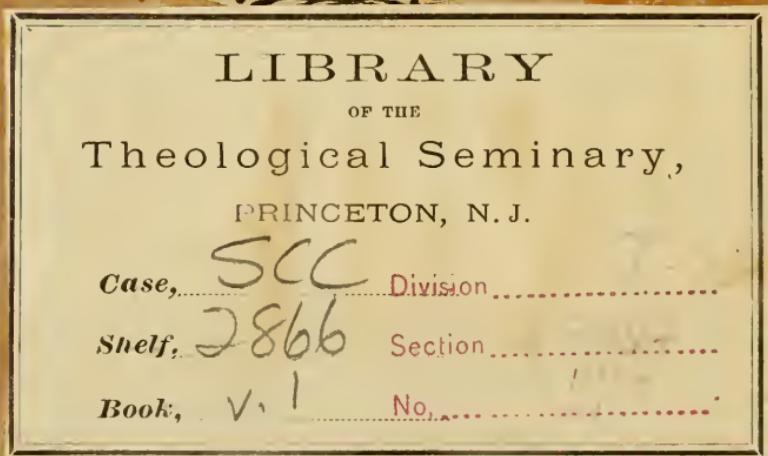
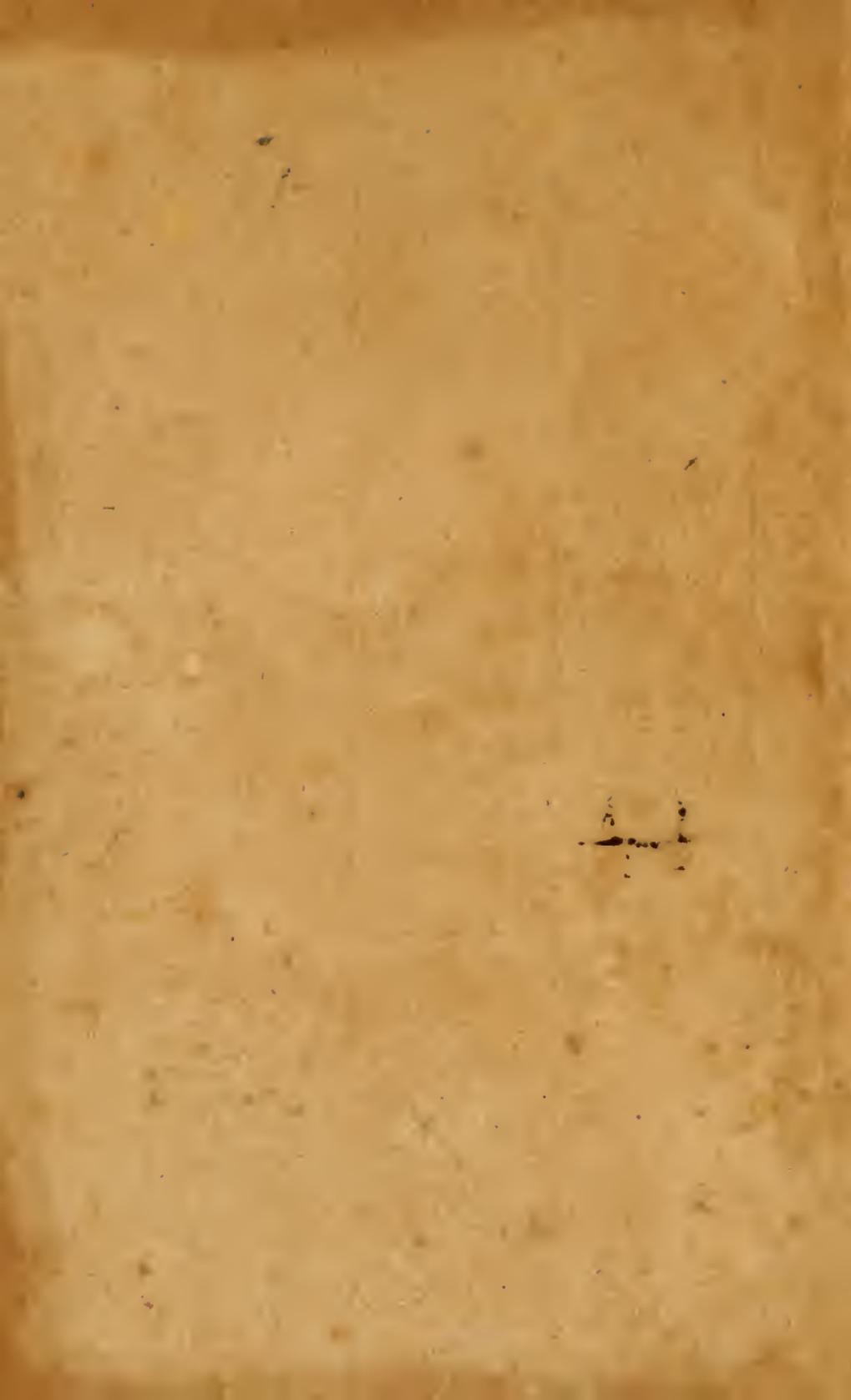
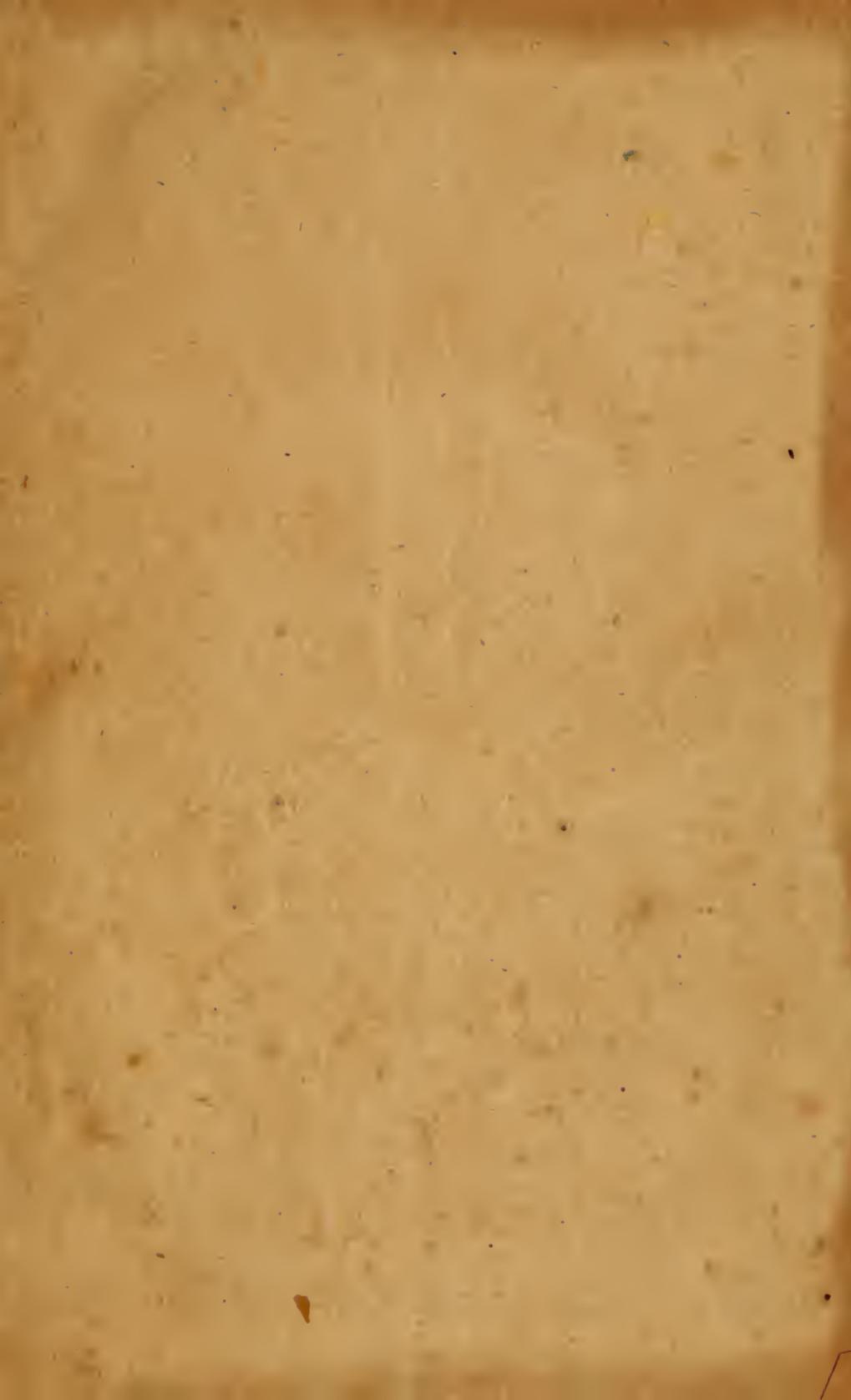


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LONDON

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BISHOP LATIMER
before the Papal Tribunal in Oxford,

THE
SERMONS
OF THE
Right Reverend Father in GOD,
Master *HUGH LATIMER*,
Bishop of *WORCESTER*.

