afore god, to se these begging as thei vse to do in the streates. For there is neuer a one of these, but he lacketh eyther thy charitable almes [almose] to relieue his neede, orels thy due correction to punyssh his faute. A great syn and no lesse shame is it for him that faith he is a christen man, to see christ lacke things necessary, and to bestow vpon the deuyll superfluosly. It is Christ Iesu[s] himself that in the nedi doth suffer hunger, thirst and colde. It is the deuill him selfe, that in the wealthye fareth dientily, goeth gorgiously, and vseth superfluitye. Looke Mattheue the. xxv. and there shall ye see playnlye that it is Christ which lacketh sufficient in the neadye: and therefore the deuyll beyng contrary to Christ, contrariwise hath to much in the wealthye.

You also that do prouide that your cattell dooe not longe tarye pynned in a folde where there is no grasse, whye dooe you suffer youre owne brethren in Christ, withoute prouision to lye in the streates, where is muche myer? These sely fols [feelie foules] haue ben neglected throughtout al England and especially in London and Westminster: But now I trust that a good ouerfeer, a godly Byshop I meane, wyl see that they in these two cyties, shall haue their neede releued, and their faultes corrected, to the good ensample of al other tounes and cities.

Take heede that there be much grasse to fytte vpon, there as ye commaund the people to fyt doune, that there be sufficient housyng, and other prouision for the people there as ye commaunde them to be quiet. The men fatte doune about fyue thousandes in number.

If they had not ben obedient to fyt doune, Christ wolde not haue ben liberal to haue gyuen theym meate.

Meate was prouided for the Commens of Englande, and ready to haue ben deliuered: But when they were bydden to fyt doune in quietnes, they rose vp by rebellion, and haue lost all the chere of that feast. Yet that notwithstanding, I trust that those whiche sat quietly in dede, shall soone be fedde with plentye, if they fytte styll, vntyll it may conueniently be disposed. I pray God they may, I trust thei shall. The Euangelist sayth that the men fatte, namyng neither women nor chyl dren: how be it there was bothe women and chyl dren, as appeareth in the other Euangelistes. And men be here named only, bicause all women and chyl dren dyd folowe the example, and obey the commaundement of men, chyl dren of their [the] fathers, and women of their husbands.

Let not therefore your wyues and chyl dren, when they come abrode, be so bolde openly, as to say or do any thynges of them selves, but as they haue example and commaundement of you. Nowe the multitude placed in quietnes:

Iesus toke the loaues, and when he had gyuen thanks, he diuided them vnto his Disciples, and the Disciples vnto them that were set doune: and likewyse of the fyshes, so muche as they wolde.

Here learne fyrst of Christ, to take nothyng, be it neuer so lytell, but with thanks rendered therefore vnto God: For of God surely thou hast receaued it, by what messenger or meane so euer thou came vnto it. Then secundarily, learne at the Apostles to giue vnto other, that which the Lord hath gyuen vnto the, that thou mayst truly say with the Apostle Paul: *Quod accepi a domino, hoc tradidi vobis*:¹ That whiche I receaued of the Lorde, haue I geuen vnto you. Beware that thou playe not the wycked seruauent, which kepte his talent hyd, and not deliuered vnto any vse,

¹ 1 Cor. xi. 23,

for then it shall be taken from the, and thou shalt be caste into vtter derkenesse.

Now, to applye this miracle vnto this present time, time, the Kyngs Magestye may learne at Christe, to take of his seruantes, Prebendes, Benefices, Improperacions, and all maner of Offyces, that be not presently occupied and executed of a faythfull diligent offyicer: and after thanks geuen vnto God therefore, to delyuer them vnto his Counciell and Nobilitie, to be disposed amongst the people of his Realme, which be in such hungre and lacke of faythfull offycers, and hoursekeepers, and godly preachers, that thei must needes faint, excepte they be sone prouided for.

And in this distribucion of offyces and benefyces, your Magestye with your Counsell had nede to stande and beholde the dealyng of your nobles, as Christ dyd of his Apostles. For it is not vnlike but as there was amongst Christes Apostles, so wyll there be amongst euerye Christen Kynges Councillers and Nobles, some Iudas, whiche is to be trusted no further than he can be seene. For in fyght Iudas dothe as other of his felowes do: but beyng out of fyght, he solde his Maister. And so the mooste couetous of them all, wyll be a frayde to do any thyng amyffe, if you loke vpon: but if your backes be turned, then wyll couetous Iudas sell dearely that which his liberall maister gyueth freely. As for example of late dayes, the Kynges Magesty that dead is, dyd gyue a Benefyce to be appropriate vnto the Vniuersitie of Cambridge, *In liberam et puram elemosynam*: As free and pure almes. How be it, his handes were so vnpure, which shuld haue deliuered it, that he receaued. vi. hundred poundes of the Vniuersitye for it. Whether that this. vi.C. poundes were conueied to the kings behoofe priuely for that Almes, which by playne wrytyng was giuen freely, or els put into some Iudas pouch, I wold it wer knowen. For nowe, by suche charitable Almes, the kyng is slandered, the parysh vndone, and the Vniuersitye in worse case then it was afore.

Pleaseth it your Magestye, with your honorable Counsell, for the reuerence of God, the pitie of the poore, and the godlye zele that ye haue to good lernyng, heare what hath ben done in your tyme.

Your Magestie hath had gyuen, and receaued by Act of Parliament, Collegies, Chauntries, and guylde for many good consideracions, and especially as appeareth in ye same Act, for erecting of Grammer scholes, to the educacion of youthe in vertue and godlynes, to the further augmentyng of the vniuersyties, and better prouision for the poore and needye. But nowe, many Grammer scholes, and much charitable prouision for the poore, be taken, solde, and made awaye, to the great flaunder of you and your lawes, to the vtter discomfort of the poore, to the greuous offence of the people, to the most miserable drounyng of youthe in ignoraunce, and fore decaye of the Vniuersities.

There was in the North countrey, amongest the rude people in knowledge (which be most readye to spende their lyues and goodes, in seruyng the Kyng at the burnyng of a Beacon) there was a Grammer schole founded, hauyng in the Vniuersitie of Cambridge, of the same foundation. viii. scholerships, euer replenished with the scholers of that schole, which schole is now solde, decayed, and losse. Mo there be of lyke forte handled: But I recyte thys only, bicause I knowe that the sale of it was once stayed of charitie, and yet afterwards broughte to passe by bribrye, as I hearde say, and beleue it, bicause that it is only bribrye, that customablye ouercometh charitie.

For Gods sake, you that bein auctoritie, loke vpon it.

For if ye winke at suche matters, God wyl scoule [that is to saie, looke with anger vpon you] vpon you. Thinke not that I do burden you with more than that, which God by his ordynance, not without your willes and consentes, hath charged you with all. For by whose fau[1]t[e] or negligence so euer it was, that things afore tyme haue ben vncharitably abused, surelye it is youre charge, whiche be now in

authoritie, to se at this tyme all fuche thynges as yet remain out of ordre, rightously, spedely, and charitably redressed. And as I do perceiue, that the abuse of these thynges afore tyme, hath offended God, troubled the commen wealthe, and brought some men towardes shame and confusion: So do I wysh, pray, and truste, that now the redresse of the same, may be to Gods pleasure, the peoples confort, and to the honor and establyshment of theym that be in most hyghauthoritie.

Heare therefore, and I wyll tell you more: There were in some townes. vi. some. viii. and some a dozen kyne, gyuen vnto a stocke, for the reliefe of the poore, and vsed in such wyse, that the poore cotingers, which coulde make any prouision for fodder, had ye mylke for a very small hyre: and then the number of the stocke referued, all maner of vailes besydes, bothe the hyre of the mylke, and the pryces of the yonge veales, and olde fat wares, was disposed to the reliefe of the poore, these be also solde, taken, and made away. The Kyng beareth the slaunder, the poore feeleth the lacke, but who hath the profit of fuche thynges, I can not tell: but well I wot, and all the worlde sayth, that the Act of Parliament made by the Kynges Magestye, and his Lords and Commens of the Parliament, for the mayntenance of learnyng, and reliefe of the poore, hath serued some, as a most fyt instrument to robbe learnyng, and to spoyle the poore. If you that be now in auctoritie do not loke vpon such thynges to redresse them, God wyl loke vpon you, to reuenge them. Here haue I reherfed them, that the Kynges Magestye, with you of his counsell maye learne, not onlye by the doctrine and examples of scripture, but also by experience in his owne lande, to see and confyder howe his benefytes, put into the handes of his nobles and officers, be disposed and vsed amongest his inferioure people.

For if landed men and officers, by keping of houfes, and doing of their dutyes in their countryes, do bestowe amongest [emong] the people, all that they haue receaued of God, by the kynges gyft, their fathers in-

heritaunce, or other wayes: then shall God giue such increase, that euery man shall haue enough.

As Salomon, the. xi. of the Prouerbes testifieth: *Alii diuidunt propria, et ditiores fiunt: alii rapiunt non sua, et semper in egestate sunt*:¹ Some dispose and gyue their owne, and become rycher and rycher: some doo rauelyn and spoyle that which is not their owne, and be euer in lacke and neede. As ye see in dailye experience, those that do their owne duties in executynge their offyces, and bestowe their owne goodes in keepynge good houses, haue euer suche plentye, that all other men meruayle from whence God fendeth it. And those that doo no duties, nor keepe no houses, but brybe in their offyces, and polle their tenauntes, take so much, and haue so lytell, that all men wunder how the deuyl thei wast it.

Nothyng is more true than the gospel: *Date, et dabitur vobis*:² Gyue and it shall be gyuen vnto you. Giue plentifully vnto other, and God wyl gyue more plentye vnto you. For God wyll alwayes be afore hande, in giuynge good gyftes. For as appeareth in this gospell, when the Apostles had giuen vnto the people so much good meate as they desyred, then sayeth the Euangelist:

When thei were filled, Iesus sayeth to his disciples: Gather vp the broken meates that remayn, so that nothyng be lost. They therefore gathered, and fylled .xii. baskets ful with the broken meates remaining of that which they had eaten.

Here they gaue but. v. loaves and .ii. fyshes, and there was gyuen vnto them. xii. baskets ful of meates.

The Wydowe of Sareptha, gaue but one handfull of flowre, and a lytle oyle vnto Elias, and had gyuen vnto her agayne so muche as serued her and her sonne, al the tyme of the greate droughte .iii. Re[gu]. xvii. Learne therefore that couetous bribry and extorcion hath neuer ynough: and charitable liberalitie, euer hathe plentye. Here also maye ryche men learne, when and howe to

¹ Prov. xi. 24.

² Luke vi. 38.

fill their store houses. Surelye, euen as the Apostles dyd fill their baskettes, when the people haue [had] ynoughe, then by gatheryng vp that which els shoulde be lost. So dyd Iosephe in Egypt, suffre no corne to be lost in the yeares of plenty, but stored it vp in barnes, to relieue the people with, in ye tyme of dardth: Not as couitous carles do here in Englande forstall the markettes, and b[u]ye corne at all tymes, to begynne and encrease a dearth. Blessed be they that sell, to make good cheape, and cursed be they that b[u]ye, to make it deare. For Salomon sayeth, Prouerb. xi. *Qui abscondit frumenta, maledicetur in populis: benedictio autem super caput vendencium*:¹ He that hydeth vp corne, shall be cursed amongst the people: But blessing be vpon their heades, that sell.

Nowe, to teache Christen rulers their dutyes, in the example of Christes Apostles: marke how the Apostles dyd fyrst minister vnto the people, and than gathered vp for them selves: teachyng therby all Christen ministers, landelordes, offycers, and rulers, fyrste to minister vnto the people, euery one the dutye of his owne vocacion, afore they gather of the people, rentes, tythes, or fees, by the name and auctoritie of that vocacion. *Qui non laborat, sayth [S] Paul, non manducet*:² He that doth not labour, shuld not eat. He that doth no worke, shulde take no wages: he that dothe no dutyes, shoulde take no fees. Alas, this is Gods woorde, written in his wylle and Testament, sealed with Christes bloude, and yet the customes and lawes of Englande be cleane contrarye. For it hath ben customeably vsed, yea, and by lawes commaunded, to paye wages, tythes, and fees, although no labour, no offyce, no dutye be done. Yea, although he be not a labourer, a pastor, or an offycer in dede, but only by a pretended name, vnto whom these for the most parte be payed.

For he that hath the properties, and vseth the trades of a false thefe, and a cruell murderer, can neuer be a faythful offycer in dede, altho[u]gh he be so named by

¹ Prov. xi. 28.

² 2 Thess. iii. 10

his owne flatery, in the Patrons presentacion, in the Byshoppes induction, yea, and in the Kynges Patent, sealed with the brode Seale. I had nede to take heede howe that I speake openly agaynst any thyng in any mans Patent, sealed with the kings greate Seale: Muche more neede had you to take heede, how that ye do any thyng expressedly agaynst Gods wyll and Testament, sealed with Christes precious bloude. It is expressedly agaynste Gods Testament, to clothe a Wolfe in a Lambes skynne: to call a thefe, an officer: and a cruel murtherer, a charitable pastor: to call euyll, by the name of good: and good, by the name of euyll. Esaye. v. *Væ qui dicitis malum bonum*:¹ Wo be to you that cal euyl good. To you I say, which not only by sayings, but also in writynges, do name and cal thieues, murtherers, and wolves that be euyll, by the names of officers, pastors, and lambes, which be good. I dooe not only meane, Persones, Prebendaries, and other benefised men, but also all maner of* officers, which haue wages, fees, or luynges, bicause you gyue them suche names, and not for that thei do suche duties.

These be al Wolfes, and the names and tytles that you gyue them, be nothyng els but sheepe skynnes. Some saye, they wyll take better heede here after, but that which is now past, can not nowe be called backe, and amended. Yea, and it were great pitie, seeyng that they haue payed the fyrst frutes vnto the Kynges Magestie, and no small reward vnto other men, perchaunce bought their offices dearely, now to put them out of those liuyngs, with the losse of all those charges, whiche they haue bestowed in rewardes, as otherwayes, to gette suche liuynges.

Wo, wo, wo vnto you hipocrites that stumble at a strawe, and leape ouer a blocke, that strayne out a gnat, and swalowe vp a camell, that pitye more the losse of mens bribrye, which was geuen to corrupt some men, than the treding vnder fote of Christes blood, which was shead, to saue all men, that dooe imagen it pitie to driue the theues, murtherers and

¹ Isa. v. 20.

wolfes from amongest the lambes of God, redemed with Christes precious blood, and committed vnto your gouernaunce and kepyng.

As God shal help me, I speake with feare, pitie, and reuerence: if you do not rather pulle the shepes skines ouer the wolfes eares, and hange their carkases vpon the pales, than suffer them to contynewe styll, God wyll plucke you doune with some sodeyn mischief, rather than mainteyn or suffer you in so hygh auctoritie, to vse such vncharitable, vngodly, and cruel pitie. You knowe that some of them haue bought their benefices, haue bought their offyces, than must ye nedes knowe, that eyther Christ is a lyer, or els that they be entered in as theeues, to spoyle, murther, and to destroye.

If you suffre theeues, murtherers, and wolfes, to take their plesures amongest Gods lambes, I tell you playn, God wyll not long suffer you to be ye hed-shepherds, and gouernors and feders of his lambes.

And take hede you people, that on the other syde ye runne not into an vntollerable stobornes, deniing your rents, your tithes or other duties: for ye scriptur forbiddeth you vtterly, to deny or withdraw any thing from them: thou art commaunded if he contend to take thi cloke, to giue him also thy cote. What so euer is asked, rather gyue more, than by denying of that, not to shewe thy selfe to be an innocent sheepe that gyueth his fleese, but a noysome Goat, that stryketh with the horne. You are alwayes bounden to gyue the fleese. It is magistrates dutyes, to confyder and note, whether they be theeues, or shepheardes, dogges, or wolfes that taketh the fleese. Medle not with other mens dutyes, for if ye do, surely ye shal fynd no remedy, but prouoke vncolourable [vntollerable] vengeance.

Now to retourne [turne] to our particular purpose, let all theym that do receaue offices, landes, power, or auctoritie from God, by the kyngs gyfte, or by other meanes: Fyrst bestow and dispose the dutyes of those thyngs faythfully amongest the people, afore they gather

vp to them felues the reuenues amd commodities of the same from the people. And then, when as no man can come to meat, but by doing of labour, nor none to receauynge of fees, but by doing of duties, surely euery man shal haue as much as he deserueth, and no man shall lacke that which he needeth.

For he, that by doying of great duties deserueth the moste, by atteinyng the fees and rewardes due for the same duties, shall haue the best. And he that is in nede, hauing no trust to get any thyng by idlenesse, craft, or flattery, shalbe compelled to vse that labour and honest exercise, whiche shall relieue his nede sufficiently. Yea, by this mean no man shall spende his tyme in idlenesse, nor vse no [any] labour or diligence, without due recompence. For nede shall driue all men from slouthfull idlenesse, vnto labour and diligence: and where as no labour nor diligence lacketh his iust rewarde, there euery labouryng and diligent man, shal haue sufficient plenty. So ye see how this doth consequently ensue, that euery man shall haue sufficient inough and plentie, where as men do first dispose and minister, and giue according to their duties, and afterwards receiue, kepe and saue that which God doth sende as a rewarde, encreased and augmented, for doying of their duties.

So dyd the Apostles, after the faythful diligent disposing of the. v. loaves and. ii. fyses, receyue and keepe their rewarde wonderfullye augmented, to replenish and fyl. xii. baskets. So God graunt, that all officers in Englande, may with such faithful diligence do their duties, yat it may please God to giue to all the people sufficient enough, and vnto euery minister, the basket of his honest desire, heped vp by ye brym.

The men therefore feyng what a sygne Iesus had done, sayd that this is ye Prophet, whiche cometh vnto [into] the world. This is euen he whom Moises, the

law, and the prophetes do teache, to be the fullye and only sufficient fauour of ye world. Moises saing, in ye. xviii. of Deut. A Prophet of thy nacion and of thy brethren, lyke vnto me, shall the Lorde thy God rayse vp vnto the, him shalt thou heare. The lawe, as a tutour, leadeth and bryngeth al men to this fauour, to receaue of him that perfection, which the law it selfe lacketh. The Prophetes dyd tel long afore of this fauour, which is now comen in our tyme, after their dayes. This was the peoples confession of Christ, after that they were by so great a miracle, so plentifully fed. Christ, ofte afore had wrought wonderfull miracles, disputed learnedly, and preached plainly: but by all those meanes dyd he not so muche perswade the people, and wyne their heartes, as by this one miracle, in feedyng and cherishing the people. Yea, and whosoever listeth to mark thorow out all England, he shall see that a meane learned person, keeping an house in his parysh, and keypyng of godly conuerfacion, shall perswade and teach mo of his parishioners with comunicacion at one meale, than the best lerned doctor of diuinitie keypyng no house, can perswade or teache in his parish by preaching a dosen solemne sermons.

Lykewyfe the gentle man that kepeth a good house in his countrey, shall be in better credit with the people for his liberalitie, than the best oratour or lawyer in England, for all his eloquence. I do not prayse those men which brybe and polle all the yeare to kepe riot in their houses for a fortnyght, a moneth, or a quarter of a yeare: But those I se be loued, trusted, and obeyed, that accordyng to their habilitie, keepe good houses continually.

And the chiefe cause why the commens doo not loue, trust, nor obey the gentle men and officers, is, bicause the gentle men and officers buyld many fayre houses, and kepe few good houses, haue plentye of eloquence to tell fayre tales, but vse lytell faythfull

diligence in doying of their duties. Wherefore, sende forth, and place in euery countrey godly preachers, wel disposed persons [Parsones], and faithfull diligent officers, of all sortes. Yea, but where shuld we now fynd liuyngs for al those.