Many of which were preached before King
EDWARD VI. the PRIVY COUNCIL,
PARLIAMENT, and NOBILITY,

ON THE
RELIGIOUS and CIVIL LIBERTIES
OF
ENGLISHMEN, &c.

To which is prefixed,
Bishop LATIMER's Life.

In TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. SCOTT, at the Black Swan in Pater-noster-row.
M DCC LVIII.

MEMOLOGY.



T H E
P R E F A C E
 O F T H E
E D I T O R.

TH E name, the credit, and the indefatigable diligence of Bishop LATIMER, has justly occasioned his being held in the highest veneration by all good men; as a faithful Minister of God's Word, a bold reprehender of the Vices and Corruption of the times he lived in, and the chief pillar of the Reformation in his day. The following inestimable Discourses fully evince he was proof against all the temptations thrown in his way, to slacken his pace, divert his purposes of constantly preaching the pure word of truth, instructing the ignorant, guiding the unwary, and threatening the indolent and backward; with the dig-

nity, zeal and success of the great Apostle of the Gentiles. He, I say, was not to be diverted, from what he knew to be his indispensable duty; by the enormities with which he had to struggle, or by the carelessness, ignorance, laziness, debauchery, pride and ambition of the then unpreaching Prelates and Clergy; who were very numerous in the Courts of Henry and Edward, as they, it is greatly to be feared, have been in most Courts of Kings ever since.

No less was his care and concern for the preservation of the civil, than the religious liberties of his Country. We find him attacking the Vices of King Henry, and his train of slaves, flatterers, liars and oppressors, with amazing boldness: We see him directing the steps of the young and religious King Edward, informing him what a set of base, profligate and wicked men, were like to bear the sway in governing his Person. That God was in their mouths, and the devil in their hearts. Always boasting and vaunting of their Loyalty, and yet were the vilest traitors to their Master on Earth: “These fellows, the good Bishop observes, have the King, the King for ever in their mouths, when it tends to their purpose; but betray him, or his concerns, the moment it avails themselves and their abandoned associates.”

Yet

Yet should a King be but tolerably good, or only well inclined to redress the grievances of his People, and prevent their being farther oppressed, and relieve their wrongs; what must be done with these men of high posts and importance? "Why, says our good Bishop, " If a Judge was to ask me the direct way to hell, let him be a covetous man, let his heart be poisoned with covetousness, let him take bribes and pervert Judgment. Let him have his reward, a Tyburn tippe to take with him, if it were the Judge of the King's-Bench, my Lord Chief Judge of England; yea, if it were my Lord Chancellor himself, to Tyburn with him." Besides these salutary examples, he farther says, " Good Judges were rare in old time, and that we have no reason to think the devil has been asleep ever since. The common manner of wicked Judges, is not to fear God or Man."

From these excellent and spirited examples, and terrible instances of the wrath of heaven on wicked Bishops, Statesmen, and Lawyers, the good Bishop wrought great service to the undefiled religion of Jesus Christ, and worthily supported the almost sinking liberties of his country. As such great success attended his Preaching, it could not be doubted but a like benefit and blessing would attend his labours when printed. This task was undertaken by his Secretary

cretary and Steward, Augustine Berner, a native of Switzerland, and a Clergyman, who was his faithful attendant through all his adversity, and left him not till his Soul and Body were separated by fire at Oxford.

His Sermons, save three or four, have been often made public, quoted by multitudes of Authors, printed frequently in news-papers through the kingdom, at times when it was thought our religious and civil liberties, were either in danger of being publicly overthrown, or secretly undermined. But whenever this was done, it still answered the great purposes of their excellent Author, in promoting the general good of Society, and bringing backsliders and evil-doers again to their duty: They are now reprinted for the benefit of all the good people of England, as the most useful and necessary present that could be made to them in this time of public danger, when, though our Liberties are happily secured to us, by the watchful care of the Prince who now fills the Throne, yet, the debaucheries and excess, the venality and corruption, the irreligion and profaneness, which so greatly prevail, rendered this publication absolutely necessary, to prevent the Millennium of the devil from commencing in this Kingdom.

When a certain great Person expressed his Inclination that these Sermons should be reprinted, he was also desirous it might be observed that our Statesmen at this period were all honest, disinterested, and religious; our Lawyers were uncorrupt, and no Bribe-takers, scorning a paltry fee, and pleading the cause of the widow and fatherless for nothing; our Bishops equal in piety and assiduous in preaching with those of the apostolic ages, and ever resident in their several dioceses; the Clergy, going from house to house, visiting the sick, cloathing the naked, feeding the hungry, and Pluralities almost unknown amongst them; and yet with all these advantages, should any of the above great personages, though out of curiosity only, be induced, as it is imagined they may, to read these excellent Discourses, they will find ample matter well worthy their particular notice, and in some instances not unworthy their general imitation.

In respect to those who are commonly called Inferiors.—It is sufficient to say, perhaps, that in proportion as the learning of their superiors declined, theirs has been equally extended.—That, in matters of Fact and Reason, they are known to be competent Judges also with the best of their imagined betters.—And, as their hearts are more properly formed for religious instruction by the very nature

The P R E F A C E, &c.

ture of their several callings. So, no doubt, the following Discourses will rivet in their minds that Sense of Faith which only their small leisure to attend the offices of the church (from their hours of business) occasions to be infirm, and which these discourses, in private, when they are so unhappily prevented, will, if carefully read over, render fixt and immovable.



THE

THE
LIFE
OF
PRINCETON
THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY.

HUGH LATIMER,

Bishop of *WORCESTER*.

IT has been an antient custom, to record the actions and the writings of eminent men, with all their circumstances; and it is but a right that we owe to the memory of our pious Martyr.

In the year 1470, Hugh Latimer, sometime Bishop of Worcester, and son of Hugh Latimer, a husbandman, as Fox says, of right good estimation, was born at Thurcaston in the county of Leicester. This happened in the eleventh year of the reign of King Edward IV. In the neighbourhood of this place his father rented a farm, and lived and maintained his family, which consisted of a wife, one son, and six daughters. Our Prelate was an only son. We know nothing more

of this farmer's circumstances and manner of life, than what we learn from one of his son's sermons preached at court before Edward VI. in which he tells his royal and noble auditory:

" That upon a farm of four pounds a year,
" at the utmost, his father tilled as much
" ground as kept half a dozen men ; that he
" had it stocked with a hundred sheep, and
" thirty cows ; that he found the King a man
" and horse, himself remembering to have
" buckled on his father's harness, when he
" went to Blackheath ; that he gave his daugh-
" ters five pounds a-piece at marriage ; that he
" lived hospitably among his neighbours, and
" was not backward in his alms to the poor."

In 1474, being now between four and five years old, he was first put to school at Thurne-
cafton, and when he had attained such a pro-
ficiency there, as was thought proper, and his
father finding he took his learning well, he
was sent to the grammar-school at Leicester.
At which Place he so profited, that his parents
and neighbours greatly admired him for his ready,
prompt and sharp wit. This determined old
Hugh to endeavour by all means the advance-
ment of his son in erudition, and in the know-
ledge of good and useful literature.

In 1484, being in the fifteenth year of
his age, and having learnt as much as he
could from the schools and schoolmasters of
the county of Leicester, he was by his parents
sent, for farther learning, to the University of
Cambridge. But of what particular college he
was, we no where read. Here he passed his
time in attending the public exercises, in which
he

he was diligent and industrious. This ended, he gave himself to the study of such school divinity, as the ignorance and superstition of that age did suffer; or as a modern writer expresses it, “ He read the schoolmen and the scriptures “ with the same reverence, and held Thomas “ a Becket and the Apostles in equal honour.” All which time he was zealous in the Popish religion, and withal so very scrupulous, as himself often confessed, that being a Priest, and using constantly to say mass or divine service, he was so servile an observer of the decrees of the Roman See, that he thought he had never sufficiently mingled his massing wine with water; and moreover, that he should never be damned, if he were once a professed friar, with divers such superstitious fancies. Nay, he was so offended at the doctrines and attempts of the Protestants to reform the holy church, and looked on them in so bad a light, that he declared he was of opinion, the last times, the day of judgment, and the end of the world were now approaching; impiety he said was gaining ground apace; and continued he, what lengths may not men be expected to run, when they begin to question even the infallibility of the Pope. He inveighed publicly and privately on all occasions against the Reformers and their adherents. On this account he commenced the bitter enemy and opponent of one Stafford, a favourer of Protestantism, who was then divinity-lecturer in Cambridge. He most spitefully railed against him, and charged the youth of the University not to believe what he said; and often

drove them out of the school that they might not hear what honest Mr Stafford said.