For soth I do tell you : Out and away with the wily foxes, the false flatteryng theeues, and the rauening wolves, and than see how many loaves, how many offyces, prebends, and benefices ye finde voyde, how many you haue amongest your selues that your boye caryeth, that your chapleyns, your seruantes, and your householde offycers haue, and let all these be brought forth : and althoughe at the fyrst fyght they shall seeme to lytell, and few to serue so great a Realme with so manye shyres, beyng all runne nowe out of ciuil ordre into rude wildernes. Yet, after equal diuidyng and faithfull diligent ministryng of these [those] loaves and fishes, of these prebends, personages, and all kynde of offyce[r]s amongest the people, God of his goodnesse shall giue such encrease vnto the people, hauynge therby sufficient plenty of Christes holy word, of good ciuil ordre, and of charitable relief, than there shalbe remainyng so much tythes, offryng, rentes, fees, and rewards, as wyl fyl the xii. baskets of the Apostles, I meane the barnes, the houses, and purses of all faythfull diligente ministers and officers. Then shal this one acte perswade and allure the herts of all English men more then all that euer was done afore : For when they shall see, that by this Kyng and this Counsell, the wilye foxe of supersticion is vtterly banyshed, the false theefe of flattery apprehended and taken, and the cruell wolfe of couetousnesse slayne, and hanged vp by the heeles, so that the preachers, the persons, the officers, and all maner of pastors restored to their places, doo feede, cherish, and kepe their flockes, which were afore pilled, spoiled and deuoured : then shall they of herty courage, with one mynde, and one voyce confesse and acknowledge, that there [this] is a

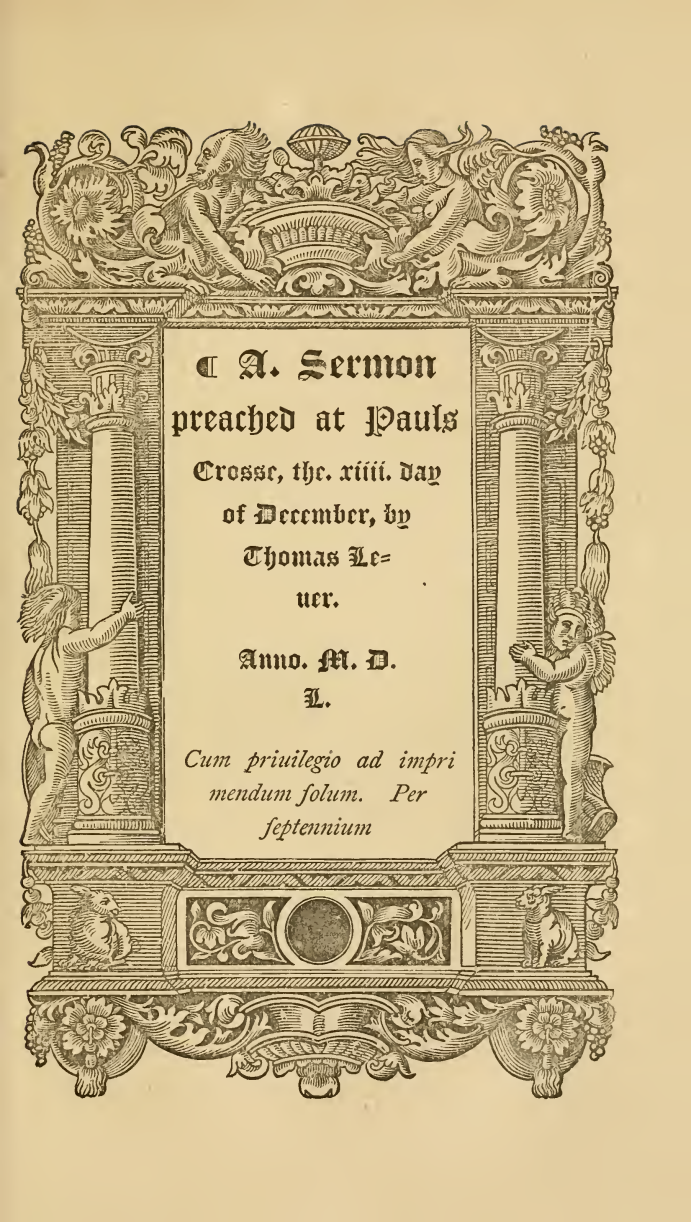
King sent from God, indued with the wyfdome of Salomon, and the faythfull diligent stoutnesse of Dauid his father, now guyded by godly counsell, to bring out of miserye, and prosper in welth vs the people of this his* Realme.

Dixit Dominus.

The Lord hath
spoken it.

God graunt you grace to
do it, with thankes and
prayse to hym
for euer.

I Imprinted
at London by Ihon
Daie, dwelling ouer Al-
dersgate, and Wyl-
liam Seres dwel-
ling in Peter
Colledge.
The yere of our Lorde God
M. D. L. the nynty
daye of Apryll.

The title page is framed by an elaborate border. At the top, two winged figures (cherubs) are shown in profile, facing each other, with a sunburst between them. The sides of the border are decorated with two tall, fluted columns. On the left, a winged figure leans against the column, pointing upwards. On the right, another winged figure leans against the column, looking towards the center. The base of the border features two seated figures, possibly lions or dogs, flanking a central circular medallion with a floral design. The entire page is filled with intricate scrollwork and floral patterns.

C A. Sermon
preached at Pauls
Crosse, the. xiiii. Day
of December, by
Thomas Le=
uer.

Anno. M. D.
L.

*Cum priuilegio ad impri=
mendum solum. Per
septennium*

Unto the right honor=
rable Lordes, and others of the
Kyniges Magestie hys priuie Coun=
sell, Thomas Leauer wyssheth in=
crease of Grace and godly
honoure.



Mercy, grace, and peace from God the father almyghty, vnto your honours, wyth my moste humble and reuerente comendacions.

The enemye of God and man alwayes fekyng lyke a rorynge lion whome he may deuoure, is much at al tymes, but then especially to be taken hede vnto, when as he hym self beyng transformed into the aungell of lyght, doth cloke the ministers of hys myschiefe in a pretended shew of godlines and vertue, so that therby they be suffered of al men, and maynteined of many men, to worcke and brynge vnto passe a deuillishe dysorder, and shamefull dishonestye in a Christen commen wealthe.

Wherefore, feynge that in thys realme preachers, officers, marchauntes, crafts men, labourers, and such lyke, be displaced of their roumes, and dysapoynted of theyr lyuinges by those whych through a pretended name, and outward apperance, seme to be necessary and profytable ministers in a common wealthe (howbeit in theyr owne doynge may be evidently tryed and knowen for to be spoylers and disturbers of any common welth) suredly you of the kynges most honourable counsell, beyng the chefe maiestrats and rulers in this realme, had nede to be ware, circumspect and diligent, lest that Sathan banyshyng al faithful Christians, whych should and wold prouyde to helpe one an other, do fyl

this realme ful of crafty flatterers, whych can and wyll deceyue, begyle, and spoyle one another.

Truly ther be no men more against Christ then those which by profession of Christen relygyon, and bearyng of a Christen name, doo rob Chryst of hys honor, and Christes ministers of theyr liuyngs: nor none more parilous ennemies vnto the kings maiesty, and vnto this realme, then those whyche haue the names of Englishmen, and the kyngs subiects with ye condicions and maners of enemies, and traitors.

Most gracious good lordes and maisters, for your reuerent loue towardes God, and the kyng, for your charitable pytye of myserable spoiled people, and for the necessary regarde of your owne honours, and the state of thys realme, se and confyder how that ambitious couetous men, do bye and sel, take and abuse personages, prebendes, offyces, fees, marchaundyse, fermes, landes, and goodes, so that prowlyng for them selues, they be neither afrayde, nor ashamed to spoile thys realme of preachyng of Gods gospel, of iustyce and equitie, of cheape and plenty, and of every thyng that should faue, kepe, or protytte a commune wealth.

Wherefore most gracious good lordes, and maysters, for the tender mercies of God in our Sauour Iesus Christ, take hede that neyther seruaunte, nor frende, retyner, nor youre selues do deceyue you wyth flatterye.

For seyng that ambitious couetous men do take, kepe, and enioye the rouses and lyuynges of euerye mannes vocacion, bothe you and we be in farre more daunger, then yf blockehoufes and bulwarkes made and kepte of the kynges faythful subiectes for the sauegarde of thys realme, were taken and abused of fuche Scottes or Frenchemen, as makyng spoyle for theyr owne profit, would not spare to dystroye thys realme.

There is very manye rowmes and lyuynges, belongyng both vnto the ecclesiastical mynistrye, and also vnto cyuyll policie, in the whyche be no fayethful subiectes, godlye diligente ministers and offycers, whiche by doynge of theyr duties, doo faue, kepe and comferte

the people: but couetous Idolatours, whych neglectyng theyr dutyes, and takynge commodities, doo dyforder, spoyle and dystroye the people.

Suerlye if there be any men that goo aboute to perswade the Kynges Magestye, or you of hys honourable Councell, that thinges in thys realme for the most parte be honourablye, godlye, or charytably reformed, they be but flaterers.

For papistry is not banyshed out of Englande by pure religion, but ouerrunne, suppressed and kepte vnder within thys realme by couetous ambicion. Papistrye abused many thyngs, couetousnes hath dystroyed more: papistry is supersticion, couetousnes is Idolatry. Papistrye afore tyme dyd obscure the Kinges honour, and abuse the wealth of this realme, couetousnes at thys tyme doth more abuse and decaye theym bothe, makynge the kynge bare, the people poore, and the realme miserable.

The Kynges procedynges to be red in his lawes, statutes, and Iniuncions be good and godly: but to be fene and knowen in the dedes and practises of his officers, seruantes, and subiectes, be vngodly, shameful, wicked. For in theyr doynge appeareth no retournynge from euil vnto good, by a godly reformation: but a procedyng from euyl vnto worfe, by an vncharitable spoyle, and deuyllyshe destruccion.

Landes and goodes be spoyled: prouyfyon made for learning and pouerty, is destroyed. Ye knowe in whose handes thys ryche spoyle remaineth, then can ye not be ignoraunt by whose meanes the wealth of this realme is spoyled and decayed.

If ye wyll haue a godlye reformation effectuouslye to procede, truste not the seruantes of Mammon, ennemys vnto God, and traitoures vnto the kynge, and spoylers of the people, wyth the setting forthe of your godlye lawes, statutes and ordynaunces, which be most contrary vnto theyr couetous myndes, and wycked dedes.

Theyr myndes are alwayes euyl, and theyr dedes be well knowen, when as you geue frelye, or suffer theym

by brybery to by vnto them felues authorytye: for then, being trusted to make better prouision for the pore, to erect mo Grammer schooles, to encrease and augment the vnyuersities, and to se the people taught louyngly, to reuerence, ferue, and obey God, the kyng, and you: they take prouifyon frome the poore, they fell awaye Grammer scoles, they decai the vniuersities, and they vse suche practises, as maketh God to be vnknown, the kynge dyfobeyed, and you suspected, hated, and enuyed of the people.

Take these false flatterers whyche haue enryched them selues, makynge the kynge bare, and the people poore, restore theyr landes and goodes vnto the kynge, theyr rowmes and offyces vnto faythfull and true offycers and ministers: and then shal the kyng be enryched, the realme vnspoyled, and the people delyuered from myserable captiuitie vnder cruel extorcioners, vnto an honest lybertye vnder Godlye gouernoures, whyche shall so dyspose the hartes and myndes of all people, that they wyllinglye shall be readye, not onlye to ferue the markettes wyth corne, but also to ferue God and the kynge with landes and gooddes, bodyes and lyues, when and where so euer you shal commaunde it.

Maruel not thoughe a faythful hearte, wyth humble obedyence and reuerente loue towards the kynges Maieesty, and you of hys honourable Godly counfel, do barst [burste] and poure [put] foorthe a lamentable complaynte of greuous sorrowe conceyued in seeynge the kyng shamefully begyled, you fore dishonored, and the wealthe of thys realme vtterly spoyled.

For menne dooe by offyces vnto them selues, and landes from the kynge: and by the onlye spoyle that is made in common offyces and vpon the kynges landes, bothe these bargens be payed for, and furthermore all such bargeyners wonderfullye enryched.

O mercyfull Lorde, what a griefe is it vnto a faythfull harte, hauinge iust occasyon to suspecte, that you lacke faythfull counfell to aduertise you of the gracious workynge of the Lorde beyng God, and of the freyle

fautes of youre selues beyng menne, in all youre doynge: for Gods grace woorkyng in you, causeth you to dooe honourable and Godlye seruyce to god, the kynge, and the common wealthe, when as ye cause an vngodly byshop to be depofed. And yet shall God, the king, and the people be greuoufly offended, and your honors and fowles fo ar indaungered, yf a bishops landes or goodes be deuyded amongft you that be godlye magystrates to punyfh euyl doers, as Christes cote was deuyded amongest wycked foldyers, which dyd cruelly torment a righteous person.

Alas most gracious reuerente Lordes and mayfters, if ye vse the seruyse, or hear the aduyse of false crafty flatterers, ye shall therewyth be so blynded that ye can neyther perceyue by your selues, nor beleue when as ye be playnely and faythfully tolde, that manye of your owne doynge, commyng of mans freyltye, do tend muche vnto the displeasure of God, dyshonour of the kynge, and dyscredyt of your selues, beyng most contrarye to that reuerent zele and faythful loue towards God, the kyng, and the commen wealth, which zele and loue god of hys goodnes hath graffed in your hartes, and the deuyll by mannes freyl dedes couered in fylence or colored with prayse of flatterers, laboreth to deface, peruert and destroye.

As God whyche searchoth the secretes of mans hart, doth beare me recorde, I do suppose, and thynke that you dooe so louyngly drede God, reuerence the kyng, and regarde this realme, and your owne honors, that beyng charged wyth the ouersight and prouision of castels, holdes, and fortes, made and kept for the safe-garde of thys realme, ye coulde not wyttyngly be hyred to sell one of them vnto the kynges ennemyes, for al the treasures in the world. And yet beyng craftelye deceyued wyth flattery, ye vse a daungerous practyse in very many of them.

For ther be some of them sclenderly affauted at certayne tymes of feble enemyes: and other continuallye beseged eyther wyth open forse or craftye con-

ueyaunce of feare, cruel, and perylous enemies. And now crafty flatterers which haue once serued for their wages in tyme and place of the sclender affalte, doo afterwarde requyre and perswade you for that seruyfe to geue them the spoyle of other holdes remaying continuallye in more daunger. Truly Frenchmen and Scottes be but feble ennemyes, and [yet] at certayne tymes do sclenderly affalt castels, towers, and such maner of holdes. The deuyl feking lyke a roryng Lyon, whom he may deuoure, nyghte and day, wynter and sommer, wyth a wonderful forse of wycked spirites, doth euer besyege byshopryckes, shyres, townes, and parishes.

Yf these places be not wel furnished with stout and true soldiers of bothe the sortes (I meane both officers in ciuyle polycy, and also Prelates in Ecclesiasticall ministry) or if those fouldyers be vnprouided of necessary liuyngs and dewe wages, then must the people nedes peryshe and be destroyed for their owne fynnes, and the bloud of their bodyes and soules requyred at your handes, whyche be charged and trusted of both God, and the king to prouide fouldiers to those places, and also wages and liuynges to mayntayne those soldiers continuallye.

How be it now* manye personages, benefyces, offyces, and fees be sold vnto couetous brybers for money, which seke nothyng but the vantage of* extorcion, robbry and spoyle, and fewe of them be freely giuen vnto faithful ministers and officers for their woorthynes, which could and would by diligent doynge of their dutie, gouerne, instruct and cheryshe goddes people, the kynges subiectes.

And therefore nowe the most part of men lackyng teachers and rulers, do without grieffe of conscience, or feare of punishment, abuse euery thyng vnto the ruine and destruccion, whyche God hath ordayned vnto the vpholdyng and increase of a christian commune welth.

As for example, now byyng and sellyng is not vsed as a prouision for good cheape and great plenty, but made the most occasyon of dearth and scarfitie.

Wealth and wyt be not ryghtly vsed vnto a common confortable profyt, but shamefully abused vnto a wycked priuate gayne. Many offyces with authoritie be not duely disposed vnto faithful worthy men nor to dooe good vnto other, but vnlawfullye bought and folde amongest couetous, ambitious men, to get gaynes vnto them selues. So this realme is spoyled, the kynge is made bare, and his faithful true subiectes be many of them very poore: but crafti deceiuers, couetous Extorcioners, brybynge offycers, and suche false flatterers be wonderous rich and welthy.

These Flatterers be wonders perilous felowes, hauynge two faces vnder one hoode. For they beare a face and shew towards the people, as though by Commyssion and commaundement from you, there must bee more required and taken of the people then euer you dyd meane or thynke: And towards you thei shewe another face femyng that so much cannot be founde in anye mennes handes as must nedes bee procured: but that therefore the kynges landes must nedes be folde, whyche thei are redye to by for their owne auantage, wyth those goodes whyche they them selues haue in theyr owne handes, or rather wyth the spoyle which they intend to make vpon those landes. These subiects that be not ashamed to procure vnto them selues such riches, that they maye be biers, and vnto their liege Lorde and kyng suche nede, that he muste be a feller of his landes. These be in deede seruauntes vnto Mammon, enemies vnto god, traitores vnto the king, and disturbers of a common welth turning all your godly, wise and charitable deuyces for necessary prouyfyon, vnto deuylish deceytes, for to cause and maynteyne vncharitable spoyles. And furedly when as occasions do serue for any men to practyse theyr pleasures, manye men of al fortes, and of the lowest fort, the most part do shew them selues the worst infected wyth thys impyety, treason, and rebellyon, the greuoufnes and daunger of the whyche wyth occasyons and meanes how to auoyd the same, I preaching at

Paules Croffe the. xiiii. [fowertene] day of December last past, dyd there openly declare vnto mine audience. And as I did then preach that Sermon as an exhortacion to moue the people, by the acknowledgyng, lamentyng and amendyng theyr owne fautes, to deserue and receyue the pardon of mercy offered vnto them of both god and the kyng, in thys longe pacient sufferance, so do I nowe here offer vnto your honors, the same Sermon as an earnest complaynte, to procure of you that be Gods offycers, spedyly correccion for them that refuse to heare, regarde, and obey Gods word.

Be not dyscouraged in thys matter, wyth your owne freylty beyng greate, or wyth the number of offenders, beyng manye. For it is not your worthynes, but Goddes grace, that hath placed you in hygh authority, and in the same aucthoritye not your owne powers and polycy, but the myght and wisdome of god, shal se strengthen and confyrme you, that yf ye wyll be diligent, ye shall be made able to delyuer Gods people, the kynges subiectes, oute of the handes of fuche as be Gods and the kynges ennemyes.

I beseeche the almyghtye God indue you wyth grace, that begynnyng wyth youre selues, ye may spedyly procede vnto the necessary and godly correccion of other mens fautes, so that ye maye be establyshed in youre rowmes, and increased in honor, to serue god and the kyng, prouiding for hys realme in holines and righteousness al ye daies of your lyues.

**By me humbly subiect and faithful o=
bedient vnto your honors, Tho=
mas Leuer.**

Iesus Christus.

The grace of the holy gost, procedyng from God the father, by the intercession and meane of Iesu Christ, so prepare your herts, and open my mouth, that I maye declare, and shewe, and that you maye heare, vnderstand, remember, and practise in your liuyng, his liuely word as may be most to his honour and glori and to your soules health and comfort.



You Citizins of London, and all other that be here present marke, note, and remember what ye heare of me this day: for yf I shall say or speake any thyng that is euyl, you muste beare recorde against me of that euyl. But if I do preache well and truelye, then you shall vnderstande

and knowe your felues to be in great daunger of haynous treason towards god and the kinges maiesty of this realme, which be by you spoyled, and robbed: god of his glory, the kyng of hys honoure, and the realme of hys wealth. Howbeit the mercyfull goodnes of bothe god and the kyng hath sent me hyther thys daye, to proclame a generall pardon, intendyng thereby to try out and saue them that haue offended by simple ignoraunce, because the force of theyr myghty power is nowe readye and commynge vterly to destroye all other that continue in wylfull stobernes and rebellyous treason. Wherefore afore the readyng of my commysion, I wyll declare that piece of scriptur whyche appoynted to be red in the .church as thys daye, wyll certyfy you that God by his scriptures hath shewed the kyng, who be hys fayethfull seruauntes, and who be hys ennemyes. Thys scripture is wrytten

in ye. iiii. Chapter of the firste epistle of. S. Paule vnto the Corinthians. *Sic nos aestimet homo ut ministros Christi, et dispensatores ministrorum [mysteriorum] dei. etc.*¹

*Filioli mei quos iterum parturio.*² Albeit I vse not scrupulouflye the same termes, yet conueniently folowyng the maner and phrased of scrypture, I say vnto you as Paule wryteth vnto the Galathyans: My deare chyldren of whom I trauell in byrthe agayne vntyll Christe be facyoned in you, I would I now beyng wyth you myght chaunge my voyce, whyche heretofore I haue vsed: declarynge by the worde of God, that you here in England whych wyll receyue no mercye, shall feele fore vengeance, which wyll not be faued, shalbe destroyed. Thys voyce vsed here afore of me, nowe wold I fayne chaunge. For nowe ἀποροῦμαι ἐν ὑμῖν I doute I am paste hope and allmooste in vtter dyspayre of you. Tell me you that throughe couetousnes desyre the ryches and wealthe of thys world. Haue ye not heard how that he whych wold be a frend vnto the world is made an enemy vnto God, doethe not Paule teache that couetousnes is the roote of all euyl? Is it not wrytten that couetousnes is Idolatry? Haue ye not red in the prophet Ezechiel howe that he whyche kepeth his Idolles, meanyng couetousnesse in hys hert, and commeth to hear gods word, doth therby prouoke gods vengeance to hys vtter destruccion. Paule sayth and testifyeth that euery man whiche is circumcyfed, hath not profyt by Christe, is gone quite from Christ, is fallen from grace. I saye and testyfy vnto you in the word of the Lorde, yat so many of you as be couetous, haue no profit by the preaching of gods word, the mynistracion of hys sacraments and the setting forth of pure religion wythin the realme: no ye be clene from God framyng your selues vnto the fassion of thys worlde, ye can brynge forth no good frutes of charitable workes nourishyng the rote of all euyl in youre hartes, ye must nedes prouoke the wrath and indignacion of god to your vtter destrucion, when as ye kepe the ydoll of couetousnes styll in youre myndes to

¹ 1 Cor. *iv.* 1.