In 1515, Master Latimer, now in the forty-sixth year of his age, commenced bachelor of divinity, and being on this occasion to make a public oration in Latin before the heads, principals and fellows of all the colleges in the University of Cambridge, he took this opportunity to give an open testimony of his great dislike and abhorrence of the reformed principles and proceedings, and in a particular manner inveighed with vehemence and asperity against Melancthon, a German Protestant and Reformer, whom he treated with much severity for his impious, as he then termed them, innovations in religion.

This zeal of Master Latimer's procured him the respect of the whole University, which they shewed to him in 1516, by unanimously chusing him their cross-bearer; an office of great honour and solemnity. He bore the cross before the heads of the University in all their public processions. This office he discharged with great reputation. The office is answerable to that of sword-bearer in great cities. From this time Master Latimer continued a zealous or rather a bigoted Catholic for seven years, and sought by all the methods in his power, during that period, to deface and destroy the true professors of the gospel.

1523. Notwithstanding the great opposition the reformed principles met with from all persons in power every where, and on all occasions, yet the number of the disciples of the true gospel both in Germany and England grew

grew more and more. Scarce a day passed but the professors were strengthened by new arguments drawn from reason and the unerring word of God, and by an accession of some of the best people of moral character and reputation the age afforded. Among these, there happened in 1523 to be in Cambridge a learned man whose name was Bilney. He was a student there, a right good man, and one of a sober life and conversation. He had commenced batchelor of both the civil and the canon law, and was a man of great reputation. Such was the person who undertook the conversion of Master Latimer to the true profession of the gospel; for by his means he was prettily, as Mr Fox expresses it, caught in the blessed net of God's word.

Bilney observing Latimer to be a zealous, honest, well-meaning man, and one who made a conscience of all he said and did, was stricken with a brotherly pity towards him, and be-thought by what means he might best win him to the true knowledge of Christ. Hereupon, once on a time, Master Bilney resolved to go to Master Latimer's study or chamber, and desired him to hear what he had to say in favour of the reformed principles. Which request was willingly granted. What were the particular arguments Bilney made use of, history gives us no account; but leaves us to conclude that they must be the popular ones then made use of, to wit, the errors and superstitions crept into the church; the absurdity of locking up the scriptures from the common people in an unknown tongue; and the general corruption of

of the Clergy. However, in a short time after Bilney thus resorted to him, through the good spirit of God, Latimer was so convinced in his own mind, that he forsook his former studying of the schoolmen, and other such like fopperies, and became an earnest and sincere student of true divinity, and of the holy Scriptures. So that whereas before he was an enemy, and almost a persecutor of Christ, he became now a diligent seeker after him ; and from this time changed his old way of cavilling and railing against all the Reformers and their principles, into a diligent and kind method of conferring not only with Master Bilney, but with all others who any way favoured the Reformation.

Thus this holy man became a convert to Protestantism, and as before he was a zealous Papist, he now commenced a hearty and sincere Protestant. He heartily pitied the misery and misfortune of all those who were bred up in ignorance and superstition, and therefore he spent three whole years in endeavouring to bring over to the true faith both the learned as well as the simple folk, not only in Cambridge, but in the towns and villages round about, every where preaching Christ crucified, and insisting always on the necessity of a holy life, and the weakness and nothingness of ceremonious observances, which were then accounted the essentials of religion. Hereupon, Satan, says our historian, who never sleepeth when he feeth his kingdon begin to decay, perceiving that this worthy member of Christ would be a shrewd and powerful shaker thereof,

he

he raised up many to molest and trouble him. Among whom were Doctor Watson, master of Christ's college; Doctor Notaries, master of Clare-hall; Doctor Philo, master of Michael-house; Doctor Metcalfe, master of St John's; Doctor Blithe, of the King's-hall; Doctor Bullock, master of Queen's College; Doctor Cliffe, of Clement-house; Doctor Downes, of Jesus College, Doctor Psalmes, master of Saint Nicholas Hottel; Bain, Rud, Greenwood and Brickenden, all four batchelors of divinity, and of Saint John's College; in short all the heads of houses in Cambridge set themselves to oppose him.

Latimer was now in the fifty-third year of his age, when Bilney addressed him; and as we have led the reader to the conversion of honest Latimer it will here be necessary before we proceed, briefly to lay before him, the state of Religion and the Clergy at this time; and this we will gather concisely from the ecclesiastical historians of the reign of King Henry VIII: “The cathedral Clergy, say they, “throughout the kingdom gave themselves up “wholly to idleness and pleasure; they de-“cried and discouraged learning; affirming, “that learning would bring in heresy, and all “manner of mischief; the rural and parochial “Clergy were universally ignorant, slothful, “idle, superstitious, proud and vicious; preach-“ing most of them but once a quarter on a “Sunday, and but few more than once a “month, on the first Sunday thereof. In Lent “sermons were more frequent, but these usu-“ally turned on abstinence, confession, the “necessity

“ necessity of corporal severities, pilgrimages,
“ the enriching of the shrines, and the relics
“ of the saints, and the great use of indul-
“ gencies;—no pains was taken to inform the
“ people of the hatefulness of vice, and the
“ excellency of holiness, or of the wonderful
“ love of Christ, by which men might be en-
“ gaged to acknowledge and obey him. It
“ was far otherwise on the holy or saints days,
“ for on them the monks and the friars and
“ others would ascend the pulpit, and instead
“ of sermons harangue the people on the
“ merits, supererogations and miracles of the
“ saints, to the memory of whom the day was
“ dedicated; magnifying their relics, which
“ they always took care to inform them were
“ laid up in such and such places.” This
custom of the church of Rome is a remain of
the old heathen custom of extolling the fathers
and first benefactors of mankind, who lived
long before the period of divine revelation. It
was then customary for the oldest man, or the
father of the tribe or nation, in a plain and in-
artificial manner, on a set-day to relate to the
rising generation the great things their ancestor,
patron or founder had done for them.

The historians conclude: “ That the Clergy
“ of this time were generally superstitious, and
“ their corruptions were so notorious, and
“ their cruelty so enraged, that the people
“ were deeply prejudiced against them. And
“ if any man denied them any part of that
“ respect, or of those advantages to which they
“ pretended, he was presently brought under
“ the suspicion of heresy, and vexed with im-
“ prisonments,

"prisonments, and articles in the spiritual
"courts were exhibited against him."

Notwithstanding all this, it ought not here to be forgot, that though these men were to a shameful degree negligent in the duty of preaching, and withal corrupt in their morals, yet they were not an unpraising and an unpraying Clergy. The cathedral, monastic and many of the parochial churches were continually open and mass was said in them almost hourly from sun-rise to sun-set. In our church of London, it was now usual every day, at canonical hours, to see the Bishop, Dean, Prebends, Minor Canons, and Chantors, all of them together attending at mass, and in the most solemn manner offering up the public prayers and thanksgivings to the Author of the universe, and to Jesus Christ his Son for the inestimable blessing of the redemption of the world. The solemnity, regularity and constancy wherewith they performed their devotions was truly commendable; for as there were thirty Prebends, it was the duty of every one of them in rotation, day after day, to repeat a portion of David's Psalms. This order was first established about the time of the conquest when Ulstan was dean, and during the episcopate of William the Norman. For instance, the Prebend who held the canonicate then called Totenhale (now Totnam or Tottenham-Court in the Parish of Pancras in the county of Middlesex) was bound in the discharge of the duty of his office, on the first day of every month throughout the year to sing or say, the portion of David's Psalms, beginning thus: *Beatus qui*

qui non abiit, &c. “Blessed is the man that
“ hath not walked in the council of the un-
“ godly, nor stood in the way of sinners; and
“ hath not sat in the seat of the scornful.” On
the second day of every month, the Prebend
of the canonicate of *Mora extra London* (now
More-lane and *Morefields* in the parish of *Crip-
ple-gate*) said or sung the portion begin-
ning, *Confitebor tibi in toto corde Domine, &c.*
“I will give thanks unto thee, O Lord, with
“ my whole heart; I will speak of all thy
“ marvellous works; I will be glad and rejoice
“ in thee; yea, my songs will I make of thy
“ name, O thou most Highest.” And thus did
all the rest of the Prebends daily throughout
every month. This was a laudable custom,
and agreeable to the genius of the Clergy,
doctrines and piety of that time, since they
taught the people, as the Clergy among the
Jews and Heathens of old did, that they were
intercessors and attoners for men, and that they
could offer up to God for the laity the sacrifice
of prayer and thanksgiving daily in their lieu
and stead. And if we may credit the histo-
rians of this time, on the grand festivals, such
as the feasts of the blessed Virgin, and the con-
version of St Paul, &c. all the Clergy belong-
ing to the cathedral, (then upwards of two
hundred) all dressed in their surplices, copes,
hoods, &c. accompanied by the Bishop and
Dean, performed their devotions in the most
solemn and august manner the art and zeal of
man had invented. This was indeed a fine
sight, and like taking heaven by violence.

I hope the reader will excuse this digression it
being very material to the narrative that is to
follow.

Learn-

Learning was at a very low ebb in both the Universities in the year 1526. Cambridge was now the seat and asylum of ignorance, bigotry and superstition, and every reformed opinion and person they persecuted with an inveterate hatred and cruel zeal. Master Latimer had by this time, through his daily and indefatigable searching of the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, made himself a most compleat master of all the arguments proper to confute the then reigning errors of the church of Rome, and he sat himself about exposing of them in the most public manner he possibly could. About Christmas this year, it fell to his lot to preach the Advent sermons before the University of Cambridge in the church of St Edward, probably in the morning, and in the church of St Austin in the afternoon of the same day. In which course of sermons, says Fox and others, he gave the people certain cards out of the fifth, sixth and seventh chapters of St Matthew, whereupon they might not only then, but ever after employ their time: He chose the Heart for his triumph, or trump, shewing thereby that with their hearts they ought to serve God. It was at this time, he took an opportunity to inveigh sharply and wittily against most, if not all, the lucrative doctrines of the church of Rome. He spoke largely against the abominable superstition and idle usage of saying mass in an unknown tongue, and gave the most solid reasons why the scriptures of the Old and New Testament should be translated into English, printed, and put into the hands of the most illiterate. This he handled so well,

and managed with so much prudence, that it had greatly its desired effect, to wit, the overthrow of Popery, and setting up of perfect religion. And without vanity it may be said, that we greatly owe to Master Latimer the inestimable blessing we of this day enjoy, the reading of the Bible in our own tongue.

1527. These sermons made a great stir in the University, and they became the general subject of public and private discourse not only in Cambridge, but the fame thereof reached London, Oxford, and the most distant parts of the kingdom. Insomuch, says Fox, that Satan began to feel himself and his kingdom shaken indeed, and therefore thought it high time to look about him, and muster together his men of arms, or advocates. The first who attacked Latimer was Doctor Buckenham, then prior of the Black Friars in Cambridge. This he did in the church of St Edward in the beginning of January this year. And as Latimer had at this season brought forth his cards, Buckenham thought proper also to bring forth his dice in allusion and in answer thereto. He undertook to prove to his audience, that it was not expedient the Scriptures should be in English. This assertion he endeavoured to support from five places out of the New Testament, which he called his Cinque, and also out of the four most celebrated Doctors and Fathers of the antient church, which he called this quater. By which his cinque 'quater he suggested, that if the ploughman should read this expression in the gospel, "No man that layeth his hand on the plough, and looking

" back

" back is meet for the kingdom of God," would cease from his hard labour ; the baker in like manner, finding, that a little leaven will corrupt a large lump of dough, will peradventure leave our bread unleavened. A third reading, " If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee," may be induced, in obedience thereto to pluck out his eye, and so the world will be filled with beggars. Thus did the prior trifle in a solemn manner. Latimer was present all the sermon ; and promised the next sunday to refute Buckenham's arguments.

Accordingly, the time being come, the whole University, together with the most eminent people in the town came to hear Latimer preach in answer to the doughty reasons of the said prior. Buckenham himself attended, and sat underneath the pulpit. Our reformer first with great clearness and vivacity repeated the prior's nine reasons why the scriptures should not be translated into English, five of which were taken out of the New Testament, and four out of the Fathers, and then he sat himself to refute them, which he did with so much ease, pleasure and humour as greatly delighted the audience, and sat his antagonist in a most ridiculous light. He affirmed that there was no such fear and danger for the Scriptures to be in English as the friar pretended, and that it was highly unlikely and improbable that Englishmen would ever make such uses of them which he had so sillily suggested. He concluded with observing, that a metaphorical way of speaking and reasoning was in use in every nation

nation and language, and generally understood; and to bring the matter home, he used the following metaphor, as it were by way of inference, and alluding to Buckenham himself. When, says he, they paint a fox preaching out of a friar's coul, no one can be so mad to take this to be a fox that preacheth, but well enough know the meaning of the matter, which is to paint out unto us what hypocrisy, craft and dissimulation lieth hid many times in these friar's couls. Of all which deceits, crafts and dissimulations he begged of his audience to beware. The end was, that prior Buckenham was so dashed and confounded with this sermon, that he never after publicly preached against our Martyr.

Thus did Latimer gain a compleat victory over this bigot; but as he was by the Papists generally esteemed a great dunce, they therefore soon after prevailed on one Venetus, a learned and sage foreigner to undertake the refutation of Latimer's arguments. They handled the subject in a grave, serious and scholaistic manner. Venetus it seems was beat out of the field, and obliged to retreat from Cambridge, or in other words, Latimer, by the force of his arguments shut Buckenham up in his monastry, and drove Venetus from the University.

The enemies of Mr Latimer and of the Reformation finding it impossible to silence him by any power they were possessed of, resorted to London, and there, through the interest of their friends prevailed at length on Cardinal Wolsey, who was then Legate of the Holy See, and therefore the first ecclesiastic in this kingdom,

to

to cite Latimer and Bilney before him as being Heretics. On this occasion, Wolsey called a meeting of all the Bishops Divines and Canonnists about London. The Cardinal did not hear them himself, but referred the matter to Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury; Tonstal, Bishop of London, and others. Tonstal persuaded Bilney to recant, who thereupon had the favour to bear his faggot, and so to be dismissed. Latimer it seems, at this time also, following the example of Bilney, subscribed certain articles coinciding with the doctrines of the church of Rome, devised by the Bishops for him: By these articles was too plainly set forth the gross idolatry and blind superstition of this time, and shewed the great need there was for a reformation.

Latimer and Bilney having thus, for the present, appeased the fury and cruelty of their persecutors, returned to Cambridge, where they were kindly received by their friends. Bilney, after he had spent some time at Cambridge, and repented of what he had done, namely, that he had denied the Protestant faith, left the University, and went into Norfolk the place of his nativity, and there he relapsed, and became more zealous for the cause of the Reformation than he had been before. Whereupon the Bishop of Norwich caused him to be apprehended and cast into the goal in that city, and tried for heresy.

On the nineteenth of August 1531, Bilney was brought to the stake, and burnt for heresy, in the city of Norwich. Master Latimer

stiles him the blessed martyr of God, says, “ he
“ was a charitable, simple, good soul.”

1532. Latimer did not follow Bilney into Norfolk, but staid in Cambridge, preaching in Doctor Barnes's church, and assisting him in the discharge of his pastoral duty. Latimer was one of those antiquated divines, who thought it his duty, not only continually to visit and instruct the well, but also the sick and imprisoned. In doing this part of his duty (for it is the duty of every minister of the gospel to visit the sick and imprisoned) he found in Cambridge goal, a woman under sentence of death for the murder of her own child. He carefully examined her as to her guilt, and finding, as he was persuaded in his own mind, that the woman was, through the ill-will, hatred and malice of her husband, falsely accused, he went up to London, told the King the whole matter, with all its circumstances, and joining thereto his own opinion, procured her pardon. And it is here to be noted, that this good man made use of his interest at court more to serve others than himself.

About this time it happened, that the King sent Doctor Butts, his physician, to Cambridge, to solicit the opinions of all the learned men in that University relating to the popular subject of the divorce. Whoever would at this time curry favour with that resolute monarch must say as he said. It was now also Henry's opinion, that he ought to be head of the English church. Doctor Butts was zealously of this opinion, and coming to Cambridge he founded Latimer on this topic, and found him of the same way of thinking;

thinking; only perhaps with this difference, Butts was the advocate of the King's Supremacy politically, but Latimer was so conscientiously. However, Latimer was found so fit a person for the support of the cause, that Butts, on his return to London, prevailed on Latimer to go with him.

Doctor Butts introduced Latimer to Court, in the year 1533, where he preached on the subject of the King's Supremacy with great clearness and success. Every one was taken with his familiar way of expressing himself, and more with the real honest intention of his heart, which appeared in all his discourses and transactions. The succeeding year Butts recommended Latimer to Lord Cromwell, who being well satisfied of his sufficiency and ability to support the task he had undertaken, presented Latimer to the rectory of Westkington, in the County of Wilts, in the diocese of Salisbury, then vacant, and in the King's gift. Latimer accepted it.