² Gal. *iv.* 19.

be honoured and serued in all your doinges, and yet pretend a zeale and loue vnto the religion of Chryſt in your workes and ſayinges. I woulde fayne haue had iuſt occaſion to haue ſpoken at thys tyme ſuche thynges as myght haue bene comfortable and pleaſaunt for you to heare.

But I muſte needes ſhewe the cauſes of gods wrath and indignacion kyndled agaynſte vs, leaſt that thoſe plages ſhould be aſcribed vnto the word and religion of Chryſt ſet foorth amongeſt vs, whyche be procured by the wickednes of theym that ſeruyng couetous Mammon, haue forſaken, offended, and ſlaundered both Chriſt, and Chriſtes word and religion. No man can ſerue two maſters, whye then dooe ye pretend that ye be the ſeruauntes of Chryſt, ſeynge that ye wyll not forſake the ſeruyce of wycked Mammon? Yf ye be aſhamed to be named, and afrayd to continue the wycked ſeruauntes of wycked mammon, now ſhew and proue by youre ordinarye callyng, faythfull dealyng, and godly iudgement accordyng to thys example of Paule playnly paynted and ſet[teth] forth in thys epiſtle vnto the Corinthians, that ye be Chriſtes myniſters, the ſeruauntes and diſpoſers of gods myſteries and treasures: for Paule ſhewing hym ſelfe as a good example of Chriſtes ſeruauntes, ſayth: *Sic nos æſtimet homo, ut miniſtros Chriſti. etc.*¹ So let a man eſtyme vs, as the myniſters of Chryſt, and the dyſpoſers of the ſecretes of god. No man can come vnto Chriſte Ieſu to be hys myniſter, excepte he be drawen of the father. The father draweth not by force violentlye them that be ſtuborne and frowarde, but by loue them that be gentyll, and come wyllingly. For when the father ſheweth in Chryſte forgeuenes of ſynnes, grace of amendement, iuſtificacion, and euerlaſtyng lyfe, then thoſe that make them ſaſt them ſelues wyth the bande of loue by deſyre of the ſame be drawen vnto Chryſt.

As contrary wyſe when the deuyll ſheweth in fleſhlye luſtes and worldly vanytyes, manye voluptuous pleaſures, then they that there wyth be entangled and

¹ 1 Cor. *iv.* 1.

delyted be drawn of the temptour away from Chryst. Take hede: therefore howe ye haue entred into religion, professed chryste, and receyued the gospell. For if ye be drawn by loue of mercy, grace and ryghteousnes, ye come vnto Chryst: But by the desyre of ryches, welth, and voluptuousnes, men be drawn and tyfed away from Christe.

He therefore that by the profession of Christ, the zeale of hys worde, the fauoure of the gospell, seeketh couetous gayne, or a carnal liberty, surely he is a seruaunt of Mammon, ennemy vnto Christe, and a sclaunderer of the gospel. For he that wyll be the seruaunt of Chryste, must folow the example of Christ. He that wyll folowe Christ in example of luyng, he muste forsake hymselfe, take hys crosse vpon hys backe dayly and folow Christ. So Christes seruaunt shalbe deliuered from the bondage of synne, yat he may frely and wyllingly contemnyng ye vanities of the world, and mortifying ye lusts of ye flesh, serue chryst in bearyng the crosse of paynful diligence, to do the duty of his vocacion.

But all those that delyte in a carnall libertye, or seeke vnlawfull geynes, althoughe they be named Chrystians and fauourers of the gospell, yet be they in dede not mynisters of Christ, but enemyes vnto Christe: not louers of the Gospell but sclaundersers of the Gospell, not iustified by liuelye faythe to be of that ryghteous forte for whose sakes G O D spareth and faoureth a common wealthe, but deceyued with a dead fayth to be of that vngodlye forte, for whose cause God plageth and destroyeth many a common welth. And nowe vndoutedly be we in great miseris and daunger of destruccion, for that we haue many that be hearers, readers, and talkers of Gods worde, and fewe or none that do walke and lyue accordyng to gods worde: we ought truly to esteeme and take them onlye to be mynisters of Christe whyche for the loue of mercy, grace, and ryghtuousnes shewed of the father vnto them in Christ do kyll the lustes of theyr

owne fleshe, dyspyse the vanytyes of the whole worlde, and forsakyng theyr own pleasures and commodities do take the crosse of paynfull diligence and walke after Christ in doynge of theyr dutyes.

All other that haue the name and profession of Chryst without liuyng and conuersacion accordynge therto, be fayned brethren, in feastes wyth Christen men to take parte of theyr good chere, vnclene spots amongest honest company, feedyng them selues without feare of god, clouds without any moisture of gods grace, tossed aboute wyth contrarye wyndes of straunge doctryne, trees passyng sommer tyme without any frutes of good workes, twyse dead without selynge the corrupcion of synne, or lokyng to be graffed in the stocke of grace, yea rooted vp from amongest ye vynes of the Lord, wilde waues of the sea frothyng forth vnshamefast brags, and wandryng starres without constancie in iudgement and opinion vnto whom the dungeon of darknes is ordeyned for euerlastyng dampnacion.

What maruell is it then thoughe the vengeance of God be poured forth amongs them of such iniquitie, yea and most abundantly when as hys word playnely preached, is of theym moste wickedly abused and shamefully slandered, whych say: Lorde, Lorde, and do not as they be commaunded of the Lord. Wherefore let vs say: *Non nobis domine, non nobis*. Not vnto vs o Lord, not vnto vs, but vnto thy name geue glorye, not for that we by oure dedes haue deserued, but yat thy name O Chryste amongest vs christians may be honored, pardon our fauts, amende our liues, and indue vs with grace, that the lyghte of oure good workes afore men vpon the earthe, may cause thee to be gloryfyed O Lorde in heauen. Dearlye beloued in Christe for the tender mercyes of god, when as ye se carnall gospellers, couetous ydolaters, greuyng youre consciences, slauderynge Christes religion, and damnyng theyr owne soules, do not of malyce contempne disdayne and reuyle them, but of charitable pitye, lament, forow, and pray for

them, whyche blynded wyth ygnorance know not them felues, deceyued wyth the deuyll, be drawn from Christe, comferte and saluacion, vnto euerlastyng deathe and damnacion. Say and pray for them: O lorde suffer not the enemye thus to lede into captiuitye owre felowes thy seruantes, oure brethren thy chyl dren, O Chryst restore vnto lyberty them that you hast redemed wythe thy precious blud, so yat we may altogether drawn of ye father, receyued of the sonne, and gided of the holy gost, be ministers of Chryst in liberye of the gospell, delyuered from synne frelye to delyte and take pleasure in a godly conuerfacion all the dayes of our lyfe. Nowe let vs after thys takynge of the mynistrye of Chryste, w[h]yich pertaineth generally vnto all christians, speake of the dysposers of Gods mystryes, wherein we maye consider seuerally euery mans vocacion.

Paule dyd dyspose the secretes of God by the preachynge of the Gospell, whych was euer secretly hydde from the wyttye, wyse, and learned in the worlde. Other men in other vocacions must dyspose other treasures of God by other meanes. As the magistrate by authoritye must dyspose the punyshmente of vyce, and the mayntenance of vertue.

The ryche man by liberalytye, must dyspose reliefe and comferte vnto the poore and nedye. The Marchaunt by byynge and sellynge, and the craftes man by his occupacion, muste prouyde vnto the commonwealthe of necessarye wares, suffyciente plentye. The landelorde by lettyng of fermes must dyspose vnto the tenants necessary lands, and houses of an indifferent rente. The housbandmen by tyllynge of the ground and kepyng of cattel, must dyspose vnto theyr landlordes, dew rentes, and vnto them felues and other, both corne, and other vytals. So euerye man by doynge of hys dutye muste dyspose vnto other that commoditye and benefyte, whiche is committed of god vnto theym to be dysposed vnto other, by the faythful and diligent doynge of theyr duties.

The treasures of the Lord be vnmesurable, his hart is lyberall, ther can be therefore no lacke amonges hys

people, yf hys stewardest vnto whom the dysposyng of hys gyftes be committed, be true and faythfull. Thys therfore saythe Paule, is requyred in a steward, yat he be faythfull. Who thynke ye, sayth Christ, is a faythfull and a wyse steward whom the Lorde setteth ouer hys householde to geue them a due measure of the wheate of necessaryes in tyme conuenyente? Blessed is that seruante whom the Lorde when he commeth, shall fynde so doynge: verelye I saye vnto you that he wyl make him lord of all that euer he hath. Beholde the faythfulnes of the Lordes steward confysteth in dylygente prouydyng and mynistryng vnto the Lordes famylye anye suche thynges as bee necessary. The reward of such faythfulnes is to be put in trust wyth all that his Lord and master hath. Then who can desyre a better master then the Lorde God or a hygher roume then a stewardshyppe in the house of Christ, or a greater reward then to haue all the treasures of God whych be an hundred folde passyng any mans deseruyng here, and furthermore euerlastyng lyfe. O that men wold confyder the goodnes of God, the worthines of their offices, the comfortable felowshyp of the household of Christ, and the ioyfull rewarde of the crowne of glory, and so be faythful stewardest and dysposers of the manyfold gyftes of God: And not being bleared and blynded wyth couetousnesse, deserue to be cut of from the company of christians, and to haue their porcion with hypocrytes, wheras shalbe waylyng and gnashing of teeth. For that ye greedy worme gnawynge the conscience neuer dyeth, and the flamynge fyre of vntollerable vengeaunce shalbe neuer quenched.

O brethren, God hath geuen great plentye, and we in Englande fynde greate lacke: therfore the stewardest of God be vnfeythfull. Who be gods stewardest? They that haue gods gyftes. Suerly no man hath all the gyfts of God, and euery man hath some gyfts of God. Then if all thynges be lackyng, yet can no one man deserue all the blame, but euery man shall be found faulty for that which is amyffe, for lack of his duty.

Do ye perceyue that the laytie is eyther altogether ygnoraunte and blynd, or els hauyng knowledge to speake fayer, hath no learnynge to do well? Then fuerlye the cleargye hath not ben faythfull in preachyng of gods word earnestly, in feson and out of feason to reprove, besech and blame, in all pacience and token, or dyscyplyne. Do ye see the cleargye hath not wherwithall to mayntayne learnyng, to relieue the pore, to kepe hospytalytye, and too fynde theym selues? Then trewly hath not the laytye sufficientlye prouyded that they whyche preache the Gospell, should lyue on the Gospell, and that they whyche sowe spirituall treasures, myght repe corporall necessaryes.

Do ye see yat they which be in authoritye haue not ben regarded and obedientli serued? Then ye common people haue not done theyr dutyes, dysobeyng any man placed in authoryty by gods ordynauce. Do ye se the people haue hadde iniuries and yet their complaintes neglygentlye heard and long delayed? then haue the higher powers omytted ryghteousnes and iudgement, whiche wyl be required at theyr handes of the Lord.

Do ye se that in all maner of thinges ther* is some lack of that whyche is very necessarye? Then be ye sure that all maner of men do leaue or myfuse some parte of theyr dutye. *Quis potest dicere: mundum est cor meum, purus sum a peccato.*¹

No manne canne say: my hert is cleane, I am pure wythout fautes. Therefore seyng that we be all gyltye, Lette vs not enuye, grudge, or dysdayne one an others fautes, but euery one acknowledge, lament, and mende hys owne fautes.

Do not triumphe and be glad when ye perceyue that other mens fautes be noted or rebuked, but be mooste certayne and fuer, that excepte ye spedelye repente and amende, ye shall euerye one be lykewyse serued. If ye haue not those same fautes whyche ye heare by the preacher noted and rebuked, yet yf you take pleasure and be glad to heare other mens euyls, be sure

¹ Prov. xx. 9.

that euen that pleasure takyng is a faute, whyche God hateth and wyll punyssh.

Therefore when ye heare anye mannes fautes spoken of, be forye for them, and take hede to your felues: so shall you thereby gette good and they haue no harme. If ye so do at thys tyme, I may the more boldly examyne and trye the faythfulnes of some stewardes and disposers of Gods gyftes.

And for the better tryall and assurance[s] of theyr fydelitye I note two thynges to be requyred: fyrste that a stewarde or disposer be, *Quem constituit dominus*, whom the Lord assigneth and maketh: and secondarily, *Vt det cibum in tempore*,¹ that he vse to fede and cheryche, and not to deuoure and hurte theim of the lordes familye. For the fyrste parte, it is to be noted, that euery man in the tyme of hys admyssion, when he shall be put into hys offyce, is set on the hyll of confydration and aduysement: where as the Lorde Christ to those whyche he admitteth, sheweth that the haruest is greate, the laborers be fewe, greate paynes muste be taken that muche good may be done: vyle rebukes and greuous afflictions here to be suffered, be the sygnes and tokens of great rewardes in heauen for theym prepared. The ennemy of Christ Satan vnto those whych he would deceyue sheweth all the glory of the worlde, promysyng to geue it a rewarde presently vnto all them that wyl worshyp hym fallyng downe at hys feete, in flattery, crafte, and iniquitye.

Christe the Lorde indueth wyth wyll and habilytye to take paynes to do good, those whych he bryngeth in at the dore to be shepherdes of the folde and stewardes of the house: the deuyll the ennemy of Chryst cloketh [clothed] in shepe skynnes of solemne titles to gette gaynes, those whyche he conueyeth not in at the dore, but ouer an other waye to dystroye the flocke, and robbe the house.

Therefore yf thyroume be benefyce, prebende, offyce or authoritye in a christen comminaltye wythin Gods house, and yf thou be brought in at the doore of ordynarye and lawefull callynge, by paynefull dyligence to do good, thou mayest be a faythfull stewarde in that place:

¹ Luke *xii.* 42.

but yf thou be broughte in ouer and beydes all ordinarie and lawfull callynge, by couetous ambycyon to get gaynes, then must thou nedes be a thefe and a robber: for Chryste whyche so sayth can be no lyer. I meane yf thou by money or fryndshyp haue boughte eyther benefyce or offyce, thou canst not be of Christes institucion, but of the Dyuylls intrusion, not a fayethful dysposer, but a theuysh extorcioner of Gods gyfts. For Christ sayth playnely that he whyche entereth not in at the doore, but clymeth ouer an other way, is a thefe and a robber, and the thefe commeth not but to steale, murther, and to destroy.

The doore whyche is Christe hym selfe, can neuer be entred in at by eyther frendshyp or money.

Sum perauenture wyl be offended not because I speake against the biinge of benefices, whyche be spirituall charges, but for that I also include the bying and sellinge of offyces, whych as they saye, be temporall promotions. As for benefyces ye knowe so well, that I neede not to stand about the declaracion or profe in them.

No, I am sure that ye perceyue howe that through the abuse of one benefyce, the Deuyll ofte tymes is sure to haue many foules.

Fyrste the patron for hys presentacion, then the Byshoppe for admiffion, the person for hys vnworthynesse, and a greate manye of the paryshe that be lost for lacke of a good Persons dutye.

But now as concernyng the bynge of offyces, to come thereby vnto the roume of an auditour, Surueiour, Chauncelloure, or anye suche lyke, surelye no man wyl attempt it, but he whyche is so couetouse and ambyciouffe that he dooeth neyther dread God nor loue man. Whereof commeth the bynge of offyces but of couetoufnes? howe then canne that be a good fruyte whyche spryngeth oute of the roote of all euyll? Is not euerye Chrysten common wealthe the folde of Christes shepe, the house of hys famylye? be not then all offycers in a Chrysten common wealthe named by Goddes woorde sheppeherdes of the fold, and stewardestes of the famylye

of Chryfte? O Lorde what shall wee then saye to excuse them that by and fel offyces wythyn England? Shall we say those offyces be no roumes and places ordeyned of god for hys faythefull stewardes, therein to dyspose hys treasures and benefytes? or that the vile slaues of wycked Mammon for their brybery may lawfully be promoted vnto those roumes whyche be ordeyned of God to hys holy seruautes for their fydelityte? If we saye that the offyces be not meete for Gods seruautes, then we confes that the offycers whyche be in them be gods ennemyes. If we saye that they be ordeyned for the fayethfull seruautes of god, how can we thynke that they maye be brought [bought] vnto the brybnyge seruautes of wycked mammon? Lette vs not seeke excuses to cloke synne, no let euerye manne be knowen to be a lyer and specyallye, they that say: One manne can serue twoo maysters, Mammon in geuyng or takynge of brybes, and GOD in faythfull dooyng of duty. Let god be iustified when ye fynde hys worde true, whyche plainly affyrmeth that they whyche clyme into a common offyce of Chrystes fold by the help of Mammon in at the wyndowe of bryberye be theues and robbers, commyng to steal, murder and destroye.

O that no man in thys faute wer guilty, then myght I be sure yat no man wold be offended. But and yf any man be greued because hys fore is touched, let hym remember the saynge of the wyse man: *Meliora sunt uulnera diligentis, quam fraudulenta oscula odientis*:¹ the woundes of the louer be better then the deceytefull kysses of the hater. For the woundes whyche the frinde openeth, be to hele olde fores; and the dysceytfull kysses of the ennemyes be to make newe woundes. I speake playnelye to open the wounde, to roote oute and heale the dysease of couetousnes, whyche wold be to the wounded and to euery man, comfort. They that by flattery do couer, kyffe, and playster this deepe wounde, do seeke their owne gayne to the vtter dampnacyon of the wounded, and to good mennes greate grieffe, yea and to the greate dysquyetinge of a com-

¹ Prov. xxvii. 6.

mune welth: makynge no dyfference betwixt the Lordes feruauntes, and the Lords enemyes. For wythout dout, *Non est quem constituit dominus.*

He is none of the Lordes appoyntmente or admyffion, whyche entereth in to an offyce by brybyng, Monye, or flatteryng frendeshyp. Bynging of an offyce is an euydente token of vnfayethfulnes. He that is once knowen by that token and marke, shoulde be thrust out of the Lordes fouldre, *Ne furetur, mactet, et perdat,*¹ leaste that he robbe, kyll, and destroye. But nowe by the seconde note to try whether that the steward and dysposer of goddes treasures be faythfull or not, se whether that he be a feder or deuourer. He that fedeth, is faythfull: he that deuoureth, is vnfaythfull. What doeth he whyche is vnfaythfull? deuoure goddes shepe, Christen people, the kynges subiectes; A daungerous matter, whiche if it be spoken of, wyl procure dyspleasure: and yf it be not remedyed, wyl procure Goddes vengeaunce. Surelye brethren, I thyncke God would neuer haue caused me to haue meddeled wyth thys daungerous matter, but that he wyl geue me grace more pacyentlye to suffer the losse of myne owne lyfe, then the damnacyon of your soules.

For yf I lose my lyfe here, I shall fynde it in heauen. But yf you be dampned, and I beyng a watcheman, and feinge your dampnacyon comming, do not geue warning, you shal be taken in youre owne synnes, and your bloude requyred at my hands. If I geue warnyng, and you take hede, gods indignacion shalbe appeased, and bothe we saued. Therefore I beyng a watcheman and by the lyghte of goddes worde spyng that the abominacion of ydolatrous couetousnes hathe kyndled the indygnacyon of God to consume and destroye the people of thys realme, doo crye out agaynst Englande by the voyce of the Prophete: *Abiecerunt legem domini,*² they haue cast awaye the lawe of the lorde, euery one framyng hym selfe vnto the fashyon of thys world. *eloquium sancti Israell blasphemauerunt.*² They haue blasphemed the word of the holy one of Israell, by

¹ 1 John x. 10.