But had either Cromwell or Butts knew the consequence, they would not have thus provided for him. They did it to encourage him in the great work they had to be done; for as he was then the most diligent and popular Preacher in the kingdom, they wanted him to preach up and down London, the King's Supremacy. But honest Latimer no sooner had procured induction and institution to his living, but he was immediately for leaving the Court, and for going and residing on his benefice. Butts would feign have dissuaded him from this by telling him, " He was deserting

“ the fairest opportunity of making his fortune. The minister intends this only as an earnest of his future favours ; and will certainly in time, do great things for you. But it is the manner of Courts to consider them as provided for who are satisfied ; and take my word for it an absent claimant stands but a poor chance among rivals, who have the advantage of being present.”

All this had no weight with Master Latimer, he had no other notion of things than of making himself useful and serviceable to the people, the cure of whose souls he had so solemnly undertaken. He was likewise glad of this opportunity that he might retire from the noise and hurry of a Court, where he had with the deepest concern beheld every vice in its zenith, and malice, envy, detraction and vanity riding triumphant.

And now we are to regard Master Latimer as a parish-priest, as rector of the parish of Westkington, in Wiltshire. Here, says Fox, his diligence was so great, his preaching so mighty, and the manner of his teaching so zealous, not only in his own parish church, but also in other churches in every part of Wiltshire, that the people every where flocked about him, and were much edified by him. In his sermons to the people, he plainly and clearly proved, that the doctrine of a purgatory was a pick-purse doctrine ; that the holy Virgin was not to be prayed to ; that she being herself a sinful woman, could not be an intercessor and mediator before God for us men ; and that only Christ was to be prayed to,

to, who was the lamb of God, whose blood was shed for the sins of the whole world ; and who now was sitting at the right hand of his father continually making intercession for us ; to him, and to him only ought all men to pray. He farther said, that the saints were not to be worshipped, nor prayed unto on any account whatsoever ; and lastly, he affirmed, that there was no material fire in hell. It is to be observed, that Master Latimer, in all his discourses both public and private, never forgot to insist on the absurdity and ridiculousness of praying to God in an unknown tongue, and of the great necessity and usefulness of an English translation of the Bible, that all men might be judges of the truth of the doctrines he preached, and themselves thereby see their own way to heaven.

The desire of the laity to peruse the sacred writings in their own language became now almost universal, and the more the Clergy opposed the translation, the more desirous were the people for it. Books containing extracts out of the Bible were daily printed, published, and dispersed all over the kingdom ; and the general cry of almost all orders of the people seemed to be for an English translation thereof. The Popish party, the Bishops, Monks and Clergy opposed it with all the rancor and malice they were capable of ; and that not being sufficient, they at length procured the royal injunction to command all persons in every diocese possessed of any of these books, wrote either in favour of the Reformation, or of the desired translation, to bring them

in to the vicar-generals or commissaries, on pain of excommunication, that they might be burnt as heretical books. It was now-about, that Stokesley, Bishop of London, in his zeal to crush the progress of the Reformation, sent into Holland, purchased half of Tindal's Edition of an English translation of the Bible, brought them over here, and publicly (and I think it may be justly said impiously) burnt them in Cheapside. These wicked proceedings so raised the honest zeal of Master Latimer, that he wrote the following letter to King Henry the eighth.

“ St Augustine tells us, *That he who through fear, hideth the truth, provoketh the wrath of heaven, as a person who fears man more than God.* And St Chrysostom gives it as his opinion, *That a person may betray the truth, as well by concealing it, as disguising it.* These sentences, great King, occured to me very lately; and have had such an effect upon me, that I must either open my conscience to your Majesty, or rank myself among such persons as these two holy fathers censure. The latter I cannot think of. But alas! there are men upon whom such severe censures have no effect: there are men, who, pretending to be guides and teachers in religion, not only conceal the truth, but prohibit others to set it forth; blind guides, who shut up the kingdom of heaven from men, and will neither enter in themselves, neither suffer them that would, to enter. And not content with obstructing the word of God to the utmost of their own authority,

“ rity, they have contrived by their subtle
“ practices to draw into their assistance the
“ civil power in almost all the states of chris-
“ tendom. In this nation especially, they have
“ long imposed upon your subjects by their
“ delusions, and kept them in awe by their
“ spiritual censures; and when they saw the
“ truth likely to prevail, and gather strength
“ from their opposition, they have at length
“ obtained your Majesty’s proclamation in
“ their favour, and have got it declared trea-
“ son to read the Scriptures in English. Hear
“ me, I beseech your Majesty, a few words,
“ and let me intreat you to call to mind the
“ example of Christ and his Apostles, their
“ manner of life, their preaching, and whole
“ behaviour; that comparing them with the
“ spiritual guides of this day, your Majesty
“ may the better judge who are the true fol-
“ lowers of Christ. And first it is evident,
“ that simplicity of manners, and hearts se-
“ questered from the world, were the striking
“ characteristics of the first preachers of the
“ gospel, and of our blessed Lord himself. Po-
“ verty in spirit was then practised as well as
“ preached. Alas! it is since those days that
“ christian teachers, masking their worldly
“ hearts under the pretence of voluntary po-
“ verty, and an exclusion from carnal things,
“ have wormed themselves into more than
“ regal wealth; and have wickedly kept what
“ they have craftily obtained, by fomenting
“ foreign or domestic strife, in all places, as
“ their purposes were best served; and by blas-
“ phemously dealing out even the punishments

“ of

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“ of heaven against all who had resolution e-
“ nough to make any stand against their cor-
“ ruptions. By what arts they have evaded a
“ late act of parliament against their encroach-
“ ments, your Majesty well knows. Think
“ not, gracious sovereign, that I exceed the
“ bounds of charity in what I say : I only offer
“ to your Majesty’s consideration a rule, which
“ was once prescribed by a greater Master, *By*
“ *their fruits shall ye know them.* Another mark
“ of the true disciples of Christ, is their being
“ at all times exposed to persecution. It would
“ be endless to quote all the passages of Scrip-
“ ture in which this burden is universally laid
“ upon good Christians. Contempt and re-
“ proach is their common lot, and often the
“ most violent persecutions, even to death it-
“ self. Wherever, therefore, the word of God
“ is truly preached, you must expect to see per-
“ secution in one shape or other. On the con-
“ trary, wherever you see ease and luxury, and
“ a quiet possession of worldly pleasures, there
“ the truth cannot possibly be. For the world
“ loveth only such as are worldly ; and the
“ favourers of the gospel can expect nothing
“ in it from reason, and are promised nothing
“ in it by Scripture, but vexation and trouble.
“ From this distinction again, your Majesty, by
“ the assistance of the above-mentioned rule,
“ *By their fruits ye shall know them,* will be able
“ to judge, who are the true followers of Christ:
“ wherever you observe persecution, there is
“ more than a probability that truth lies on
“ the persecuted side. As for a notion, which
“ has been infused into your Majesty, that the

Scrip-

“ Scriptures in the hands of the people might
“ move them to rebellion, your Majesty may
“ judge of the falsehood of this likewise by
“ the same rule: *By their fruits shall ye know*
“ *them.* How is it possible, that a book, which
“ inculcates obedience to Magistrates with the
“ greatest earnestness, can be the cause of se-
“ dition? The thing speaks itself, and discovers
“ only how their malice is at a loss for topics of
“ invective. When King David sent ambassa-
“ dors to the young King of the Ammonites
“ to condole with him upon the death of his
“ father, your Majesty may remember what
“ unadvised counsel was given to that rash
“ Prince. His councellors put it into his
“ head, contrary to all reason, that David’s
“ messengers came only as spies and that
“ David certainly meant an invasion. The
“ young King, upon this, without farther ce-
“ remony, wantonly shaved the heads of the
“ ambassadors, and treated them with other
“ instances of contempt. But the following
“ verses inform us how the affair ended. The
“ destruction of the whole land, we read, was
“ the consequence of listening to imprudent
“ counsel. Let not, great King, this fact find
“ its parallel in English history. The ambassa-
“ dors of a great Prince are now making suit to
“ you; the holy Evangelists, and Apostles of
“ Christ. Be upon your guard; and believe
“ not the idle tales of those who would per-
“ suade you, that these messengers of peace
“ are coming to foment sedition in your land.
“ Would your Majesty know the true cause of
“ this confederacy, as I may well call it, against
“ the

“ the word of God ; examine the lives of those
“ that are the leaders of it, and consider whether
“ there may not be some private reasons in-
“ ducing such persons to keep a book in con-
“ cealment, which cries out loudly against all
“ kind of vice. And if your Majesty wants to
“ know the source of rebellions, I think a much
“ fairer one may be conjectured at, than the use
“ of an English Bible. For my own part, I
“ have long been of opinion, that a greater en-
“ couragement of civil disorder could hardly
“ have been invented, than the church-trade of
“ pardons and indulgencies ; to which may be
“ added the bad examples of the Clergy, and
“ the little care they are generally thought to
“ take in the discharge of their duty. As for
“ those who are now in question about your
“ Majesty’s late proclamation, I am creditably
“ informed, there is not one among them,
“ who hath not in every respect, demeaned
“ himself as a peaceable and good subject ;
“ excepting only this one case, in which they
“ thought their religion and consciences con-
“ cerned. In this particular, however, I excuse
“ them not ; nor will I take upon me intirely
“ to defend the books for which they suffer ;
“ for indeed, many of them I have never read ;
“ only this your Majesty must give me leave to
“ say, that it is impossible the many inconveni-
“ encies can follow from these books, and es-
“ specially from the Scripture, which they would
“ persuade mankind will follow. Accept, gra-
“ cious sovereign, without displeasure, what
“ I have written. I thought it my duty to
“ mention these things to your Majesty. No
“ per-

" personal quarrel, as God shall judge me,
" have I with any man ; I wanted only to induce
" your Majesty to consider well what kind of
" persons you have about you, and the ends
" for which they counsel ; indeed, great Prince,
" many of them, or they are much slandered,
" have very private ends. God grant your Ma-
" jesty may see through all the designs of evil
" men, and be in all things equal to the high
" office with which you are entrusted ? Where-
" fore, gracious King, remember yourself ;
" have pity upon your own soul ; and think
" that the day is at hand, when you shall
" give account of your office, and of the blood
" that hath been shed by your sword. In the
" which day, that your grace may stand sted-
" fastly, and not be ashamed, but be clear
" and ready in your reckoning, and have
" your pardon sealed with the blood of our
" Saviour Jesus Christ, which only serveth at
" that day, is my daily prayer to him who suf-
" fered death for our sins. The Spirit of God
" preserve you ! "

This honest letter had but little visible effect on Henry, but statesmen are seldom governed by other motives than those of policy and self-interest ; it was therefore the King's interest to oblige and hearken to the whole body of the English Clergy rather than to the remonstrances of one single man ; though Henry might in his own conscience be satisfied of the truth and rectitude of what Latimer had asserted. And, I think it is not to be doubted, but the above letter was of future use to its author.

Master Latimer now at his cure, pursuing his preaching, in the manner already observed, his

diligence and sincere conduct in propagating the true gospel of Christ brought on him, in the year 1535, the envy, malice and persecution of all the country Priests in his neighbourhood. Among whom were several of some note, such as Doctor Powel of Salisbury, Doctor Wilson sometime of Cambridge, Master Hubbendine and Doctor Sherwood. Of whom some preached against him, and some wrote against him. They at length drew up the following Accusations against him, which they affirmed he had maintained in his sermons : I. That saints were not to be worshipped. II. That *Ave Maria* was a salutation only, and no prayer. III. That there was no material fire in hell. And IV. That there was no purgatory, and that he had rather be in purgatory than in Lollard's tower. Hereupon his enemies procured him to be cited up and called to appear before William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and John Stokesly, Bishop of London, on a day certain, in the consistory court in London.

Latimer now in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and grievously troubled with the colic and stone, obeyed the citation of Warham, and though it was winter-time repaired to London, and appeared in the consistory-court in St Paul's. Warham and Stokesly offered him certain articles ready drawn up to subscribe. Which he not being willing to do, they desired him to consider of them against the next court-day, but then also he was not willing to sign the articles. They gave him still farther

ther time from court-day to court-day, hoping that he would comply; till at length Latimer was tired with attending and refusing; and as he complained thereof to Warham and Stokesly, his inveterate Enemies, we may conclude he did so to Doctor Butts and Lord Cromwell his friends. Latimer, it seems, wanted to be in his parish feeding of his flock. Whereupon Lord Cromwell and Doctor Butts, in order to put an end to the prosecution, acquainted the King of the unhappy state of our Hero; when his Majesty reflecting on the letter Latimer had not long before sent him, and the honesty and integrity of the author; and this being joined with the recommendation of the aforesaid gentlemen and Anna Bullen, who had a great respect for Latimer, and for the Reformation, and at this time the Bishoprics of Worcester and Salisbury being vacant, the King very readily gave Latimer the former. Which proceeding put an end to the designs of Latimer's enemies, at least for the present.

And now we are to regard Latimer as a Bishop of that church he had been hitherto so desirous to reform. He undertook the office of a Bishop to secure himself from persecution, and with a view to serve the interest of the Reformation, and it is very likely, that this was the main reason that moved Cromwell, Anna Bullen and Butts, to solicit the King in his behalf, for these were great and potent advocates for the Protestant cause. In 1536, this proved to be the very case; for Latimer, together with Archbishop Cranmer, and the Bishops of Ely, Sarum, Here-

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ford, Rochester and St David's, publicly declared
for a Reformation.

The convocation met the ninth of June this year, and Latimer spoke the oration in Latin before them from these Words, “The chil-“ dren of this world are wiser in their gene-“ ration, than the children of light.” He was esteemed the most celebrated Preacher of this time. The simplicity and plainness of his matter, with a serious and fervent action that accompanied it, being preferred to more learned and elaborate compositions. Cranmer declared, he knew no Clergyman so well qualified to lay before the Clergy the corruption of their order; and to rouze them, if possible, into a sense of their duty. This sermon translated into English, is the second in the following collection of his discourses, to which this is prefixed.

Certain articles were soon after drawn up, as was generally imagined by Archbishop Cranmer, assisted by Latimer, against relics, pilgrimages, images, and superfluous saints-days. The eyes of the Laity began to be opened, they wanted to be instructed in the principles of religion in their own tongue; they despised and ridiculed the craft and foolery of the Monks and Clergy, and every one loudly cried out for a translation of the Bible.

All this in the following year our Bishop saw with an eye of joy and pleasure, and being satisfied that things were ripening, if not yet quite ripe, for the Reformation of the church, he left London, and repaired to his own episcopate of Worcester. His head was no way turned for politics, his talents were truly evangelical. He
was

was ordained to preach the gospel, and to see that others did it, and both these duties he diligently and constantly performed. He sought all opportunities to reprove vice, in every one, even in Kings, as appears from the following story: It was the custom in those days, about new year's tide for each Bishop to make the King a handsome present of a purse of gold, some more and some less, according to their desires of preferment; but honest Latimer being to make his present, instead of gold, presented King Henry with a New Testament, neatly bound and gilt, with a leaf turned down, in the most conspicuous manner, pointing to these words: "Whoremongers and adulterers God "will judge."

1538. This year the Bible was published, by the Royal authority, in English; and as our Bishop daily preached up the necessity of a translation in the vulgar tongue, we may justly conclude, he had no little hand in it. The King commissioned only Grafton the Printer to print it, and he printed fifteen hundred of them at his own charge; and the King by proclamation, according to the advice of Archbishop Cranmer, and also of Latimer, allowed every one to read it. Cromwell procured this great privilege; and "Cranmer publicly rejoiced to "see this day of Reformation, which he con- "cluded was risen now in England, since the "light of God's word did shine over it with- "out any cloud." This he declared in a letter to Cromwell.

Latimer was a true Bishop indeed! for he not only preached the gospel of Christ faithfully and

and diligently, but he watched over his diocese, and took care, if possible, to right all those poor persons who were imposed upon or hardly used by their great and wealthy overbearing neighbours. It seems, says Fox, there lived a certain gentleman in Warwickshire, in that part of it which lies within the diocese of Worcester, who had wronged a poor man his neighbour, though he had kept within the literal sense of the law. The gentleman had a large estate in the county, and his brother was also in the commission of the peace; and these two over-awed and cowed the whole neighbourhood, for many miles round. The poor man, not knowing what to do, at length, applied to his own diocesan, told him the whole story, and the manner in which he was oppressed. Latimer heard, pitied the poor man's case, and promised him he would, if possible, see him redressed. Whereupon Latimer wrote a very long letter to the parties, reproved them sharply for the injury they had done the man, and required them speedily to do him justice. They replied to the Bishop, and told him ;
“ They had done only what was right, and
“ would abide by it : that as for the sufferer
“ the law was open; and as for his Lordship, they
“ could not but think he interfered very im-
“ pertinently in an affair which did not con-
“ cern him:” Latimer never espoused a cause but that he would go through with it ; and therefore, finding that the gentlemen did not proceed readily to right his client, as we may call the poor man, he sent them a second letter, acquainting them in few words : “ That if the
“ cause

" cause of complaint was not forthwith removed, he certainly would himself lay the whole affair before the King." This Latimer certainly would have done, (as he was then going to London on the following occasion) if he had not been prevented, by their making the poor man that restitution and satisfaction he required.