² Isa. v. 24.

theyr abominable lyuyng. *Ideo incensus est furor domini in populum suum:*¹ therefore is the indignation of God kindled against his people. Therefore doth all runne at syxe and feuen, from euell vnto worfe: therefore doeth goddes worde take no place to do good, but is vnthankfully refused, whyche causeth more harm. Is gods word receyued in Englande because it is playnlye preache and taughte, or refused and forsaken because it is not obeyed and folowed? Be we in better case then we haue ben afore tyme because papistry amongest vs is kept vnder, or els worfe then euer we were because couetousnes raygneth at lybertye? That whych papystry abused, hath not couetousnes destroy[e]d? is not papistry supersticion, and couetousnes ydolatrie? Then I besech you be not we well amended yat be come from abusyng to destroying, from supersticion to idolatry? And hath not God geuen vnto vs at the banyshyng of supersticion, comfortable plenty of his holy worde, and by the suppressyng of abbeyes excedyng aboundaunce of all maner of landes, ryches, and treasures? And nowe where is it all become? Surelye it is muche spent, wasted and lost by euyl officers, vnfaithful disposers, whiche be in dede deuourers. Se therefore howe ye haue offended god, begyled the kyng, spoyled the realme, and indaungered your selues to be accused, condemned, and suffer as most vyle haynous traytours to God, the kyng, and to ye common welth. Wherefore whyles ye haue tyme, before ye be condemned, *Sacrificate sacrificium iustitiæ, et sperate in domino.*² Offer a sacrifice of ryghteousnes, making restitution of yat whych ye haue wrongfullye gotten: then truste in the Lord, and he wyll shew mercy, prouydyng you pardon and safegarde, vnto euerye mannes comforte. Here I namyng no man, do meane almost euery man: for euery man hath some treasures of the lords to dyspose, and none is so faythfull that he maye be able to stande vnto the tryall, entryng wyth the Lorde into iudgemente. Therefore I aduertise both mynisters of the clergy, officers in

¹ Isa. vi. 25.² Ps. cv. 5.

authoritie, and other people of euerye degre, to acknowledge theyr faultes, and make restitution to ye vttermost of theyr power. First vnto the clergy, I say: there is none of you al hauing so much learninge, wytt, and dyligence, as is possyble to be in one man, that can do more then one mans duty: why then do ye take and keepe, some foure or fyue mens luynges? I do not thyncke that euery man is worthy blame that hath a great luynge, nor to be praysed that hath a litle luyng. For as God hath geuen some more excellent gyftes of learnynge, wytte and polycy, so hathe he prouyded for the same better luynge with hygher authority: howbeit no man may promote hym selfe to procede from a meane luyng vnto a better, *quia nemo sibi suimet honorem*, for no man may preferre hym selfe vnto honoure, *nisi qui a deo vocatus est*,¹ but he whyche for hys fydelitye in a lytle, is called of God to be trusted wyth more. But it is not a good reson to say that because an honest man for hys fydelitye is called of God from the lesse vnto the more, therefore a couetous manne throughe gredynes, maye kepe lesse and take more, and so ioyne thre or foure of them together to make dyuers paryshes in dyuers shyres, all one mans luynge. The Prophete cryeth: *uæ uobis qui coniungitis domum ad domum, et agrum agro copulatis*.² Wo be vnto you that yoine [ioyne] house to house and knytfyeld vnto fylde. What reherfeth he no more but houses and fyeldes? No, for ther was neuer such abominacion in the prophetes times as to ioyne paryshe to parysh, prebend to benefyces, and Deanryes vnto knyghtes landes. I pray God that some of them yf they be worthy men in wyfdome, learnynge and iudgemente, may be promoted vnto worthy rouses, and that those meaner luynges whiche they haue heaped together to fyll one purse, beyng so far dystante in place and condicions that they can neuer bee well serued of one mannes dutye, may be deuyded and dysposed vnto meaner men: whych beyng more fitte for these luynges, maye do more good wyth them.

¹ Heb. v. 4.

² Isa. v. 8.

I heare some complayne and faye that all thynges bee nowe so chargeable that one benefyce is not able to fynd one [an] honest man. And yf ye enquire of the same man whome they kepe and fynd in theyr benefyce they theim selues beyng absent, they wyll say a learned curate, and a dyligent farmer both honest menne. O wycked worldlings condemned by your owne words. The whole benefice yf you shuld therwyth be content ly[u]ing vpon it, and loke for no more, wolde not fynde one man.

But when ye haue gotten other promotions besydes that, to lye in another place from it, then a small porcyon of it doth serue two honest menne whyche ye leaue in youre absence. Herke you that haue three or foure benefices. I wyll say the best for you that can be spoken: Thou lyeest al wayes at one of thy benefices, thou arte absente alwayes from three of thy benefices: thou kepest a good house at one of thy benefices, thou kepest no house at three of thy benefices, thou doest thy deuty at one of thy benefices, thou doest no deuty at thre of thy benefices. Thou semest to be a good manne in one place, and in dede thou arte founde noughte in thre places. Woo be vnto you worse then Scrybes and Phariseis Hypocrytes, whyche shut vp the kyngedome of heauen afore menne, kepyng the paryshe so that neyther you enter in your selfe, neyther suffer them that would enter in and do theyr dewtye, to haue your rouses and commodities. Woo be vnto you dumme Dogges, choked wyth benefices, so that ye be not able to open your mouthes to barcke agaynste pluralytyes, improporacions, bying of vofons, nor agaynst anye euyll abuse of the cleargies lyuynges. No, for you* yowre selues myghte go a beggyng yf liuynges that be ordeyned for the cleargy wer not abused, but restored and bestowed vpon theym onelye that doeth the cleargyes dewtye. Therefore you be the inuenters and procurers of vngodlye statutes, and deuelyshe deuyses, to gyue Lordes chaplaynes whyche oughte to lyue vpon theyr masters wages,

authoritie to lyue vpon the spoyle of dyuers paryshes. *Ad erubescenciam uestram dico,*¹ I speake to make you ashamed of youre selues. If gentylmenne that be lordes seruantes myghte obtayne of the kynge and hys counsel placardes or warrantes to kepe a standyng vpon shoters hyll, Salesbury playne, or in any theuyshe place, to take mens purses by the way, should not thys be robbery and shamfull abhominacion to be mayntayned by lawes, statutes and authority? What shold a yonge gentleman be ashamed to robbe one rych mans purse of forty shyllinges once in hys lyfe? and an auncient prelate not once blushe whyche robbeth diuers pore paryshes of forty pounds yerely al the dayes of hys lyfe. You pestilent prelates whyche by flattery poyson the hygh powers of authoritie, be ye neyther afrayed nor ashamed to make the Kynges maiestie, his lawes and your lordes and masters whych shuld be the ministers of iustice and equitye, to bee the defenders and mayneteyners of your vngodly robbery. Your example and flattery hath caused the great men and ryche men to take to them selues the vauntage and profytes, and geue vnto their chyldren being ignorant babes, the names and tytles of Personnages, Prebendes, Archedeaconryes, and of all manner of offyces. For euen aswell may the Lorde that cannot, as the Doctoure that wyl not do his dutye, take the profites to hymself, and leaue a hyrelyng vnto the parysh: and yet both be noughte. O that it woulde please God to open the eyes of the hygher powers too perceyue what good doctryne, nay what deuylyshe dyforder is taught by them that be double and tryple benefyced. For theyr example teacheth, and theyr preaching can neuer diswade, to set and ordeyne ryche robbers and ignoraunt teachers ouer the Chrysten congregacion, goddes people, the kynges subiectes: yea and as for cyuyll order in all offyces, ambitious couetous men learnyng at them, take the solempne tytles and good fees vnto them selues, and leaue their dutyes vnto other, so to be neglected and abused, as

¹ 1 Cor. vi. 5.

caufeth al difcord and difobedyence. For whoe but offycers fhuld fet good order, and make quietnes? And how can he fet [fee] any good order, whyche placeth hym felfe in ten mens roumes? or make other to be quyet wyth nothyng, that wyll neuer quyet hym felfe wyth any one liuyng? Yea how canne he be but a maker of bufynes yat thrufteth many menne oute of theyr lyuynges? But for all thys the flatterer wyl fay that there is a great number of them that hath many mens lyuynges in theyr handes, whych do much good wyth them, yea and be liberall gentlemen, very good officers and godly preachers. But wotte ye what the fcripture fayth: they be *Canes impudentiffimi, nescientes faturitatem*.¹ Vnfhamefaſte dogges, knowyng no meafure of gredye gettyng.

Dereſinquentes rectam uiam errauerunt ſecuti uiam Baalam filii Boſor,² Leauyng the ryghte way of procedyng vnto greate fees by faythfull diligence in doynge worthy duties, do ſtraye in couetouſnes, folowyng Balaam the ſon of Boſor. Leauyng [Louyng] the rewarde of curſed in [and] wycked craſte, O take heede of Baalam you that loue the rewarde of iniquitye, a reward for curſyng the people, whome god would haue bleſſed. A fee for kepyng thoſe offyces vnto your felues whych god amongſt ye people wold haue executed. Can ye fay any more for your felues then Balam dyd? *Si dederat mihi Balaac domum ſuam, plenam argenti et auri*.³ If Balaac wold geue vnto me hys houſe full of ſyluer and gold, I cannot change the word of the lorde my God, to ſpeake more or les. Can ye do any better in the fight of the world then Balaam did vpon the hylles, euen as the lord dyd commaunde hym and none otherwyſe? and yet louyng the reward of iniquitye beyng a Prophet, was rebuked of a bruyt beaſt: as you beyng wyſe men ought to learne at a folyſh Aſſe not to ouerburden and lode your felues with far more then ye ar able to beare. Suerlye it is an vngodly and wycked deſyre of you, to loke for a rewarde both of god for doynge* of* your* duty and alſo of Mammon for takyng vpon you farre more

¹ Iſa. lvi. 11.² 2 Peter ii. 15³ Num. xxii. 18.

then euer ye be able for to dyscharge. Balaam fought howe too get thanckes of God and a rewarde of Balaac, and in so doying he lost the fauoure of God, the rewarde of Balaac, and caused the people too synne, so that the vengeance of God dydde fore plague the Ifraelites, and vtterly destroyed Baalam and Balaac, and al theyr fort. And when as you by heapyng of lyuynge together, do feke to gette the welthe of the world, and also the fauour of god by pretendyng to do so manye dutyes as no man is able to performe, ye lose the fauour of god, and ye shal be deceyued of the worlde, and bryng such iniquity amongest ye people as shall prouoke ye indignacion of god to plage theym, and to distroy you. O for the tender mercies of god in oure sauoure Iesu Christe, although I rushe and fret your legges vpon the hedge and pales of gods veneyarde, and speake playnely beinge but a very affe in comparyson of your wyfdome, connyng, and experience, yet I besech you dere brethren be assured yat I speake not of malyce Lat of pyty, not of enuy, but of feare: for I se euydently the aungell of the Lorde with a sworde of vengeance redye to destroye you yf ye doo not slaye, but procede in thys vngodlye way: Se and behold, *Nisi conuersi fueritis, gladium suum acuit, arcum suum tetendit et parauit illum,*¹ excepte ye turne, he the Lorde hath whet his sword, he hath bente his bowe, and made it readye wyth deadlye dartes. Suerlye brethren this heapyng together of lyuynge maketh you to haue so manye thynges to do, that ye can do nothyng well: it is the readye waye not to edify but to destroye. Wherefore yf ye cannot espye your owne fautes in your selues, yet loke one at another: loke you of the layty at them of the cleargye, that seyng the motes in their eyes, ye may learne to pull the beames out of your owne eyes. Do ye not se how that they of the cleargy by heapyng together manye lyuynge, haue caused manye poore parishes to pay their tithes yat lacke their persons [Parsones]? Do ye not se how that prebendes whiche were godly founded as mooste conuenient and necessarye lyuynge for

¹ Ps. vii. 12.

preachers to heale the byshoppes and the persons too enstruete the people, be now vngodly abused to corrupte the byshoppes and the personnes that rather feke the vauntage of good prebends to enryche them selues, then the heale of godly preache[r]s to enstruete Gods people? Do ye not se howe these prouiders of pluralities hauynge the cure of Christen soules in the paryshe, and shepefolde of Chryst, do leaue the flocke and take the spoyle to spende in Noble mennes houses, where as they doo se that the keper of horses in the stable, of cattell in the fælde, and of dogges in the kenell, doeth lyue on hys masters wages, and not on the Pyllage of his cure. O ye noble menne do ye geue vnto the keepers of your horses, cattell, and dogges, wages, leaste that they shoulde sell youre horses, kyll youre cattell, or fleye youre dogges to lyue vpon the skynnes: and wyl ye allowe your Chapleynes no wages, but cause theym to lyue vpon the murder and spoyle of the innocente Lambs of God, redemed and boughte wyth Christes precious blode? Do ye se howe by these seruauentes of Mammon, enemyes of Chryste, gredy wolues in Lamb skynnes, the paryshes be spoyled, the people vntaughte, God vnknowen, hys lyuelye woorde sette graciouslye forthe by the kynges procedynges, is vngraciously suspected, hated, and abhorred of the ignorant people?

You of the laytye, when ye see these small motes in the eyes of the clargye, take heede too the greates beames that be in your owne eyes. But alas I feare leaust yat ye haue no eyes at all. For as hypocrify and supersticion dooeth bleare the eyes: So couetousnesse and ambycyon doeth putte the eyes cleane out. For yf ye were not flarke blynd ye would se and be ashamed that where as fyfty tunne belyed Monckes geuen to glotony fylled theyr pawnches, kept vp theyr house and relyued the whol country round about them, ther one of your gredye guttes deuowrynge the whole house and makyng great pyllage throughout the countrye, cannot be satiffyed.

If ye had any eies, ye should se and be ashamed to confesse that yf some of you shoulde not haue manye offyces, there woulde not be menne ynoughe founde, to put in euerye offyce one manne, mete and able by doynge of theyr dewtyes to serue the kynge, and take good order amongst the people, where as there is a greate number too manye of your forte whyche thyncke your selues mete and worthye by takynge many Offyces in hande, to burden the kynge and the people wyth all fees and charges belongyng vnto euery offyce: yea and furdermore to requyre perfonages, prebendes, Deanryes and anye manner of lyuynge due vnto the Ecclesiastycall ministry, to be geuen vnto you for seruyng the Kynge in takynge the vauntage of many, and doynge the duties of fewe offyces belongyng vnto ciuyll pollycye.

If ye hadde anye eyes ye shoulde se and be ashamed that in the great aboundaunce of landes and goods taken from Abbeis, Colleges and Chauntryes for to serue the kyng in all necessaryes, and charges, especially in prouision of relyefe for the pore, and for mayntenaunce of learnynge the kynge is so dyfapoynted that bothe the pore be spoyled, all mayntenaunce of learnyng decayed, and you only enryched. But for because ye haue no eyes to se wyth, I wyll declare that you may heare wyth youre eares, and so perceyue and knowe, that were as God and the kynge hathe bene moste liberall to gyue and bestowe, there you haue bene moste vnfayethfull to dyspose and delyuer. For accordyng vnto gods word and the k[y]nges pleasure, the vniuersities which be the scholes of all godlynes and vertue, should haue bene nothyng decayed, but much increfed and amended by thys [the] reformation of religion.

As concernyng goddes worde for the vpholdyng and increase of ye vniuersities, I am sure that no man knowyng learnyng and vertue doth doute. And as for the kynges pleasure it dyd well appeare in that he establyshed vnto the vnyuersityes all Priuileges

graunted afore hys tyme, and also in all manner of paymentes requyred of the cleargye, as tythes, and fyrst fruytes, the vnyuersities be exemted. Yea and the kynges mayestye that dead is, dyd geue vnto the vniuersities of Cambryge at one tyme, two hundred poundes yerely to the exhibition and syndyng of fwe learned menne, to reade and teache dyuynitye, lawe, Phyficke, Greke and Ebrue.

At an other tyme. xxx. pounce yerely *In liberam et puram elemosinam*. In fre and pure almes. And fynally for the fust dacion [foundation] of a newe Colledge so muche as shoulde serue to buylde it, and replenysh it wyth mo Scholers and better lyuynge then any other Colledge in the vniuersitye afore that tyme had.

By the whyche euerye man maye perceyue that the kynge geuyng manye thynges and takynge nothynge from the vniuersityes was very desirous to haue them increasid and amended. Howbeit all they that haue knowen the vnyuersitye of Cambryge sence that tyme that it dyd fyrst begynne to receyue these greate and manyefolde benefytes from the kynges maiestye, at youre handes, haue iuste occasion to suspecte that you haue deceyued boeth the kynge and vniuersitie, to enryche youre selues. For before that you did begynne to be the disposers of the kinges liberalite towards learnyng and pouerty, there was in houses belongynge vnto the vnyuersitye of Cambryge, two hundred studentes of dyuynitye, manye verye well learned: whyche bee nowe all clene gone, house and manne, young towarde scholers, and old fatherlye Doctors, not one of them lefte: one hundred also of an other sorte that hauyng rych frendes or beyng benefyced men dyd lyue of theym selues in Ostles [Ostries] and Innes be eyther gon awaye, or elles fayne to crepe into Colleges, and put poore men from bare lyuynge. Those bothe be all gone, and a small number of poore godly dylygent studentes nowe remaynyng only in Colleges be not able to tary and contynue theyr studye in ye vniuersitye for lacke of exhibicion and healpe. There

be dyuers ther whych ryfe dayly betwixte foure and fyue of the clocke in the mornynge, and from fyue vntyll fyxe of the clocke, vse common prayer wyth an exhortacion of gods worde in a commune chappell, and from fixe vnto ten of the clocke vse euer eyther pryuate study or commune lectures. At ten of the clocke they go to dynner, whereas they be contente wyth a peny pece of byefe amongest. iiii. hauyng a fewe porage made of the brothe of the same byefe, wyth salte and otemell, and nothyng els.

After thys slender dinner they be either teachyng or learnyng vntyll v. of the clocke in the euenyng, when as they haue a supper not much better then theyr dyner. Immedyatelye after the whyche, they go eyther to reafonyng in problemes or vnto some other studye, vntyll it be nyne or tenne of the clocke, and there beyng wythout fyre are fayne to walk or runne vp and downe halfe an houre, to gette a heate on their feete whan they go to bed.

These be menne not werye of their paynes, but very forye to leue theyr studye: and sure they be not able some of theym to contynue for lacke of necessarye exibicion and relefe. These be the luyng sayntes whyche serue god takyng greate paynes in abstinence, studye, laboure and dyligence, wyth watching and prayer. Wherefore as Paule, for the Sayntes and brethren at Hierusalem, so I for your brethren and Sayntes at Cambrydge mooste humblye besече you make youre colleccions amongest you rych Marchauntes of this citey, and send them your oblacions vnto the vnyuersytye, so shall ye be sure to please God, to comfort them, and prouyde learned men to do muche good throughout all thys realme. Yea and truly ye be detters vnto them: For they haue sown amongeste you the spirituall treasures of goddes worde, for the whyche they oughte to repe of you agayne corporall necessities. But to returne vnto them that shoulde better haue prouyded for learnyng and pouertye in all places, but especyally in the vniuersities.

Loke whether that there was not a greate number of both lerned and pore that myght haue ben kepte, mayntayned, and relyeued in the vniuersities: whych lackyng all healpe or comforte, were compelled to forsake the vniuersitye, leue their bokes, and seke theyr luyng abroad in the country? Yea and in the cuntrey manye Grammer Scholes founded of a godly intent to brynge vp poore mennes sonnes in learnyng and vertue, nowe be taken aw[a]ye by reason of the gredye couetousnes of you that were put in trust by God, and the kynge to erecte and make grammer scholes in manye places: And had neyther commaundement nor permission to take away the scholmasters luyng in anye place, moreouer muche charitable almes was there in manye places yerely to be bestowed in pore townes and parishes vpon goddes people, the kynges subiectes: whiche almes to ye great dyspleasure of god and dishonoure of the kynge, yea and contrarye to goddes worde and the kynges lawes, ye haue taken away. I knowe what ye do saye and bragge in some places: that ye haue doen as ye were commaunded wyth as muche charytye and lyberalitye towardes both pouertye and learnyng, as your commission woulde beare and suffer.

Take heede whome ye flander, for Goddes worde, and the kynges lawes and statutes be open vnto euery mannes eyes, and be [by?] euery commission directed accordyng vnto them, ye both myght and should haue geuen much wher as ye haue taken much away.

Take hede vnto the kynges statutes, the actes of parliament, there ye shall fynde that the Nobles and commons do geue, and the Kynge doth take into hys handes Abbeyes, Colleges and Chauntries for erectyng of Gramer scholes, the godly brynging vp of youthe, the farther augmentyng of the vnyuersityes, and better prouisyon for the poore. Thys shall ye fynd in the Actes of parliament, in the Kynges statutes: but what shalbe found in your practyse and in your dedes? Surely the pullyng downe of gramer scholes, the deuylishe drownynge of youthe in ignoraunce, the vtter

decaye of the vniuersities, and mooste vncharitable spoyle of prouysion, that was made for the pore.