As Latimer was the champion of the doctrine of the King's Supremacy, he was, about this time, sent for to London, in order to reclaim one Forrest, an Observant Friar, who had denied the King's Supremacy, and also the Gospel. Latimer did all that lay in his power, and studied every way he could imagine to cause the Friar to recant; for, it seems, Henry had, till he denied his Supremacy, a very great respect for him. However Forrest, could not by any arguments or persuasions be induced to recant, and therefore the day came when he was to be put to death in Smithfield. The Lords of the Council came thither, on the day, to offer Forrest his pardon, if he would abjure. Latimer also, on this occasion preached a sermon, wherein he endeavoured to confute his errors, and begged of him to recant; but he continued still in his former opinions. He was hanged to the stake with a great chain about his middle, and so was burnt.

About this time Latimer, together with eighteen other Bishops, all that were then in England drew up and signed a declaration against the Pope's ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which concludes with these words: " That the people ought to be instructed, that Christ did expressly for-
" bid

“ bid his Apostles or their successors to take to
“ themselves the power of the sword, or the
“ authority of Kings ; and that if the Bishop
“ of Rome, or any other Bishop, assumed
“ such power, he was a tyrant and an usur-
“ per of other mens rights, and a subverter
“ of the kingdom of Christ.”

Soon after another declaration was drawn up and signed by our Bishop and seven others, to shew, “ That by the commission which Christ gave to churchmen, they were only ministers of his gospel, to instruct the people in the purity of the faith : but that by other places of scripture, the authority of christian Princes, over all their subjects, as well Bishops and Priests, as others, was also clear. And that the Bishops and Priests have charge of souls within their cures ; power to administer sacraments, and to teach the word of God : To the which word of God, christian Princes acknowledge themselves subject ; and that in case the Bishops be negligent, it is the christian Prince’s office to see them do their duty.”

This year also the priory of Great Malverne (now written Malverin Major in Ecton) in Worcestershire was suppressed. At the suppression, Latimer with an earnest desire recommended to Cromwell, who was the King’s Vicar-general, that that house might stand, not in monkery, but so as to be converted to preaching, study and prayer. And the good Prior was willing to compound for his house by a present of five hundred marks to the King, and of two hundred to Cromwell. He is commended

mended for being an old worthy man, a good house-keeper, and one that daily fed many poor people. To this Latimer adds, his farther desire and recommendation to the Vicar-general, “Alas, my good Lord ! shall we not see two or three in every shire, changed to such remedy.” He wished, but in vain ; the monasteries were dissolved, and the money misapplied. Indeed Cranmer and Latimer wanted their lands and riches to be applied to found seminaries in every cathedral, for the training up youth for the ministry, under the eye and tuition of every Bishop, to be transplanted into the several cures in each diocese as occasion served.

1539. Our Bishop, at the beginning of this year was at his diocese, but was early in the spring called up to town, to preach the Lent sermons before the King, and to attend the house. He was noted for rebuking vice in all, and especially in great men, and he used his wonted freedom in speaking his mind, even before the King himself. The court was at this time abominably corrupt, and no one had the courage among all the Bishops, besides Latimer, to reprove the reigning vices and enormities. He did it plainly and honestly with a sincere heart, not fearing any ill consequence. Hereupon the Bishop of Winchester, as it is supposed, accused him to the King of making use of several seditious expressions in his sermons, which he called a libel against the King and ministry, and tended to alienate the people from the Prince. The King called upon Latimer to vindicate himself, which he

did thus without the least concern ; “ I never
“ thought myself, great Sir, worthy, nor did
“ I ever sue to preach before your Grace ; but
“ I was called to it, and would be willing, if
“ you mislike me, to give place to my betters ;
“ for I grant there be a great many more
“ worthy of the room than I am. And if it
“ be your Grace’s pleasure to allow them for
“ Preachers, I could be content to bear their
“ books after them. But if your Grace allow
“ me for a Preacher, I would desire you to
“ give me leave to discharge my conscience,
“ and to frame my doctrine according to my
“ audience. I had been a very dolt indeed,
“ to have preached so at the borders of your
“ realm, as I preach before your Grace.” The
magnanimity and plainness of this answer at
once baffled Winchester’s malice, and the King
dismissed Latimer with a smile.

The parliament met the twenty-eighth of April, and on the fifth of May following, the Lord Cromwel, and two Archbishops, and the Bishops of Worcester, Ely, Durham, Bath and Wells, Carlisle and Bangor, were appointed a committee to draw up certain articles to be a standard of thinking, and thereby to establish an uniformity of opinion throughout the realm. But this committee being composed of men quite opposite in religious sentiments, one to another, no agreement could be had, nor was likely ever to obtain. Whereupon, the Duke of Norfolk, according to the premeditated plan, told the house, that the committee had been consulting for twelve days past, and was come to no conclusion, he therefore desired

sired to offer the following articles, which he (and the Popish party) had drawn up to be examined by a committee of the whole house, viz.

I. That in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there remained no substance of bread and wine, but the natural body and blood of Christ. II. That vows of chastity ought to be observed. III. That the use of private masses should be continued. IV. That communion in both kinds was not necessary. V. That Priests might not marry. VI. That auricular confession should be retained in the church. These articles, notwithstanding the opposition they met with from the Protestant party, and especially from Cromwell, Cranmer and Latimer, soon passed the house, and was made into a law, which obtained the denomination of the act of the Six Articles.

Bishop Latimer was among those who took great offence against this act; and as he did not vote for it in the house, he thought it wrong to hold the episcopal office in a church, where such absurd terms of communion were required. Wherefore, on the last day of sessions, when the house was dissolved, he resigned his Bishopric; and coming from the parliament-house to his own, he threw off his robes, and leaping up, he declared to his domestics, that he thought himself lighter than ever he had found himself before.

In the discharge of his episcopal duty, we are told by the historians of this time, that he was remarkably and exemplarily zealous. He was a right Bishop, a Paul, a Timothy, a Titus, and as such

he continually overlooked his Clergy, exciting them to perform the duties of their functions, and he took care, at least, to oblige them to a legal performance of preaching, administration of the sacraments, visitation of the sick, and prisoners, &c. there was no part of his diocese but he visited, not in a superficial and customary manner, but rather in the primitive and apostolic. With the same resolution he presided in his own Courts, and he either rooted out such crimes as were there cognizable, or drove them into holes and corners. He never ordained any person to the sacred offices, but such as he examined himself, and knew to be duly qualified.

But the days then were so dangerous and variable, that he could not in all things do that he would ; yet what he might do, that he performed to the utmost of his strength : so that although he could not utterly extinguish all the sparkling relics of superstition, yet he so managed it, that though they could not be taken away, they should be used with as little hurt, and as much profit as might be. As for example, when it could not be avoided, but holy water and holy bread must needs be received, he charged the ministers of his diocese, in delivering the elements to say these words following :

Words appointed by Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester to be said by the Priest when he distributed the holy water.

Remember your promise in baptism,
Christ his mercy and blood-shedding.

By

By whose most holy sprinkling,
Of all your sins you have free pardoning.

In distributing holy bread.

Of Christ's body this is a token ;
Which on the croſs for our sins was broken.
Wherfore of your sins you must be forſakers,
If of Christ's death ye will be partakers.

Thus ſhewing that theſe two ceremonies were appending to the ſacraments of Baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper ; the ſprinkling of holy water, he ſaid, ſhewed unto us, the ſhedding of Christ's precious blood for the ſins of the whole world, the other was a repreſentation of our Purification from ſin. Thus did he extract good out of evil.

Soon after Latimer had reſigned his Bishopric of Worcester, he left the court and town, and retired into the country (but where we are not told, though probably it might be into ſome part of his own diocēſe) purpoſing to ſpend the remainder of his days in privacy.

While he was there, the flame of perſecution broke out in London, and ſpread itſelf into every corner of the kingdom. A rigorous compliance with the law of the Six Articles was exacted every where, and he who ſpake againſt them, or was ſuſpected to be their adverſary, was ſure to be perſecuted. In leſs than a month, after the act took place, no leſs than five hundred persons of diſferent ſexes were thrown into the prisons of London, and ſo many were executed thereon both in town and country, that theſe articles were termed bloody,

bloody, and have from that day to this been known by the denomination of the six bloody articles.