Was it not a godly and charitable prouysion of the Kyng to geue vnto the vniuersity two hundred poundes yerelye for excellente Readers? three hundred [Thirtie] poundes yerelye in pure almes, and manye hundred pounds also to the foundacyon and ereccion of a newe Colledge? And was it not a deuillishe deuysie of you to tourne all thys the kinges bountuouse liberalitie into improporacions of benefices, whyche be papyfticall and vncharytable spoyles of most necessarye prouysion for pore paryshes? *Intelligite insipientes in populo, et stulti aliquando sapite.*¹

Learne vnderstandyng you that playe vnwyse partes amongeste the people, and you fooles once waxe wyse. *Qui plantauit aurem not audiet?*¹

He that sette the eares, shall he not heare the sorowfull complaynte of pore paryshes, agaynste you that haue by improporacions clene taken awaye hospitalite, and muche impared the due liuynges of gods mynysters, the peoples instructoures and teachers. *Qui figurat oculum non considerat?*¹ he that fashioned the eie, doth he not beholde howe that the beste landes of abbeyes, colleges and chaunteries be in youre handes, and euyll improporacions conueyd to the kyng and to the vniuersities and Byshopes landes? *Qui corripit gentes non arguet?*¹

He that corrected and punysheth the heathen lackyng the lyght of gods word for the only abuse of naturall reason, wyll he not reprove and condemne you whyche haue good reasonable wyts, gods onely word, the kynges laws, and statut[e]s: and much power and authority geuen vnto you to edifye and do good, seinge it is abused of you to destroy and do hurt? Shulde not you haue amended the prouision for the pore, the educacyon of youthe, and the condicion of the vniuersities? And be they not by you fore hurte and decayed? The kyngc shold and wold haue reformed religion. The fyrst parte of reformation is to restore

¹ Ps. xciv. 9, 10.

and geue agayne all fuche thynges as haue bene wrongfullye taken and abused. Surelye the Abbeyes dyd wrongfullye take and abuse nothyng so much as the improporacions of benefices. Nothyng is so papyftycall as improporacions of benefices be: they be the Popes darlynges and paramors, whiche by the dyuelyshe deuyce of wicked Balaamytes, be set a brode in this realme to cause the lerned men of the vnyuersities and all bishoppes that be godly menne, the Popes enemyes, to commyt spirituall fornicacion wyth them. Whye dyd God destroye the Madyanytes but for their synne? Why dyd he plage the Israelytes but for ye same synne? Why dyd God cause the Abeyes to be destroyed, but for papyftycall abuses? And why shoulde not god plage the vnyuersityes and Byshops keypyng and medelyng wyth improporacions, that bee the same papyftycall and deuelysh abuses?

O what a bloudye daye shall it be: when as for thys abhominacion, thys spirituall fornicacion, God shali commaunde hys faythfull seruante Moyse the kynges mayesty to take and hange all the rulers of the people that haue wittinglye suffred these whoryshe Madyanytes, these Popysh abuses? And cause a zelous Phinees to shedde the harte bloude of hym that before Moyse and many Israelites, before a hygh iustice and manye people, taketh a Madyanite into hys tent, an improporacion into his enheritance. But nowe brethren as Peter preached vnto the Iewes: *Nunc fratres scio quod per ignorantiam fecistis.*¹ Now brethren I knowe that you haue done thys through ignoraunce: for the Lorde whych forseeth all thynges, knoweth that yf you hadde not bene blynded wyth ignoraunce, ye coulde neuer for pitye haue executed hys indignacyon and wrathe in makynge fuche destruccyon. Seynge therefore that it was Goddes pleasure thus by one euyll to punyssh an other, nowe repent, and amende, that youre fautes maye be pardoned. It pleased God by the blynde malyce of the Iewes, to naye Chryste Iesu vpon the crosse: and yet as many of them as hearyng that matter opened

¹ Acts *iii.* 17.

by Peter, were greued and pricted in conscience, fo many sayde vnto Peter, and to the other Apostles what shall we do? The Apostolical counsel was: *Agite penitentiam, recipiscite.*¹ Repent and amend. So dere brethren hearynge and knowyng that God hath vsed your gredy couetoufnes to destr[o]ye Abbeyes, Colleges, and chauntries, and to plage all thys realme, be greued and fory in your hertes, seyng that ye haue bene *Vasa iræ*,² instrumentes of wrath to execute vengeance: and purge your selues of thys vyle couetoufnesse, then shall ye from henceforth be *Vasa honoris*,³ vessels of honoure, to serue God, *in sanctitate et iusticia*⁴ in holynes and ryghteousnes all the dayes of your lyfe.

And nowe on the other parte, you that be of the comynaltye, when ye feele that anye plague or punishment commeth by thiem that be sette ouer you in offyce, and aucthorytye, knowe that they do it not of theym selues, but be moued and styred of God, to worke hys wrath vpon you. For when as God was dyspleasid wyth the Israelytes, then hys dyspleure caused Dauyd theyr kynge to take that way that brought a pestilence amongest the people, whereon dyed. lxx. thousande: *Addidit furor domini irasci contra Israel, commouitque dauid.*⁵ The indignacion of the Lorde waxed whot agaynst Israel, and he stired vp Dauyd. What kyndled the indignacion of God, but the fynnes of the people? The fynnes of the people dyd kyndle the indignacyon of the Lorde: the Lordes indignacyon stired vp Dauyd in presumpcyon. Dauids presumptuousnes caused the people to dye on the pestylence. And euen as then God ordeyned yat christ shuld be crucified be ye malicious blyndnes of the Iewes, the Israelites plaged by the presumption of Dauyd:

So hath he ordeyned that Englande shoulde be spoyled wyth gredy couetouse officers, Looke then, what hath made thys greate spoyle in England? gredye couetoufnes of officers. What dyd make in theym suche gredy couetoufnes? the indignacion of God. What kyndled goddes indignacion? the fynnes of the

¹ Acts ii. 38; Mark i. 15.

² Rom. ix. 22.

³ 2 Tim. ii. 21.

⁴ Luke i. 75.

⁵ 2 Sam. xxiv. 1.

people. What was the synne of the people? *Eloquium sancti Israell, blasphemauerunt.*¹ They haue blasphemed the holye woorde of G O D, callinge it newe learnynge and heretycall doctryne: *Ideo iratus est furor domini.*¹ And therefore is the wrath of the Lorde kyndled. Now you people which cry and fay that you are robbed and spoyled of all that ye haue: Woulde ye haue thys whyche ye call robberyng and spoyling to be ceassed? Then quench the indignacion of god whych doth cause and make it. If ye wyl quench the indignacion of God, *Hodie si uocem eius audieritis.*² To daye, euen nowe yf ye shal heare hys voyce, harden not your hartes, as in the prouocacion in the daye of temptacyon. Harde hartes, styffe neckes, dyfobediente myndes, prouoke, tempte, and flyre vp the indignacion of God.

Truelye the indignacion of God shal neuer be quenched, vntyll that you wyth tender hartes, humble, obedyente, and thankfull myndes, receyue, embrace, and conforme your selues vnto the holy worde of God fet forth by the Kynge's Magestye his gracious procedynges.

There is as yet more styffe necked stubburnes, dieuellysh dyfobedience, and gredye couetousnes in one of you of the commune sorte that kepeth thys greate swellynge in the hearte, hauyng no occasion to sette it furth in exercise, then is in ten of the worst of them that beyng in office and authoritye, haue manye occasions to open and shewe them selues what they be.

When dyd euer anye offycers in authoritye shewe suche rebellyous proud myndes, as was of late playnlye perceyued in very manye of the communaltye? I put the case that they be so couetouse, that one of their gredi guts had swalowed vp a whole Abbey, house, landes and goodes, And yf you had had powers vnto your wylles, ye had deuoured whole cuntryes, houses and goodes, men and beastes, corne and cattell, as ye dyd begynne.

Some of them kepeth their fermes in theyr owne

¹ Isa. v. 24, 25.

² Ps. xcvi. 7.

handes, and manye of you kepe youre owne Corne in youre owne barnes. Yea marrye, why should we not kepe oure corne in oure owne barnes? Forsooth ye nowe maye not keepe it for dreade of God, obedience to the Kynges maiestie, and pitie of your poore neighbours: For God sayeth: *Qui abscondit frumenta, maledicetur in populis: benedictio autem super caput uendencium:*¹ He that hydeth vp corne, shall be accursed amongst [amonges] the people: but blessinge shal be vpon theyr heades that bryngeth it furth to the Markettes to sell. Here ye heare the blessinge and curse of God.

Ye knowe the kynges gracious Proclamacyon, ye maye perceyue youre neyghbours neede, by theyr myferable complaynt. And yet neyther God by blessinge and curfynge, neither the kyng by proclamacion and commissiion, nether the pore by praiyng and paying can cause you to serue ye Markets wyth corne. But let goddes woorde, the Kynges lawes, honest order, and charytable prouyfyon be put foorth of all markette townes by wycked Mammon, and let hym onely kepe the Markets and set pryfes for youre purposes, and wythoute doubte euerye market shalbe ful of all manner of Corne and vytayles commyng in on al fydes.

O wycked seruantes of Mammon, alwayes bothe ennemyes and traytours to GOD and the kyng and the common wealthe. Is it God or Mammon that hath made the Corne to sprynge, and geuen you plentye? Yf ye say Mammon, then ye confesse playnely whose seruantes ye be, what Idolatrye ye vse. If ye say God, How dare ye confesse him in youre woordes and denye hym in youre deedes? Whye do ye not brynge foorth goddes corne vnto goddes people, at goddes commaundement? Why be ye not faythfull disposers of Goddes treasures? Well, he yat hath no corn thinketh he hath no parte, nor is not gyltye in this matter: but I can tel that ther is many of them, that neither hath nor wyll haue corne, whyche make corne most dere. I haue heard howe that euen this last yere, ther was certayn Acres of corne growyng on the ground

¹ Prov. xi. 26.

bought for. viii. poundes: he that bought it for. viii. sold it for. x. He that gaue. x. pounds, sold it to an other aboue. xii. poundes: and at last, he that caryed it of the ground, payde. xiiii. poundes. Lykewyfe I hearde, that certayne quarters of malte were boughte after the pryce of. iii. shyllynges. iiii. pence a quarter to be delyuered in a certayn markette towne vpon a certayne daye. Thys bargayne was so oft bought and folde before the daye of delyueraunce came, that the same Malte was folde to hym that shoulde receyue it there and carrye it awaye, after. vi. s. a quarter. Looke and se howe muche a craftes man or anye other honeste man that muste spend corne in his house, by this maner of bargaynyng, payeth, and howe littel the housbande manne that tyllith the ground, and paieth the rent, receyueth: Then ye may se and perceyue it must needes be harde for eyther of them to kepe a house, the cra[f]tes man payinge so muche, and the husbandman takynge so lytle.

There is a lyke maner of bargaynyng of them that be leafmongers, for leafmongers make the tenaunts to pay so muche, and the landlord to take so little, that neither of them is wel able to kepe house. I heare say that within a few miles of London an honest gentleman did let his ground by lease vnto pore honest men after. ii. s. iiii. d. an acar: then commeth a lesfemounger, a thefe, an extorcioner, deceiuyng ye tenaunts, bieth theyr leases, put them from the groundes, and causeth them yat haue it at hym nowe, to paye after. ix. s. or as I harde saye. xix. s. but I am ashamed to name so muche. How be it, couetous extorcioners be ashamed of no dede be it neuer so euyll. And as I hear say, ther be many lesfemongers in London, that heyghthen the rent of bare houses: and as corne, landes, tenementes and houses, so in al maner of wares, ther be such biers and fellers as cause ye prouyders and makers of ye wares to take so little, and the occupiers of the wares too paye so muche, that neyther of them both is able too lyue. All the Marchauntes of myschyefe

that go betwixt the barke and the tree. Betwixte the housband man that getteth the corne, and housholder that occupyeth Corne, betwix the Landlorde, that letteth fermes, and the tennautes that dwell in the fermes. And betwixt the craftes man that maketh, or the marchaunte that prouydeth wares, and other men that occupieth wares. I faye these marchautes of mischiefe commynge betwixte the barke and the tree, do make all thinges dere to the byers: and yet wonderfull vyle and of small pryce to many, that must nedes fett or fell that whyche is their owne honestlye come bye. These be far worse than anye other that hath bene mencyoned heretofore: for although benefyced men and offycers haue manye mennes liuynges, yet they do some mennes duties. But these haue euerye mannes lyuyng, and doo no mans dutye. For they haue that whyche is in dede the lyuyng of craftes men, Marchauntmenne, husbandmen, landelordes and tennautes, and do neuer a one of these mens duties. These be ydle vacaboundes, lyuyng vpon other mens labours: these be named honest barginers, and be in dede craftye couetouse extorcioners. For they that be true marchauntemen to by and sell in dede, shoulde and doo prouyde great plentye and good chepe by honest byenge and fellynge of theyr wares. But these hauynge the names of true marchautes, and beyng in dede crafty theues, do make a scarfitye and dearth of all thynges that commeth through theyr handes.

Take awaye all marchauntemen from anye towne or cytye, and ye shall leaue almost no prouyfyon of thinges that be necessarye. Take awaye leafmongers, regrators and all fuche as by byenge and fellynge make thyngs more dere, and when they be gone, all thyngs wylbe more plentye and better chepe. Now maye ye se who they be that make a greate dearth in a great plentye. For who is it, that heygtheneth the pryce of Corne, the housbandman that getteth plentye of corne by tyllynge of the grounde? No: the regrator that byeth corne to make it dere, growynge vpon the grownde. Who

reyseth the rentes, ioyneth house to house, and heapeth fermes together? The Gentyll manne, that by geuyng of leases, letteth forth hys own landes into other mennes handes? No, the leasemongers, that by selling leases, byeth and bryngeth other mennes Landes into their own hands. Who maketh all manner of wares and marchandyses to be very dere? the marchaunt venterer, which with fayethfull dyligence to prouyde for the commune wealth, caryeth furth suche thynges as maye well be spared, and bryngeth home suche wares as muste needes be occupied in thys realme? No, the Marchant of myschyefe that by craftye conueyance for his owne gayne, caryeth awaye such thinges as maye not be spared, and bryngeth agayne suche wares as are not nedefull. Take hede you Marchauntes of London that ye be not Marchauntes of myschyefe, conueying awaye to much old lead, wol, lether and such substanciall wares as wold set many Englyshmen to work, and do euery manne good seruyce, and brynge home fylkes and fables, cattayls, and folshe fethers to fil the realm full of such baggage as wyll neuer do ryche or poore good, and necessary seruyce. Be ye sure, if thys realme be ryche, ye shall not nede to be poore, yf thys realme be poore, you shall not be able to kepe and enioy your ryches. Take hede than that your marchaundise be not a seruyng of folshe mens fanfies, whyche wyll destroye the realme: but lette it be a prouydyng for honest discrete mens commodities, whych wyll be the vpholdyng and enrychyng of you and the whole realme. Take hede vnto your vocacions prelates and preachers Magystrats and offycers, landlordes and tenaunts, craftes men and marchauntes, all maner of men take hede vnto youre selues and to your conuersacion and luyng: yea dere brethren at the reuerence of god, for a generall comfort to al partes with out gredye couetousnesse towards oure selues, or malicious enuye towards other, wyth a syngle eye, of a pure herte, let vs confyder and acknowledge how that the bountifull liberalitey of

almightye God hath geuen vnto thys realme wonderfull plenty of peronnages, prebends, benefyces, offyces, and all maner of luynges: wyth great aboundance of corne, cattell, landes, goodes, and all wares that be good and profitable: and howe that it is certeynly the vnfaithfull disposers whyche cause a great scarfyty, dearth and lacke of all these giftes and treasures of God, therefore *dominus de cælo prospexit, ut uideat si est intelligens aut requirens deum.*¹

The Lord looked down from heauen to se yf there were any that had vnderstandyng and fought to please God in faythfull dysposyng of Goddes treasures: but feinge that *Omnes student auaritiæ, a maiore vsque ad minorem.*² All be geuen vnto coueteousnes from the hyste vnto the loweste, so that pore people can haue no houses to dwell in, ground to occupye, no nor corne for their moneye. The Lorde hym selfe speakyng vnto the earthe, sheweth wher is the faute: *principes tui infideles.*³ Thy head rulers and offycers be vnfaythfull disposers. *Socii furum,*³ theuishe fellowes.

*Omnes diligunt munera,*³ they all loue brybes, *et sequuntur retributiones,*³ and hunte for promocyons. What then O Lorde shall be the ende of all thys? *Viuo ego dicit dominus.*⁴ As trulye as I lyue fayeth the Lord *propterea quod facti sunt greges mei in rapinam,*⁴ Because that my flock haue ben spoyled, *et oues meæ in deuorationem omnium bestiarum agri,*⁴ and my shepe deuoured of all wyld beastes of the fylde, *quia non esset pastor,* Because there was no keper, *Neque enim quæsiuerunt pastores mei gregem meum,* For those [these] which were named my pastours, dyd take no heede vnto my flocke, *Sed pastores pascebant semetipsos,* But those pastours dyd feede theym selues prowlyng for profyte, *et greges meos non pascebant,* and my flocke th[e]y dyd not feede by dooyng of their dutyes. *Propterea pastores audite uerbum domini.*

Therefore ye keepers heare the word of the Lorde. What worde? that the flocke shalbe delyuered, and you shalbe destroyed: That is a true word: for *qua mensura*

¹ Ps. liii. 2. ² Jer. vi. 13. ³ Isa. i. 23. ⁴ Ezek. xxxiv. 3, 9.

*mensi fueritis, remecietur uobis:*¹ By [bicause] the same measure that you haue serued other, ye youre selues shall also be serued: for as ye haue serued superstitious papistes, so shall you your selues be serued, beyng couetous Idolaters: yea and haue as muche vauntage at the metynge, as is betwixte supersticion and Idolatrye. Howe be it, God geuyng you respite to loke for amendemente: offers more gentelnes, yf ye wyl take it. For in the. xx. of Ieremy he sayth: *Ecce ego do coram uobis uiam uitæ et uiam mortis:*² Behold I set before you the way of lyfe and the way of death: yf ye repent and amend, lyfe: If ye be styll stifnecked, death: for the Lorde by Esaye. i. sayeth: *Si uolueritis et audieritis:*³ Yf ye wyll heare to repent and amend, *Bona terræ comedetis,*³ ye shall eat the good fruits yat the earth shall bryng forth, to your comfort. *Si nolueritis, et me ad iracundiam prouocaueritis,*³ yf ye wyl not, but prouoke me to anger, *gladius deuorabit uos.*³ The sworde shall eate you vp. *Quia os domini locutum est.*³ For it is Gods owne mouthe that hath spoken it. For Gods sake beleue it: And do not by an harde hearte voyde of repentance heape vnto your selues the wrathe of god agaynst ye day of vengeance.

But thankfullye enbrasyng the ryches of goddes goodnes, pacience and long sufferyng, acknowlegyng that goddes kyndnes draweth you vnto repentance, yf ye haue so lytle spyrituall felyng and ghostlye vnderstandyng that ye can nothyng be perswaded or moued by the comfortable promyses, and terrible threthynges of the inuisible God: yet hauyng corporall eyes and naturall reason, confyder the decaye of thys Realme, and the towardnes of the kynges magestye. Note the decaye of thys realme, and thereby ye shall learne to knowe that nothyng can make a realme wealthye, yf the inhabitauntes therof be couetouse: for yf [all] landes and goodes coulde haue made a realme happy notwythstandyng mennes couetousnes, then shoulde not thys realme soo vnhappylye haue decayed, whenas by the suppressyon of Abbeis, Colleges and Chauntries, innumerable lands and goodes were gotten.

1 Matt. vii. 2.

2 Jer. xxi. 8.

3 Isa. i. 19, 20.

If goddes worde were ordeyned by anye other meane then by the conuertynge of couetous men, to make that realme happy where couetous men be, then fuerlye shoulde England now be most happy, wher gods word is frely fet forth in the mother tounge, playnly preached in solempne congregacions, and commonly vsed in daily comunicacion. But vndoubtedlye whereas couetouse men be, there neyther landes or goodes, no not goddes holye Gospell canne doo so muche good as couetoufnes doeth harme. Wherefore feyng thys realm by couetoufnesse is soore decayed, least it shoulde also by the same be destroyed, awaye wyth youre couetoufnes, all you yat loue thys realme. Or yf ye wyll not do it for loue of the realme, yet for the reuerente obedience whyche ye owe vnto God and the kynges maiestie, awaye wyth couetoufnes whyche maketh men seruantes of Mammon, and enemyes vnto god and the kyng. Be ye well assured that the kynges Maiestye whyche nowe is, God saue his noble grace, dreadeth god, loueth his people, and abhorreth couetoufnes, whiche in this realme offendeth God, dishonoureth ye kyng, anoyeth the people.

Therefore he doeth partly nowe perceyue and consider, and wyll do better hereafter, that prelates wyth pluralities, and magystrates wyth manie offices, do burden him and his people wyth paying tithes, fees, and manye greate charges, and yet kepe so many rounes vacant of prechers and officers, that his magesty cannot be duly serued, nor his people well instructed by the preachyng of gods word, nor yet well ordered by the mynistracion of iustice and equitye.

He knoweth that regratours of corne vyttals and of all maner of wares, make suche dearthe and scarcitie, that no diligence of good marchauntes by honest byyng and fellynge canne prouyde anye thynges to be eyther good cheap or plentiful. It is well knowen to his gracious maiesty, or at the least vnto hys honourable councell that leasemungers takynge muche of tenauntes and paying lyttell vnto the landlordes, haue both theyr

lyuynges, and doth the duties o: neyther. For to their owne pryuate loker they take rentes of tenauntes, and fermes of landlordes: but when by occafyon they fhall be requyred to ferue the Kyng for a common wealth, then they wyll haue neyther landes nor ferme to do the kyng feruyce. Do not therefore imagyn you that be eyther of the clergie or of the laytye in hyghe or lowe degree, that the Kynges Gracious Mageftie and his honourable counsell be fo negligent that they do not efpye, or fo parcyall that they wyll not punyſhe thoſe whyche in thys realme hynder the prechyng of gods word, ſtoppe the adminyſtracion of iuſtice and equitye, cauſe of all thynges a dearthe and ſcarfytye, and brynge Gentlemenne to pouertye, and huſbandmen vnto beggerye. It is ſpyed and muſte be punyſhed, although it be delayed for a tyme, to ſe yf you of your felues wyllinglye wyll amende it.

Beware therefore that ye ſtaye not your ſelfe vnto a byttell ſtaffe, for it wyll braſt in ſpylles and perce thorowe your handes. Do not ſtay your ſelfe vpon thys ymaginacion to thynke that although craftelye contrary to lawe and conſcience ye do inuade other mennes rouses, liuynges and goodes, yet for becauſe ye be ſo many in number that do it, therefore the kyng and hys counsell eyther cannot or wyll not bee agaynſte you in it: For trulye euen therefore muſte they nowe needes wythout delaye reforme and amend it. For as ſedicious rebellion, ſo couetouſe treason beyng in a fewe may be ſuffered at the fyrſte in hope of amendment, ſo long as they ſew by clokyng it ſecretelye, ſeme to be aſhamed of their owne euyll doynge, or afrayed of the rulers power and authoritye: but beyng ſo many that they all together wythoute ſhame and feare, falle to open ſpoylynge of the realme, then wythoute delaye muſte they needes be repreſſed, although they both ſay and ſweare, that they be the kyngs ſubiects, and breake no laws. If ye ſpoyle be found in their hands, it is neyther ſayinge nor ſwearynge that can excuſe them. Open ſpoile hath bene

made of personages, prebendes, offices, fermes, wares, vycuals, and of all manner of mens liuings. Therefore there is no long delay to be taken in hope of amendemente, but spedye prouision for redres must be made for feare of a generall destruccion. You then that for wastynge and abusynge of the Lordes goodes be worthy and lykely sone to be displaced, yet in ye mean tyme whyles ye haue respyte, playe the parte of a wyse steward. Restore vnto preachers and offycers, benefyces and offyces: lette landelordes haue their rentes, and fermoures theyr leases: cause byinge and sellyng to be a prouysyon of good chepe and plentye, and not an occasyon of dearthe and scarfytye. Soo shall both God and the kyng perceuyng your wyse prouysion, allow your wel doynge, pardon your fautes, and confirme you in your offyces.

O refuse the seruyce, restore the iniuryes of wycked Mammon, that ye maye from hencefoorth the serue God and the kyng, prouyding for the people in holynes and ryghtousnes all the dayes of youre lyfe: take hede when ye go from a meaner luyng vnto a better, frome a lower offyce vnto a hygher, that ye goo as menne called of Christe, not as bewitched and allured by Mammon, se that God by hygher authoritye perceuyng your faythfulnes in a lyttell, doo in at the doore of worthynes and honestye, admytte and receyue you to be trusted wyth more: beware leaste that the deuyll by flatteryng frendshyppe and couetous ambycion, perceuyng your worldlynes in a lytle, do in at the wyndow of wycked bryberye conuey and receyue you, to abuse and be abused wyth more. Se that ye obey the commaundement of God, takynge paynes in youre dutye to feede and doo good. Do not consent vnto the temptacion of the Deuell, worshyppynge hym in worldlynes, for to gette gaynes. These thynges obserued, ye shal be esteemed and taken as worthy ministers of Chryst, and seruauents of God, for so much as appertayneth vnto the lawfull callyng and admission of you into youre rowmes, and also the fayethfull dyly-

gence in vsyng of your felues in your roumes. Furthermore Paule geueth example of a lowly mynde whyche doeth not iustifye a mans selfe, and iudge euyll of other. For so it becommeth the seruantes of God, and the mynysters of Chryste, euen when they haue done as they be commaunded, to acknowledge them felues vnprofytable seruants. And not as proud Phariseis, prayinge in the presence of the Lorde, to make boast of them felues, and fynde fautes wyth other men. No, for yf other menne prayse them, they must not regarde it, no nor yf theyr owne conscience commende them, excepte God also allow it. Therefore Paule sayeth. *Mihi pro minimo est ut a nobis iudicer.* It is one of the least thinges wyth me too be iudged of you that be wyth me, eyther in tyme or place. *Vel ab humano die,* eyther of mannes daye, by the experience of them that shall haue further tryall in contynuance of tyme. *Sed neque me ipsum iudico.* No nor I doo not iudge my selfe. *Mihi enim nihil conscius sum, sed non ideo iustificatus sum.* For there is nothyng that I knowe my selfe gylty of, yet through that am I not iustified, no not thorow the iudgement of you or of other, or of myne owne conscience. *Qui uero iudicat me dominus est.*¹ He truly yat iudgeth me, is ye lord iudge of all men. *Quare, nihil ante tempus iudicate,*¹ wherefore iudge ye nothyng afore the tyme of iudgemente. *Quando dominus uenerit,*¹ when the Lorde shall come to iudge. *Qui et illustrabit occulta tenebrarum,*¹ whyche also shall make bryghte the couertes of darkenesse and craftye clokyng of fautes. *Et manifestabit concilia cordis,*¹ and shall open the thoughtes of the heartes, whiche he only searcheth. *Et tunc laus erit unicuique a deo.*¹ And then prayse shall be vnto euery one of God, that geueth prayse to the prayse worthy. If Paule, beyng a mynyster of Chryste, and a disposer of Goddes mysteryes, was so faythefull in hys doynge that neyther all the worlde nor hys owne conscience coulde in any thyng reprove hym, and yet to contynue hys carefull dylygence had euermore a greate respecte vnto the commyng and

iudgement of the Lorde : Howe shall we thynke that they rede and take thys place, whiche beyng knowen both to theym felues and vnto the whole worlde to do very euyl in many thyngs, yet wythout care of amedement, do forget theym felues, the Lord, and his iudgemente? Surely they vnderstand it as Peter sayth : that many places of Paul be vnderstand of them whych beyng *indocti καὶ ἀσησιχτοί* vnlearned and vnsetled in iudgement, *ασριβλονσει* wrafft or wryng vntyll a wrong pin *in suam ipforum perniciem*,¹ vnto theyr owne destruccyon, manye places of Paule, *et reliquas scripturas*,¹ and the other scripctures. For whereas thys place of Paul shoulde be applyed to make men carefull and diligent, they wrafft and wryng it to make for them that be careles and negligent. For Paul sayth that he doth very lytle regarde what any man doth iudge of hym, menyng therby that though all the world wolde comende hym, yet wold he not be vayne glorious, of hys well doynge. They saye, they passe lytle what any man saythe by them, menyng therby that though all men fynde fautes wyth them, yet wyll they neuer be ashamed of theyr euyll doynge. Paule sayeth that no man shoulde iudge, menyng that no man as concernyng secrete of the mynde, shoulde iudge other to be yuell, and them selves to be iust : and so take occasion to speake shamefully of other, and to glory in them felues : they saye that no man shoulde iudge, menyng that neyther preacher nor friende shoulde so rebuke theyr manifest euyll dedes, as myght geue them occasion to be ashamed of them felues, and leue iudgyng of other. Lette vs not wrest the places of Paule and of other scripcturs vnto a wrong purpose. They wrest the saying of Paule vnto a wrong menyng, when as the mercye of God, whyche passeth all hys works is denyed of them vnto anye penytente synner, by their allegynge of the tenth of Paul vnto the Ebrues. Then is that place not well applyed but wrong wrested. For when it is sayde that yf we synne wylfullye after that we haue receiued the knoweledge of the trueth, there

¹ II. Peter *iii.* 16.

remayneth no more sacrifice for synne, but a fearefull lookynge for iudgemente and violente fyer, it is a meante that there is remaynyng and leaste in the scriptures no mencyon of sacrifice for the forgeuenesse of synnes, but terrible threatnynges of vengeance to punyssh the synners, too bee preached vnto wylfull synners.

Howbeit there is no condemnacion but alwayes mercye to be preached vnto them that grafted in Christ Iesu, be penitent synners, how fore and ofte foeuer they fall. For his mercy is aboue all hys workes. Therefore whenfoeuer he suffereth the Deuyll to tempte menne to do synne, or too plage them for synne, or whenfoeuer by his worde wrytten or preached he doth aggrauate synne, all is done to dryue menne vnto mercye. The deuyll hathe caused here in Englande muche synne and abhominacion, greuous plages, and fore miseries, God hath sent wonderous plenty of hys comfortable word. And nowe brethren all this is euen the worke of god: for it is God that worketh al thynges in all men: *Deus est qui operatur omnia in omnibus.*¹ And yet take good hede to the true interpretacion of thys place leaſt that ye make God to be the author of syn, *Qui non nouit peccatum, nec est inuentus dolus in ore eius.*² whyche knoweth no synne by experience of doying it, nor hathe no gyle founde in hys mouthe. But euen as it was God that dyd both geue and take awaye Iobs goodes: So is it God that doth al thyngs, both good and euyll. And as he dyd make Iob ryche, by geuinge him goodes, and poore bi suffering [and vsyng] the deuill to destroy those goodes: so doethe he good deedes of hys owne goodnes, and euyll dedes in sufferynge the deuill to do them. Yea it is euen God that hathe concluded al men vnder synne, that hath suffered the deuill to tempt al men* to do synne, yea and *scriptura conclusit omnia sub peccato*,³ ye scriptur of God hath concluded al men vnder syn, or as Paule speaketh in an other place more pla[i:]nly *αιτοῶμεθα*. We haue concluded or proued, allegynge good reason, that both the grekes and the Iewes be vnder synne. So nowe

¹ 1 Cor. xii. 6² 1 Peter ii. 22.³ Gal. iii. 22.

all ye by G O D be concluded vnderneath finne, that is by goddes suffraunce the deuil hath caused you to commit finne. By Gods ordinaunce the scriptures and the preachers of God, do open and declare that ye be all fynners. And this is all done, *ut omnium miserearetur*,¹ that he myght haue mercye vpon all, that all mighte receyue the pardon of his mercye without ye which none can be faued, none can escape vengeance. For *non est in aliquo alio salus*, there is no health in anye other, *nec aliud nomen datum sub Cælo, in quo oporteat nos saluos fieri*,² nor none other name geuen vnder heauen, in the which we shuld be faued. So yat he whyche wyl haue anye healthe muste come vnto Christ, shewyng him selfe wounded with sin, to stand in nede of Phificion. He yat wil be faued must shew him selfe a penytente fynner vnto Christe which came not to cal the righteous but fynners to amendmente. But he yat regardeth the flattery of the worlde or the parcialitic of his owne conscience, and therby taketh occasion to glory in his own doynges, he shal finde no mercy, he can receiue no pardon or forgeuenes sent from god to be deliuered only vnto those yat fele and acknowlege them selues to be sickely and vnrighteous finners. Thei therfore that fele and acknowledge ye greatest fins wickednes* and abhominacions in them selues being fory therfore, and entend amendment, be most worthi and sure to receiue ye great pardon of gods mercy, whyche certainly wil deliuer them out of all daunger, kepe them in fasti and bryng them to prosperity. Heare therfore and I wil now read my commission by ye whiche ye shall wel perceyue yat I speake nothyng vpon my own head, but euery thyng according to the commaundement of the Lorde your god, whyche hath sent me vnto you hys people. The example of this proclamacion. Es. lviii. *Clama*.³ Make proclamation openly, yat al men maye heare: *ne cesses*.³ Ceas not for feare of them that may kyll the body, and can not hurt the foule, *quasi tuba exalta uocem tuam*,³ Liſte vp thy voyce as a trumpet, geuinge men knowledge of the

¹ Rom. xi. 32.² Act. iij.³ Isa. lviii. 1.

commynge of the ennemyes in the tyme of war. So geue them knowlege of the swerd of vengeance, which shal folow immediatli after this warning *Et annuncia populo meo scelera eorum.*¹ And shew them their fau[1]tes yat in bering of my name, and professinge my religion wil be my people. *Et domui Iacob peccata sua,*¹ and vnto the house of Iacob their own sins: vnto all fortes of men euen those fyns which they them selues do vse. Vnto the clergy, the finnes of ye clergy, vnto the laitye, the fynnes of the layte: and vnto euery degre, ye finnes yat be of that degre vsed. Shew ye clergi that thei fede them selues fat with many liuings, and let my flocke be scatered and vnfed, because ther is few preching pastors yat can and wil fede them.

Shew the clergy that they can neyther teach, nor requyre the king and laitye to prouide new liuings for prechers, vntill they do restore forth of their own hands those which be prouided alreedy: shew such of the cleargy as be fatlings puffed vp with pluralities, that they neyther haue fed, do fede, or can fede my flocke, yet haue spoyled, do spoyle and wyl spoyle my lambes, ye kynges subiectes, and theyr own brethren, so long as thei vse their pluralities. Shew the laity yat thei haue robbed me theyr lord and god of double honour due vnto my mynisters: for they haue taken awaye the fodder that was prepared for the laborynge oxe, and bene disobedyent vnto my law, pronounced by them that sate in Moyfes cheire.

Shewe the nobilitie that they haue oppressed the comminaltye, Kepyng them vnder in feare and ignorance, by power and aucthoritye, which myght and should haue bene louyngly learned their obedience and duty to both God and the kyng by preachyng of the gospel. Shew the nobility yat they haue extorted and famished the commynalty by the heighthening of fynes and rentes of fermes, and decaying of hospitality and good house keepyng. Shew the comminaltye yat they be both traytours and rebelles, murmuryng and

¹ Isa. lviii. 1.

grudgyng agaynst myne ordinaunces: tel the commin-
 alty yat the oxe draweth, the horse beareth, ye tre
 bryngeth forth frutes and the earthe corne and graffe
 to the profyte and comferte of man, as I haue or-
 dained them: but they of the comminalltye in England
 bye and fel, make bargaynes, and do al thynges to the
 grefe and hynderaunce of manne, contrary to my com-
 maundemente. Tell the commynaltye that they take
 one anothers ferme ouer their heades, they thruste
 one an other oute of their houses, they take leases vnto
 them selues, and lette them dearer vnto other: they
 bye cornes and wares to make other paye more dere
 for it: they hurte and trouble, eate vp and deuoure
 one another. Tell all Englande hye and low, riche
 and poore that they euerye one prowlynge for them
 selues, be seruaunts vnto Mammon, ennemies vnto god,
 disturbers of common wealth, and destroyers of them
 selues. And for all this lette them knowe that I haue
 no pleafure in ye death of a finner. *Sed magis vt con-
 uertatur et uiuat,*¹ but rather I geue him respit and
 fend him warning yat he may turne and liue, com-
 fortably here vpon earth, and ioifully in heauen for
 euer. Therefore if any in Englande do tourne and
 amende, he shall faue hym selfe. But they which wyll
 not repent and amend shal not be faued by theyr
 fathers or frendes, which by repentaunce be as sure
 them selues to be accepted vnto me as was Noe
 Danyel and Iob: but and if all or the moost parte of
 them in England, turne and amend them, say vnto
 England: *delectaberis super domino.*² From henceforth
 you shalt haue delite and plesure in ye lord, *et sustollam te
 super altitudines terræ,*² and I wil lift the higher in
 honour welth and power, then any other realme in or
 vpon the earth, *et cibabo te hereditate Iacobi patris tui,*²
 and so wyll I fede the with the inheritaunce of Iacob
 chy father. I will restore vnto ye whatsoeuer land or
 holds in Scotland or in Fraunce dyd at any tyme belonge
 vnto Iacob thy father, vnto the kings of this realme,
*os enim domini locutum est,*² for the Lordes owne mouth

¹ Ezek xx.xiii. 11.² Isa. lviii. 14.

hath spoken it, which is a better assurance vnto this commiffion, then though it were figned and feled wyth ten thoufande mens handes.

Now al you yat entend to be faued by the mercies of god in our fauioure Iefu Christ, come when ye be called from gredy couetoufnes wherwyth ye haue bene blinded to wreake Gods wrath: receyue mercy and grace which be now frely offred to make you from henceforth holy minifters of Christ, and faithfull difpofers of ye manifolde gyftes of Gods grace and goodnes: and now for fere of forgetfull negligence, when ye depart hence, replenifh your minds with ye comfortable remembrance of your own greuouſ myseries, and of gods great mercies, in fecrete meditation of the lords praier, here taryng together in quyetnes a littell for to receyue the Lordes bleffing.

The god of peace that brought againe from death our Lord Iefus the greate ſhepeheard of the ſhepe, thorow the bloud of the euerlaſtyng teſtament, make you perfit in all good workes, to do hys wyll, workyng in you that which is pleſant in his
fyght, through Iefus Christ.

Amen.

God ſaue the Kynge.¹

¹ In ſecond edition, 1572. God ſaue the Queene.

Imprynted at
London by Rhon
Day dwelling ouer
Aldersgate.

*Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum
solum Per septennium.*

In the reprint of 1572, the colophon is—

These bookes are to be solde at the litle
North doore of Paules, at the
signe of the blacke Boye.

Please oblige, by showing this List to your friends.

Works in English Literature

PUBLISHED OR TO BE PUBLISHED BY

EDWARD ARBER,

Associate, King's College, London, F.R.G.S., &c.

AT

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

Sold by all Booksellers in the United Kingdom, and by the following, abroad.—

Berlin: N. ASHÉ.

Bombay: THACKER, VINING & Co.

Boston: LITTLE, BROWN & Co.

Calcutta: THACKER, SENK & Co.

Melbourne: GEORGE ROBERTSON.

Montreal: DAWSON BROTHERS.

New York: SCRIBNER, WELFORD & Co.

Philadelphia: C. J. PRICE.

San Francisco: A. L. BANCROFT & Co.

Toronto: ADAM, STEVENSON & Co.

* * * Foreign booksellers selling these publications can have their names added to the above, in the next List, upon application.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST. 2

FOR STUDENTS OF ENGLISH LITERATURE.

To STUDENTS. 3

Facsimile Texts. 4

English Reprints, Foolscap size. 5-12

Demy size. 13

Imperial size. 14

Annotated Reprints. (THE PASTON LETTERS.) 15

FOR GENERAL READERS.

Leisure Readings in English Literature. 16

Choice Books. 16

These publications are all edited by Mr. Arber, unless otherwise stated.

Any single work may be obtained separately. In ordering quote the NUMBER, TITLE, and PRICE (the author's name is unnecessary).

All orders must be accompanied by a remittance; which, if under 10s., can be made in *Postage Stamps*; if above that sum, in P.O.O., made payable at HIGH HOLBORN OFFICE, or Cheques crossed LONDON AND COUNTY BANK.

These publications are ALWAYS on sale; and may be obtained through your own Bookseller; or, in any number, post-free by return, on remitting to Mr. ARBER, the prices, as stated in this List.

The usual allowance to Colleges and Schools.

All inquiries must be accompanied by a Stamp for reply.

Subscriptions, of not less than One Guinea, can be paid in advance of the appearance of the Publications ordered.

*This List cancels all previous ones, as regards
Works not yet published.*

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST.

1589.	G. PUTTENHAM, <i>The Arte of English Poesie</i> . No. 15	
1590.	UBALDINI.—RYTHER, <i>Concernyng the Spanishe flecte</i> .	
1590.	T. WATSON, <i>Melibeus</i> 21	
1590.	Do. <i>An Eclogue, &c.</i> 21	
1590.	E. WEBBE, <i>His Wonderful Trauailes</i> 5	
1591.	Sir W. KALEIGH, <i>The Fight in the 'Revenge'</i> .	
1592. 1593.	T. WATSON, <i>The Teares of Fancyy Lone disdained</i> . 21	
1593.	<i>The Phoenix Nest</i> . Ed. by R. S.	
1595.	G. MARKHAM, <i>The Tragedie of Sir R. Grenville</i> .	
1597.	F. BACON, <i>Essays</i> .	
	James I.	
1604.	[JAMES I.] <i>A Counterblaste to Tobacco</i> 19	
1607-12.	Sir F. Bacon, <i>The Writings, &c.</i> &c. Harl. MS. 5706.	
1612.	The <i>Essays</i> of Sir F. BACON, Knt.	
?	1653: Sir R. NAUNTON, <i>Fragmenta Regalia</i> 20	
	Charles I.	
1625.	Francis Lord VERULAM, <i>Essayes or Counsels</i> .	
1628-33.	Bp. J. EARLE, <i>Microcosmographie</i> 12	
1625-45.	J. SELDEN, <i>Table Talk</i> 6	
1634-40.	W. HABBINGTON, <i>Castara</i> 22	
1637.	STAR CHAMBER, <i>Decree concerning Printing</i> .	1
1640.	F. QUARLES, <i>Enchyridion</i> .	
1641.	J. MILTON, <i>The Reason of Church Government, &c.</i>	16
1642.	J. HOWELL, <i>Instructions for Forreine Travell</i> .	
1643.	LORDS AND COMMONS, <i>Order regulatng of Printing</i> . 1	
1644.	J. MILTON, <i>On Education</i> .	
1644.	Do. <i>Arpagitica</i> 1	
1645.	J. HOWELL, <i>Epistole Ho-Eliaue</i> . Book I.	
1647.	J. HOWELL, <i>Epistole Ho-Eliaue</i> . Book II.	
	Commonwealth.	
1650.	J. HOWELL, <i>Epistole Ho-Eliaue</i> . Book III.	
1650.	Do. <i>Instructions for travelling into Turkey</i> . 16	
1655	Do. <i>Epistole Ho-Eliaue</i> . Book IV.	
	Charles II.	
1671. 1672.	G. VILLIERS, Duke of Buckingham, <i>The Rehearsal</i> . 10	
	William and Mary.	
1694.	E. PHILLIPS, <i>Life of John Milton</i> .	
	Ann.	
1712.	J. ADDISON, <i>Criticism on Paradise Lost</i> 8	

	Richard I.	
1196. 1486.	<i>The Revelation to the Monk of Evesham</i> No. 18	
	Henry VII.—Henry VIII.	
1422-1509.	<i>The Paston Letters</i> .	
	Henry VIII.	
1516. 1566.	Sir T. MORE, <i>Utopia</i> 14	
1527.	W. ROY, <i>Kede me and be nott wrothe</i> .	
1530	[ROY] <i>A proper dialoge betwene a Gentillman, &c.</i>	
1545.	R. ASCHAM, <i>Toxophilus</i> 7	
	Edward VI.	
1549.	Bp. H. LATIMER, <i>The Ploughers</i> 2	
1549.	Do. <i>Seven Sermons before Ed. VI.</i> 13	
1550.	Rev. T. LEVER, <i>Sermon in the Shrouds of St. Pauls</i> . 25	
1550.	Do. <i>Sermon before Ed. VI.</i> 25	
1550.	Do. <i>Sermon at Paul's Cross</i> 25	
1553. 1566.	N. UDALL, <i>Roister Doister</i> 17	
1553.	R. EDEN, <i>Translation from S. MUNSTER (1532)</i> .	
	Philip and Mary.	
1555.	R. EDEN, <i>Translations from PETER MARTYR (1516)</i> ,	
1557.	OVIEDO Y VALDES (1521), A. PIGAFETTA (1532), &c.	
	<i>Tottel's Miscellany</i> . <i>Songes and Souettes, &c.</i> 24	
	Elizabeth.	
1562. 1563.	B. GOOGE, <i>Fyglog, Fgyptaphes, &c.</i> 23	
1570.	R. ASCHAM, <i>The Scholemaster</i> .	
1575.	G. GASCOIGNE, <i>Notes of Instruction in Eng. verse</i> . 11	
1576.	G. GASCOIGNE, <i>The complaynt of Philomene</i> 11	
1576.	Do. <i>The Stele Glasse</i> 11	
1577.	G. WHETSTONE, <i>A Remembrance of G. Gascoigne</i> . 11	
1579.	J. LVLV, <i>Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit</i> 9	
1579.	S. GOSSON, <i>The Schoole of Abuse</i> 3	
1579.	Do. <i>An Apologie for the School of Abuse</i> 3	
1580.	J. LVLV, <i>Euphues and his England</i> .	9
1557-1580.	T. TUSSER, <i>Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandrie</i> .	
1582. 1595.	Sir P. SIDNEY, <i>An Apologie for Poetrie</i> 4	
1582.	T. WATSON, <i>The 'Εκατομυαθια</i> 21	
1583.	Rev. P. STUBBES, <i>The Anatomie of Abuses</i> .	
1583.	Do. 2d Part of <i>The Anatomie of Abuses</i> .	
1585.	JAMES VI, <i>The Essayes of a Prentise in</i> Poisie. 19	
1586.	W. WEBBE, <i>A Discourse of English Poetry</i> 26	



URELY to us, after the Sacred Scriptures, works of devotion and of religious instruction; the Literature of England comes next. However exquisite and subtle the charms of Greek and Grecian literature; however necessary and worthy of study the language and literature of Rome; the writings of our Forefathers come home to every Englishman. What a mighty Literature have we inherited! How little is it known, save to a few, who have devoted all their leisure to its exploration! Authors mighty in Prose and Verse! Writers full of æry fancies and graceful similitudes! Men whose Prose marches with the tramp and strength of a Roman legion: men whose Song is sung by a Puck or an Ariel; or who sing in it of Patient Grissell, of Fair Geraldine, or of Una and her Red Cross Knight. Above all the English Bible, so clung unto by our ancestors—with its infinite early editions and their most heroic story.

What present nation has so ancient, so vast, so varied a body of writings as England? In which are contained not only the productions of our Arch-Poets, Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden; but those of an almost uncountable number of authors, inferior indeed to these, but of high rank among ordinary minds.

Good books, besides affording enjoyment, provoke to like excellence. No man writeth unto himself. Each worthy writer is trained, assimilated, and influenced by those who have gone before: each returning a like benefit to posterity. To trace the continuous chain of influence, of cause and effect, link by link, forms a part of the History of English Literature. That History that we may soon hope to possess, for the first time adequately in our language, in Professor HENRY MORLEY'S work *English Writers*: of which we have already received the earlier instalment, down to Dunbar. What is designed in the *Facsimile Texts*, the *English Reprints*, and the *Annotated Reprints* is to represent the later literature by giving, at as cheap a price as can be, Exact Texts sometimes of books already famous, sometimes of those quite forgotten: in some cases, of works that illustrate the Literary History; in other instances, of those that in a sense, constitute it.

The result is already, that these Reproductions are unique in English Bibliography for their accuracy and cheapness, as well as for the unlimited numbers offered constantly for sale: and *so far as they are yet published*, they constitute the best of all introductions to our old Authors, from the time of Caxton to that of Addison. E. A.

P.S.—A word in furtherance of the *Early English Text*, the *Chaucer*, and the *Ballad Societies*. No one knows the extent of the unprinted Literature of England. These Societies are recovering for us book after book; and laying us all under great obligation to their able Editors, who labour gratuitously. For further information, apply to F. J. Furnivall, M.A., 3 St. George's Square, London, N.W.

IN VARYING SIZES, FOLLOWING THE ORIGINALS.



OF European publications there are not a few which the mere outward appearance, their countenance so to speak, possess an extreme interest. Either from the excessive rarity of the book itself, or the drollery or quaintness of its illustrations; either from the literary importance of the work or its significance in the history of our Country or in the progress of the World: there arises at the sight of it the keenest attention, one might almost say an inexpressible sympathy with the book itself. In all such cases: Sun-Portraits confer exquisite and perpetual enjoyment.

Hitherto Cost has debarred photolithographed books from general use: but I trust to offer from time to time, at *ordinary book-prices*, works of this supreme interest, though necessarily of an infinitely diverse character. In which effort, I trust to receive a thorough support from the large number of readers who have sustained the *English Reprints*. Both being like attempts to make forgotten books known; and known books, more perfectly and perpetually obtainable.

Early in November, will be published in Fcp. 4to., Half Calf,
Illuminated sides, pp. xxxii.-64.

[WILLIAM TYNDALE, assisted by WILLIAM ROY.

The First *printed* English New Testament. , Cologne—Worms.
1525. 4to.]

Photo-lithographed, by the permission of the Trustees of the British Museum, from the *unique* fragment in the Grenville Collection.

Briefly told, the story of this profoundly interesting work is as follows:—In 1524 TYNDALE went from London to Hamburg; where remaining for about a year, he journeyed on to Cologne: and there assisted by WILLIAM ROY, subsequently the author of the Satire on Wolsey, *Rede me and be nott wrothe* [see p. 11], he began this first edition in 4to; *with glosses* of the English New Testament. A virulent enemy of the Reformation, COCHLÆUS, at that time an exile in Cologne, learnt, through giving wine to the printer's men, that P. Quentel the printer had in hand a secret edition of three thousand copies of the English New Testament. In great alarm, he informed Herman Rinck, Senator of the city, who moved the Senate to stop the printing; but Cochlæus could neither obtain a sight of the Translators, nor a sheet of the impression.

Tyndale and Roy, fled with the printed sheets, up the Rhine to Worms; and there completing this edition, produced also another in Octavo, *without glosses*. Both editions were in England in Jan.-March, 1526: and of the six thousand copies of which they together were composed, there remain but this fragment of the First commenced edition; and of the Second edition, one complete copy in the Library of the Baptist College at Bristol, and an imperfect one in that of St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

The price of this *Facsimile Text*, will be only SIX SHILLINGS.



THE great importance to the increasing study of English Literature, of constantly adding to, and constantly keeping on sale (a more difficult task than at first would appear) at the lowest practicable prices, these Exact Texts ; has led to a full consideration of the past three years' progress, in an experiment which has been successful beyond anticipation. The following alterations have been found advisable, in order to place this designedly very cheap Series upon a permanent basis.

The changes to take effect from 1st October 1870.

Small Paper, in Foolscap Octavo.

1. The public choice has passed so generally from *Cut* to *Uncut* edges: that future issues will be in *Uncut* edges only. This will also apply to all reimpressions, as soon as the existing *Cut-edged* copies have been sold.

2. No Sixpenny Reprints will be issued in future. The trouble is out of all proportion to the price.

3. The *maximum* number of pages for Shilling works will be about One hundred and twenty-eight. Experience has proved that number to be the *very utmost* limit practicable for such closely packed works in the costly old spelling, &c.

. . . The result of these changes to the public will be simply, that some future Reprints will be increased in price, by an extra Sixpence. A trifling contribution to enable me to go on for years. Yet I very reluctantly decide on this augmentation: this series being my personal free offering to a more perfect knowledge of English Literature.

All existing issues will be maintained at the present prices.

Large Paper, in Foolscap Quarto.

Nos. 19 to 24 in Large Paper are now ready. A single Large Paper copy can be obtained.

Demy Quarto.

Works in this size will be issued bound in Cloth. When published, copies will however be obtainable in Sheets, for binding, by remitting the price *direct* to me.

There is a great cause for thankfulness in the progress already made. Works which some of our most experienced English scholars never hoped to see reprinted ; have been put into *general* circulation. Much more may be accomplished, by a personal advocacy of this Series by *each* Purchaser ; with a generous permission to print, from possessors of rare or unique English books ; and with unwearying effort on my own part. Maintaining herein the ancient and worthy fame of England ; may we lead very many to understand how much pure and unadulterated Delight is to be found in our Old English Authors.

English Reprints.

ORDINARY ISSUE IN OCTAVO.

Durable Cases, in Roxburghe style, to hold four or five Reprints. One Shilling each.

BOUND VOLUMES IN OCTAVO.

Two or three of such works, collected into occasional Volumes.

LARGE PAPER EDITION IN QUARTO.

The same texts, beautifully printed on thick toned paper, with ample margins suitable for purposes of study. Issued in Stiff covers, uncut edges. When bound to the purchaser's own taste; these Large Paper Copies form most handsome books.

ANY SINGLE WORK OR VOLUME MAY BE HAD SEPARATELY.

Quarto.

FOOLSCAP.

Octavo.

Large
Paper
Edit.

1. JOHN MILTON.

Stiff Covers.
Uncut Edges.

Green Cloth,
Red Edges.

(1) A decree of the Starre-Chamber, concerning Printing, made the eleventh day of July last past. London, 1637.

(2) An Order of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament for the regulating of Printing, &c. London, 14 June, 1643.

(3) *AREOPAGITICA*: A speech of Mr. John Milton for the liberty of Vnlicenc'd Printing, to the Parliament of England. London. [24 November]. 1644. Sixpence.

1/6

Vol. I

2. HUGH LATIMER, *Ex-Bishop of Worcester.*

SERMON ON THE PLOUGHERS. A notable Sermon of ye reuerende father Master Hughe Latimer, whiche he preached in ye Shrouds at pauls church in London, on the xviii daye of Januarye. ¶ The yere of our Loorde MDXLviii.

1/6

Milton,

Latimer,

Gosson.

3. STEPHEN GOSSON, *Stud. Oxon.*

(1) *THE SCHOOLE OF ABUSE.* Containing a pleasaunt invective against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, Jesters, and such like Caterpillers of a Commonwealth; Setting up the Flagge of Defiance to their mischievous exercise, and ouerthrowing their Bulwarkes, by Prophane Writers, Naturall reason, and common experience. A discourse as pleasaunt for gentlemen that fauour learning, as profitable for all that wyll follow vertue. London. [August?] 1579.

(2) *AN APOLOGIE OF THE SCHOOLE OF ABUSE*, against Poets, Pipers, and their Excusers. London. [December?] 1579. Sixpence.

1/6

2/

4. SIR PHILIP SYDNEY.

AN APOLOGIE FOR POETRIE. Written by the right noble, vertuous and learned Sir Philip Sidney, Knight. London. 1595. Sixpence.

1/6

Quarto.
Large
Paper
Edit.

Octavo.
Green Cloth,
Ked Edges.

TITLES, PRICES, etc., etc. *Stiff Covers. Uncut Edges.*

1/6	<p>5. EDWARD WEBBE, <i>Chief Master Gunner.</i></p> <p>The rare and most vvonderful things which Edward Webbe an Englishman borne, hath seene and passed in his troublesome trauales, in the Citties of Ierusalem, Damasko, Bethelam, and Galely: and in the Landes of Iewrie, Egipt, Gtecia, Russia, and in the land of Prester John. Wherein is set forth his extreame slauerie sustained many yeres together, in the Gallies and wars of the great Turk against the Landes of Persia, Tartaria, Spaine, and Portugall, with the manner of his releasement, and comming into London in May last. London. 1590.</p>	<p>Vol. II</p> <p>Sidney, Webbe, Selden.</p>
2/6	<p>6. JOHN SELDEN.</p> <p><i>TABLE TALK:</i> being the Discourses of John Seldon Esq.; or his Sence of various Matters of Weight and High Consequēce relating especially to Religion and State. London. 1689.</p>	<p><u>Sixpence.</u></p> <p>2/6</p>
2/6	<p>7. ROGER ASCHAM.</p> <p><i>TOXOPHILUS.</i> The schole of shooting conteyned in two bookes. To all Gentlemen and yomen of Englande, pleasaunte for theyr pastime to rede, and profitable for theyr use to folow, both in warre and peace. London. 1545.</p>	<p>Vol. III</p> <p>Ascham, Addison.</p>
2/6	<p>8. JOSEPH ADDISON.</p> <p><i>CRITICISMS OF MILTON'S PARADISE LOST.</i> From <i>The Spectator</i>: being its Saturday issues between 31 December, 1711, and 3 May, 1712.</p>	<p><u>One Shilling.</u></p> <p>2/6</p>
9/	<p>9. JOHN LYLY, M.A.</p> <p>(1) <i>EUPHUES. THE ANATOMY OF WIT.</i> Verie pleasaunt for all Gentlemen to read, and most necessarie to remember. Wherein are contained the deliights that Wit followeth in his youth by the pleasantnesse of loue, and the happinesse he reapeth in age, by the perfectnesse of Wisedome. London. 1579.</p> <p>(2) <i>EUPHUES AND HIS ENGLAND.</i> Containing his voyage and adventures, myxed with sundrie pretie discourses of honest Loue, the Description of the Countrey, the Court, and the manners of that Isle. Delightful to be read, and nothing hurtful to be regarded: wher-in there is small offence by lightnesse giuen to the wise, and lesse occasion of loosenes proferred to the wanton. London, 1580. Collated with early subsequent editions.</p>	<p>Vol. IV.</p> <p>Lyly.</p> <p>5/</p> <p><u>Four Shillings.</u></p>

Quarto.

Octavo.

Large
Paper
Edit.

TITLES, PRICES, etc., etc.

Stiff Covers.
Uncut Edges.Green Cloth,
Red Edges.

2/6

10. GEORGE VILLIERS, Duke of Buckingham.

THE REHEARSAL. As it was acted at the Theatre Royal London, 1672. With Illustrations from previous plays, &c. One Shilling.

11. GEORGE GASCOIGNE, Esquire.

(1) A remembravnce of the wel employed life, and godly end of George Gaskoigne, Esquire, who deceased at Stalmford in Lincoln shire, the 7 of October 1577. The reporte of GEOR WHETSTONS, Gent an eye witness of his Godly and Charitable End in this world. Lond. 1577.

(2) Certayne notes of Instruction concerning the making of verse or rime in English, vwritten at the request of Master *Edouardi Donati.* 1575.

(3) *THE STEELE GLAS.* A Satyre compiled by George Gasscoigne Esquire [Written between Apr. 1575 & Apr. 1576]. Together with

(4) *THE COMPLAYNT OF PHYLOMENE.* An Elegie compyled by George Gasscoigne Esquire [between April 1562 and 3rd April 1575.] London. 1576.

One Shilling.**12. JOHN EARLE, M.A.:** *afterwards in succession Bishop of Worcester, and of Salisbury.*

MICRO-COSMOGRAPHIE, or a Peece of the World discovered, in Essays and Characters. London. 1628. With the additions in subsequent editions during the Author's life time. One Shilling.

13. HUGH LATIMER, Ex-Bishop of Worcester.*SEVEN SERMONS BEFORE EDWARD VI.*

(1) ¶ The fyrste sermon of Mayster Hugh Latimer, whiche he preached before the Kynges Maiest. wythin his graces palayce at Westmynster. M.D.XLIX. the viii of Marche. (,')

(2) The seconde [to seventh] Sermon of Master Hughe Latimer, whych he preached before the Kynges maiestie, withyn hys graces Palayce at Westminster ye. xv. day of March. M.cccc.xlix. Eighteen Pence.

14. SIR THOMAS MORE.

UTOPIA. A frutefull pleasaunt, and wittie worke, of the best state of a publique weale, and of the new yle, called Utopia: written in Latine, by the right worthie and famous Sir Thomas More knyght, and translated into Englishe by RAPHE ROBYNSON, sometime fellowe of Corpus Christi College in Oyford, and nowe by him at this seconde edition newlie perused and corrected, and also with diuers notes in the margent augmented. London.

[1556]. One Shilling.

Vol. V.

Villiers,

Gascoigne,

Earle.

3/6

Vol. VI.

Latimer,

More.

3/

2/6

2/6

4/

2/6

Quarto. Large Paper Edit.	TITLES, PRICES, etc., etc.	Octavo.
5/	<p>15. GEORGE PUTTENHAM. <i>Stiff Covers. Uncut Edges.</i> <i>THE ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE.</i> Contrived into three Bookes : The first of Poets and Poesie, the second of Proportion, the third of Ornament. London. 1589. <u>Two Shillings.</u></p>	<p><i>Green Cloth, Red Edges.</i> Vol. VII. Puttenham. 2/6</p>
1/6	<p>16. JAMES HOWELL, <i>Historiographer Royal to Charles II.</i> <i>INSTRUCTIONS FOR FORREINE TRAVELL.</i> Shewing by what <i>cours</i>, and in what <i>compasse of time</i>, one may take an exact Survey of the Kingdomes and States of Christendome, and arriue to the practicall knowledge of the Languages, to good purpose. London. 1642. Col- lated with the edition of 1656 ; and in its 'new Appendix for Travelling into <i>Turkey</i> and the <i>Levant</i> parts' added. <u>Sixpence.</u></p>	<p>Vol. VIII.</p>
1/6	<p>17. The earliest known English comedy. NICHOLAS UDALL, <i>Master of Eton.</i> <i>ROISTER DOISTER</i>, [from the unique copy at Eton Colledge]. 1566. <u>Sixpence.</u></p>	<p>Howell, Udall,</p>
2/6	<p>18. <i>THE REVELATION TO THE MONK OF EVESHAM.</i> Here begynnyth a marvelous revelacion that was schewyd of almighty god by sent Nycholas to a monke of Euyshamme yn the days of Kyng Richard the fyrst. And the yere of our lord. M.C.Lxxxxvi. [From the unique copy, printed about 1482, in the British Museum]. <u>One Shilling.</u></p>	<p>Monk of Evesham James VI. 3/6</p>
2/6	<p>19. JAMES VI. <i>of Scotland, I. of England.</i> (1) <i>THE ESSAYES OF A PRENTISE, IN THE DIVINE ART OF POESIE.</i> Edinburgh 1585. (2) <i>A COUNTER BLASTE TO TOBACCO.</i> Lon- don. 1604. <u>One Shilling.</u></p>	
1/6	<p>20. SIR ROBERT NAUNTON, <i>Master of the Court of Wards.</i> <i>FRAGMENTA REGALIA</i> : or, Observations on the late Queen Elizabeth, her Times, and Favourites. [Third Edition. London] 1653. <u>Sixpence.</u></p>	<p>Vol. IX.</p>
	<p>21. THOMAS WATSON, <i>Student at law.</i> (1) <i>THE Εκατομπαθια</i> or Passionate Centurie of Loue. <i>Divided into two parts : whereof, the first expresseth the Authors sufferance in Loue : the latter, his long farewell to Loue and all his tyrannie.</i> Composed by Thomas Watson Gentleman ; and published at the request of certaine Gentlemen his very frendes. London [1582.]</p>	<p>Naunton, Watson. 2/6</p>

Quarto.

Octavo.

	TITLES, PRICES, etc., etc.	Stiff Covers. Uncut Edges.	Green Cloth, Red Edges.
	(2) <i>MELIBŒUS</i> T. Watsoni, Ecloga in obitum F. Walsinghami, &c. Londini, 1590.		
	(3) <i>AN EGLOGUE</i> , &c., Written first in latine [the above <i>MELIBŒUS</i>] by <i>Thomas Watson</i> Gentleman and now by himselfe translated into English. London 1590.		
4/	(4) <i>THE TEARS OF FANCY</i> , or Loue disdained. [From the unique copy, wanting Sonnets ix.-xvi., in the possession of S. Christie-Miller, Esq.] London, 1593. <u>Eighteen Pence.</u>		
	22. WILLIAM HABINGTON.		
2/6	<i>CASTARA</i> . The third Edition. Corrected and augmented. London. 1640. With the variations of the two previous editions. <u>One Shilling.</u>		Vol. X ¹
	23. ROGER ASCHAM.		
2/6	<i>THE SCHOLEMASTER</i> , Or plaine and perfite way of teachyng children, to vnderstand, write, and speake, the Latin tong, but specially purposed for the priuate bryngyng vp of youth in Ientlemen and Noble mens houses, commodious also for all such, as haue forgot the Latin tongue, and would, by themselues, without a Scholemaster, in short tyme, and with small paines, recover a sufficient habilitie, to vnderstand, write, and speake Latin. London. 1570. <u>One Shilling.</u>		Habington, Ascham. 2/6
	24. Tottel's Miscellany.		
6/6	<i>SONGES AND SONETTES</i> , written by the ryght honorable Lorde HENRY HAWARD, late Erle of Surrey, and other. [London, 5 June] 1557. <u>Half-a-crown.</u>		Vol. XI. Tottel. 3/
	25. REV. THOMAS LEVER, M.A.: <i>afterwards Master of St John's College, Cambridge.</i>		
4/	<i>SERMONS.</i> (1) A fruitfull Sermon made in Paules church at London in the Shroudes, the second of Februari. 1550. (2) A Sermon preached the thyrd [or fourth] Sunday in Lent before the Kynges Maiestie, and his honourable counsell. 1550. (3) A Sermon preached at Pauls Crosse, the xiiii. day of December 1550. <u>Eighteen Pence.</u>		Vol. XII. Lever, Webba.
	26. WILLIAM WEBBE, Graduate.		
2/6	<i>A DISCOURSE OF ENGLISH POETRIE</i> . Together, with the Anthois iudgment, touching the reformation of our English Verse. London. 1586. <u>One Shilling.</u>		3/

∴ The following works are designed for publication in time to come. Their prices cannot be fixed with precision, but are approximately given. Ferrex and Porrex has been postponed; and

Newes from the North by F. T. [FRANCIS THYNNE], with RICHARD BARNFIELD'S Poems *have not been inserted; some of the Texts not being accessible, at the present time.* J. HOWELL'S Epistolæ Ho-Eliaenæ *will be put to press as soon as No. 27 BACON'S Essayes, &c., is finished.*

<i>Large Paper Edit.</i>	27. FRANCIS BACON. A harmony of the <i>ESSAYES</i> , &c. The four principle texts appearing in parallel columns ; (1) <i>Essayes. Religious Meditations.</i> Places of persuasion and dissuasion. London 1597. (10 <i>Essayes.</i>) Of the Coulers of good and euill a fragment. 1597. (2) The writings of Sir Francis Bacon Knt : the Kinges Sollicitor Generall : in Moraltie, Policie, and Historie. <i>Harleian MS.</i> 5106. Transcribed bet. 1607-12. (34 <i>Essayes.</i>) (3) THE <i>ESSAIES</i> of Sir FRANCIS BACON Knight, the Kings Solliciter Generall. London 1612. (38 <i>Essayes.</i>) (4) The <i>Essayes or Counsels, Ciuill and Morall</i> , of FRANCIS LO. VERULAM Viscount ST. ALBANS. <i>Newly Written.</i> 1626. (58 <i>Essayes.</i>)	<i>Stiff Covers. Uncut Edges.</i>	<i>Green Cloth, Red Edges.</i>
		Vol. XIII.	
		Bacon.	
		3/6	
7/6		<u>Three Shillings.</u>	

	28. WILLIAM ROY, Franciscan Friar. (1) <i>REDEME ANDBE NOTT WROTHE.</i> [Strasburg. 1527. This is his famous Satire on Wolsey.] (2) <i>A PROPER DYALOGUE BETWEEN A GENTLEMAN AND A HUSBANDMAN,</i> &c. [Attributed to Roy] Marburg. 1530. <u>Eighteen Pence.</u>		
2/6			Vol. XIV.

	29. SIR W. RALEIGH—G. MARKHAM. <i>THE LAST FIGHT OF THE REVENGE AT SEA.</i> (1) A report of the Truth of the fight about the Isles of Acores, this last Sommer. Betvixt the Reuenge, one of her Maiesties Shippes, and an Armada of the King of Spaine. By Sir Walter Raleigh. London. 1591. (2) The most Honorable Tragedie of Sir Richarde Grinuille, Knight (. . .) <i>Bramo assai, poco spero, nulla chieggio.</i> [By GERVASE MARKHAM] London. 1595. [Two copies only are known, Mr. Grenville's cost £40.]		Roy, Fight in the Re-venge. Googe.
2/6		<u>One Shilling.</u>	4/

	30. BARNABE GOOGE. <i>EGLOGS, EPYTAPHES AND SONETTES</i> newly written by Barnabe Googe. London 1563. 15 March.		
2/6		<u>One Shilling.</u>	

	31. REV. PHILLIP STUBBES. (1) <i>THE ANATOMIE OF ABUSES:</i> conteyning a discoverie or brieife Summarie of Such Notable Vices and Imperfections, as now raigue in many Christian		
--	---	--	--

Quarto.

Octavo.

TITLES, PRICES, etc., etc.

Stiff Covers.
Uncut Edges.Green Cloth,
Red Edges.Large
Paper
Edit.

Countreyes of the World : but especialie in a very famous
ILANDE called AILGNA [*i.e.* Anglia]: Together with
most fearefull Examples of Gods Iudgements, executed
vpon the wicked for the same, aswell in AILGNA of late,
as in other places, elsewhere. . . London. 1 Maij. 1583.

Vol.

Stubbes.

6/6

(2) The Second part of *THE ANATOMIE OF
ABUSES*. . . . London. 1583. Half-a-crown.

3/

32. THOMAS TUSSER.

*FIVE HUNDRED POINTES OF GOOD HUS-
BANDRIE*, as well for the Champion, or open Countrie,
as also for the woodland, or Seuerall, mixed in euery
Month with *HUSWIFERIE*, . . . with diuers
other lessons, as a diet for the former, of the properties
of windes, plantes, hops, herbes, bees and approued re-
medies for sheepe and cattle, with many other matters
both profitable and not vnpleasant for the Reader . . .
. . . London. 1580. Eighteen Pence.

Vol.

Tusser,

4/

33. JOHN MILTON.

(1) The Life of Mr John Milton [by his nephew
EDWARD PHILLIPS]. From '*Letters of State written by
Mr. John Milton, bet. 1649-59.*' London. 1694.

Milton.

(2) *THE REASON OF CHURCH GOVERNE-
MENT* urg'd against Prelacy. By Mr. *John Milton*.
In two Books. [London] 1641.

3/

2/6

(3) Milton's Letter *OF EDUCATION*. To Master
Samuel Hartlib. [London. 5 June 1644.]

One Shilling.**34. FRANCIS QUARLES.***ENCHYRIDION*, containing

Insti- tuti- ons	{	Divine	{	<i>Contemplative.</i>	London. 1640-1.
				<i>Practicall.</i>	
	{	Morall	{	<i>Ethycall.</i>	
				<i>Oeconomicall.</i>	
		<i>Politically.</i>			

London. 1640-1.

Vol.

2/6

One Shilling.

Quarles.

35. The Sixth English Poetical Miscellany.

THE PHOENIX NEST. Built vp with the most
rare and refined workes of Noble men, woorthy Knights,
gallant Gentlemen, Masters of Arts, and braue Schoolers.
Full of varietie, excellent inuention, and singular delight.
Never before this time published. Set forth by R. S. of the
Inner Temple Gentleman. London 1593. One Shilling.

The Phœ-
nix Nest.

2/6

2/6

36. SIR THOMAS ELYOT.

THE GOVERNOR. The boke named the Gouvernor,
devised by ye Thomas Elyot Knight. Londini M. D. xxxi.

Vol.

Elyot.

6/6

Collated with subsequent editions. Half-a-crown.

3/

Demy Quarto.

Will be ready, about March 1871, in one Volume, 12s. 6d.

801. RICHARD EDEN.

I. A treatyse *OF THE NEWE INDIA, WITH OTHER NEW FOUNDE LANDES AND ISLANDS, ASWELL EASTWARDE AS WESTWARDE*, as they are knowen and found in these oure dayes, after the descripcion of SEBASTIAN MUNSTER, in his boke of vniuersall Cosmographie, &c. [London, 1553.]

II. The First English Collection of Voyages, Traffics, and Discoveries.—*THE DECADES OF THE NEW WORLD OR WEST INDIA, &c. &c.* [by Peter Martyr of Angleria.] [Translated, compiled, &c. by Richard Eden.] Londini, Anno 1555.

1. The [Dedicatory] Epistle [to King Philip and Queen Mary.]

2. Richard Eden to the Reader.

3. The [1st, 2nd, and 3d only of the 8] Decades of the newe worlde or west India, Conteynyngthenauigations and conquestes of the Spanyardes, with the particular description of the moste ryche and large lands and Ilandes lately founde in the west Ocean perteynyng to the inheritance of the kinges of Spayne. In the which the diligent reader may not only consyder what commoditie may hereby chaunce to the hole christian world in tyme to come, but also learne many secreates touchynge the lande, the sea, and the starres, very necessarie to be knowen to al such as shal attempte any nauigations, or otherwise haue delite to beholde the strange and woonderful woorkes of god and nature. Wrytten in the Latine tounge by PETER MARTYR of Angleria, and translated into Englishyshe by RYCHARDE EDEN.

4. The Bull of Pope Alexander VI. in 1493, granting to the Spaniards 'the Regions and Ilandes founde in the Weste Ocean' by them.

5. *The Historie of the West Indies* by GONÇALO FERNANDEZ OVIEDO Y VALDES.

6. Of other notable things gathered out of dyuers autors.

7. Of Moscouie and Cathay.

8. Other notable thynges as touchynge the Indies [chiefly out of the books of FRANCISCO LOPEZ DE GOMARA, 'and partly also out of the caade made by SEBASTIAN CABOT.']

9. The Booke of Metals.

10. The description of the two viages made owt of England into Guinea in Affricke [1553, 1554].

11. The maner of fyndynge the Longitude of regions.

INDEX.

.. An abridged analysis of this voluminous work was issued in the previous catalogue (1 Dec. 1869); which will be found bound up with 'English Reprints' issued during this year, 1870.

Imperial Folio.

1001. PETRUCCIO UBALDINI—AUGUSTINE RYTHER.

A Discourse concerning the Spanishe fleete inuadinge Englande in the yeare 1588 and ouerthrowne by her Maies- ties Nauie vnder the conduction of the Right-honorable the Lorde Charles Howarde highe Admirall of Englande : written in Italian by PETRUCCIO UBALDINI citizen of Florence, and translated for A. RYTHER : vnto the which discourse are annexed certain tables expressinge the generall exploits, and conflictes had with the said fleete.

These bookes with the tables belonginge to them are to be solde at the shoppe of A. RYTHER, being a little from Leaden hall next to the Signe of the Tower. [1590.]

The twelve Tables express the following subjects :—

FRONTISPIECE.

I. THE SPANISH ARMADA COMING INTO THE CHANNEL, OPPOSITE THE LIZARD; AS IT WAS FIRST DISCOVERED.

II. THE SPANISH ARMADA AGAINST FOWEY, DRAWN UP IN THE FORM OF A HALF MOON ; THE ENGLISH FLEET PURSUING.

III. THE FIRST ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO FLEETS. AFTER WHICH THE ENGLISH GIVE CHASE TO THE SPANIARDS, WHO DRAW THEIR SHIPS INTO A BALL.

IV. DE VALDEZ'S GALLEON SPRINGS HER FOREMAST, AND IS TAKEN BY SIR FRANCIS DRAKE. THE LORD ADMIRAL WITH THE 'BEAR' AND THE 'MARY ROSE,' PURSUE THE ENEMY, WHO SAIL IN THE FORM OF A HALF MOON.

V. THE ADMIRAL'S SHIP OF THE GUIPUSCOAN SQUADRON HAVING CAUGHT FIRE, IS TAKEN BY THE ENGLISH. THE ARMADA CONTINUES ITS COURSE, IN A HALF MOON ; UNTIL OFF THE ISLE OF PORTLAND, WHERE ENSUES THE SECOND ENGAGEMENT.

VI. SOME ENGLISH SHIPS ATTACK THE SPANIARDS TO THE WESTWARD. THE ARMADA AGAIN DRAWING INTO A BALL, KEEPS ON ITS COURSE FOLLOWED BY THE ENGLISH.

VII. THE THIRD AND THE SHARPEST FIGHT BETWEEN THE TWO FLEETS : OFF THE ISLE OF WIGHT.

VIII. THE ARMADA SAILING UP CHANNEL TOWARDS CALAIS ; THE ENGLISH FLEET FOLLOWING CLOSE.

IX. THE SPANIARDS AT ANCHOR OFF CALAIS. THE FIRESHIPS APPROACHING. THE ENGLISH PREPARING TO PURSUE.

X. THE FINAL BATTLE. THE ARMADA FLYING TO THE NORTHWARD. THE CHIEF GALLEASS STRANDED NEAR CALAIS.

LARGE MAP SHOWING THE TRACK OF THE ARMADA ROUND THE BRITISH ISLES.

These plates, which are a most valuable and early representation of the Spanish Invasion, are being re-engraved in *facsimile*, and will be issued in the Spring of 1871, at the lowest feasible price : probably HALF-A-GUINEA.

∴ *Other works may follow.*

BY VARIOUS EDITORS: UNDER MR. ARBER'S GENERAL SUPERVISION.

Some Texts require the amplest elucidation and illustration by Masters in special departments of knowledge. To recover and perpetuate such Works is to render the greatest service to Learning. With the aid of Scholars in special subjects, I hope to endow our readers with some knowledge of the Past, that is now quite out of their reach. While the Editors will be responsible both for Text and Illustrations; the works will be produced under my general oversight: so that the Annotated Reprints, though of much slower growth, will more than equal in value the English Reprints.

E. A.

In the Spring of 1871: in Fcp. 8vo the First Volume (to be completed in Four) of

The Paston Letters. 1422-1509.

Edited by JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq., of the Public Record Office.

EVERY one knows what a blank is the history of England during the Wars of the two Roses. Amid the civil commotions, literature almost died out. The principal poetry of the period is that of Lydgate, the Monk of Bury. The prose is still more scanty. The monastic Chronicles are far less numerous than at earlier periods: and by the end of the Fifteenth Century they seem to have entirely ceased. Thus it has come to pass that less is known of this age than of any other in our history. In this general dearth of information recent historians like Lingard, Turner, Pauli, and Knight, who have treated of the reigns of Henry VI., Edward IV., &c., have found in *The Paston Letters* not only unrivalled illustration of the Social Life of England, but also most important information, at first hand, as to the Political Events of that time. So that the printed Correspondence is cited page after page in their several histories of this period.

The Paston Letters have not however been half published. No literary use was made of them while accumulating in the family muniment room. William, 2nd Earl of Yorkmouth, the last member of the family, having encumbered his inheritance, parted with all his property. The family letters came about 1728 into the hands of the distinguished antiquary, Peter le Neve; afterwards, by his marriage to Le Neve's widow, to his brother antiquary Martin of Palgrave; on his death again, to a Mr. Worth, from whom they were acquired by Mr. afterwards Sir John Fenn.

In 1787, Fenn published a small selection of the Letters in two volumes 4to; of which the first edition having been sold off in a week, a second appeared in the course of the year. He then prepared a further selection, of which two volumes appeared in 1789; the fifth volume being published after his death, in 1823.

Strangely enough, the Original Letters disappeared soon after their publication: and only those of the Fifth volume have, as yet, been recovered. There is no reasonable doubt that they still exist and will some day be found. There is no necessity, however, to postpone a new edition indefinitely, until they are again brought to light: for a comparison of the Fifth volume with its originals establishes Sir John Fenn's general faithfulness as to the Text; and therefore our present possession, in his Edition, of the contents of the missing Manuscripts.

Three hundred and eighty-seven letters in all were published by Fenn: about Four hundred additional letters or documents, belonging to the same collection and which have never been published at all, will be included in the present edition.

Not only will the Text be doubled in quantity; but in its elucidation, it will have the benefit of Mr. Gairdner's concentrated study of this Correspondence for years past. Half his difficulty will be in the unravelling of the chronology of the Letters, partly from internal evidence, partly from the Public Records, and other sources. Fenn's chronology—for no fault of his—is excessively misleading. This was inevitable, from the difficulties of a first attempt, the state of historic criticism in his day, and the limited means then available for consulting the public records, &c. It is hoped, however, by restoring each Letter to its certain or approximate date, vastly to increase the interest of this Correspondence. In addition textual difficulties will be removed, and valuable biographical information afforded.

The Letters of the reign of Henry VI. will form Vol. i. (estimated at about 600 pp.); those of Edward IV., Vols. II. and III. (together about 800 pp.); and those of Richard III. and Henry VII., Vol. IV. (about 300 pp.). The price will be about one shilling for every 100 pp.; and the work, it is expected, will be completed in Two years.

FOR GENERAL READERS.

THE undermentioned modernized texts are in preparation. Great care will be bestowed in their transformation into the spelling and punctuation of the present day: but the Originals will be adhered to as closely as possible.

Leisure Readings in English Literature.

The object of the volumes that will appear under this general title, will be to afford Restful Reading; and, at the same time, by exhibiting the wealth of thought and the wit in expression of our Old Authors; to predispose to a further study of our Literature: in which study these Readings will serve as First Books.

They will contain many excellent Poems and Passages that are generally but very little known.

Choice Books.

THE DISASTROUS ENGLISH VOYAGE
TO THE WEST INDIES IN 1568.

Recounted in the Narratives of Sir JOHN HAWKINS: and of DAVID INGRAM, MILES PHILLIPS, and JOB HORTOP, survivors, who escaped through the American Indian tribes; or out of the clutches of the Inquisition; or from the galleys of the King of Spain: and so at length came home to England.

∴ Other works to follow.

These works will be issued, beautifully printed and elegantly bound,
in Crown 8vo.

The above is a specimen of the type, but not of the size of page.

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

Princeton Theological Seminary Libraries



1 1012 01231 2437