The Popish party rode triumphant, and bore down all before them. Cromwell had been Henry's great instrument in suppressing the monasteries; but he was at last by Gardiner and others so maligned to his Majesty, that he was committed to the Tower, and soon after, without being brought to any kind of trial, privately beheaded there.

1540. Latimer, secure at this time in his rural retreat was so unfortunate as to receive a bruise by the fall of a tree, the contusion it seems bid defiance to the art of all the surgeons in that part of the country. Indeed, at this time there were very few of this useful science; for we read in Stow that there were, in this reign, no more than nineteen in and about London who publicly professed Chirurgery. Whereupon, he was obliged to come to town for relief, which he soon found. Here he had not been long before his enemy's (the Bishop of Winchester) emissaries found him out, and oath was made before the Secretary of State, that he had spoken against the Six Articles, and thereupon he was apprehended, examined, and though nothing could justly be alledged against him, he was committed to the custody of the governor of the Tower. He was now in the seventy-first year of his age.

1541. Here Latimer was confined together with the Bishop of Chichester, but not so strictly as that his friends might not come and see, and converse with him. Nor Henry,

nor

nor Gardiner, neither had any design on his life; but as the King had done with him, that is to say, Latimer had served his Majesty's purpose in establishing the grand and fundamental doctrine of his Supremacy in England over all persons as well ecclesiastical as civil; and this Prince was of so ungrateful a temper that he cared not afterwards for the man who had faithfully served him; and this doth most flagrantly appear in his beheading Sir Thomas More, his cruel usage of Wolsey, and his barbarous, illegal and unjust treatment of Cromwell.

Our good Bishop therefore, considering the disposition of King Henry, had mild usage; but here he lived himself, he says, “in the daily expectation of being called to be put to death, because at this time there was held a sessions in Newgate once every three weeks, and executions were as frequent.” This he tells us in his fourth sermon preached before King Edward VI. at which time he begs of the King, that as there was then no particular person, as he whom we now call Ordinary, to instruct and pray with the unhappy criminals, there might be some one appointed thereto of learning and diligence; for, continues he, “many of them “are cast away for want of instruction, and “die in misery for lack of preaching.” And on this occasion searching the city records, I find, that in this reign, a Chaplain was appointed to do the abovementioned duties, and therefore it may justly be concluded, that this office was constituted pursuant to his advice. He was at this time the most popular Preacher, and

and great regard was paid to his judgment. At first when this chaplainship was instituted the Chaplain constantly attended, and used his best endeavours daily to convince the delinquents of the heinousness of their several crimes, and to excite in them a true sorrow and contrition for their sins ; but this is of late years degenerated into mere form and show, and preaching once a week, and many times not that ; though I am informed, that what with the salary, house to dwell in, and other perquisites, the ordinary of Newgate's place is worth about One hundred pounds a-year.

1547. Here Bishop Latimer lived a prisoner above six years, till King Henry died ; of whom Burnet says, “ He is rather to be reckoned among the great than the good Princes.” This happened in the night between the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth of January. He was succeeded by his Son Edward. He was a minor, and but nine years three months old, when he ascended the throne. Henry left him in the hands of sixteen peers by his will, with Archbishop Cranmer at the head of them.

Immediately on this change of affairs, Latimer then in the Tower was soon thought of and released, and received at court with great joy and respect. He was offered his Bishopric of Worcester again, but he would not accept of it, not being willing, as some have imagined, to displace the then possessor Doctor Heath. Sometime after, the parliament presented an address, without his privity, to the Protector, earnestly begging of him to restore forthwith

Master

Master Latimer to the Bishopric of Worcester. Whereupon the Protector sent for him, acquainted him with the address of the Commons in his behalf, and did all that lay in his power to persuade him to comply therewith ; but he persisted in refusing of it, excusing himself through his great age, and how desirous he was to live a private and retired life. This however redounds greatly to his honour, that the Parliament of England should interest themselves in his restoration to the Bishopric of Worcester.

Having thus again as it were resigned his Bishopric of Worcester, he accepted an invitation from his hearty friend Archbishop Cranmer, and went and resided at Lambeth. Here he assisted his Grace in compiling the Homilies which were this year set forth by public authority ; and which have continued in use down to this day. And he who reads his sermons and the Homilies with the least attention, may perceive the same spirit of honesty and plainness flow through both of them. Here also, as he tells us, in one of his sermons, his daily employment was to hear the complaints of poor people, and to get them redressed if it was possible. Even strangers from all parts of the kingdom would resort to him who were either oppressed by the great, or who were almost ruined by long, tedious and expensive law-suits. In all which undertakings, as he used great diligence, so he had also great success, almost all, whose causes he undertook, found relief.

I *The Life of Master HUGH LATIMER*

To him moreover may be ascribed, the Reading of Evening Prayer in the English tongue in the King's chapel, which began this year on Easter-monday, as we are told, in order to set an example to the whole kingdom. And was, it is very probable, his scheme, since he always preached up the reasonableness and necessity of having the public prayers performed in the vulgar tongue, that all persons might pray unto God with his understanding. And this is farther the more likely, if we consider, that he was, at this time, as all the historians testify, ranked among the principal Reformers.

Again, this year he preached the Lent sermons before King Edward. Every one flocked to hear him, and he was the most popular Preacher the age afforded. There was not a vice then practiced at Court, but he severely reproved it, and admonished the committer to repent of his folly, and amend his manners for the future. He spoke with great freedom: and it not then being the custom, for the Clergy, to write down their sermons, and read them as they do now, to the people, what he spoke on a subject was full of sincerity, and flowed immediately and directly from the heart. All which the reader will find to be truth from the perusal of his sermons, particularly those preached before King Edward VI.

1548. He preached the Lent sermons before King Edward. This year the Liturgy was set forth in English, and first appointed to be read morning and evening in all the churches and chapels within the kingdom of England and town of Berwick upon Tweed. And though Master

Master Latimer is not mentioned in the committees constituted for this purpose, yet as Archbishop Cranmer and he were at this time at Lambeth, he undoubtedly had a considerable hand in that truly useful work.

1549. Master Latimer preached also the Lent sermons before King Edward, and which sermons are the seven contained in the following collection, none but these being preserved.

Soon after which he left London, and went preaching up and down the country. Fox says, that all King Edward's days, he travelled up and down preaching for the most part twice every Sunday, to the no small shaine of all other loitering and unpreaching Prelates, which occupy great rooms, and do little good: he took little ease and care of sparing himself, to do the people good. And notwithstanding his great age, he would, in the pursuit of his private studies, every morning ordinarily winter and summer, arise and most diligently apply himself thereto.

1550. We find him preaching at Stamford in Lincolnshire, as appears from two sermons preached there on the ninth of October. They are the twelfth and thirteenth of the following collection.

1552. He preached seven sermons upon the Lord's prayer before Katherine Dutchess of Suffolk, which are also preserved in the following collection. And likewise the same year he preached a course of sermons on the gospels read in the church in the Sundays after Trinity. We have also a collection of Advent sermons for this year, and one on the Nativity preached at Bexterly.

1553. On the sixth of July King Edward died. At which time Master Latimer was in the country preaching here and there as opportunity and occasion led him, going about, in imitation of the Apostles, strengthening the people every where in the Protestant faith and principles.

King Edward was succeeded by the Princess Mary, who being a professed Roman Catholic, a great change immediately happened in religious affairs. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who had temporized all the short reign of Edward VI. came now afresh into play, and he was the inveterate and avowed enemy of Master Latimer. Soon after Queen Mary was proclaimed, Bishop Gardiner procured that Latimer should be cited to appear before the Council. Accordingly a pursuivant was sent express to serve Master Latimer with a citation. Now Latimer understanding, that a pursuivant was coming to cite him before the Council to answer to certain objections made against him for recommending in his sermons the reformed principles, six hours before he came, of whose coming he had been informed, he got himself ready to receive the pursuivant, and to go along with him to London.

The pursuivant finding him ready and forward to go with him, expressed his surprize thereat. Whereupon Latimer said : “ My friend, you are a welcome messenger to me, “ be it known to you, and to all the world; “ that I go as willingly to London, being called by my Prince to render an account of my doctrine, as ever I was at any place in the world.

" world. I doubt not but that God, as he hath
" made me worthy to preach his word before
" two excellent Princes, so will he enable me
" to witness the same unto the third, either to
" her comfort or discomfort eternally." The
pursuivant acquainted him, that his orders were
to leave the citation with him, but not to seize
his person, and he might take his own time to
go to London, and so departed. Hence some
have imagined that the secret design of thus serv-
ing on him a citation was to drive him out of the
kingdom, that so they might get rid of him, lest,
says Mr Fox, his firmness and constancy should
deface them in their Popery, and confirm the
godly in the truth.

But Latimer was one who never fled from
danger and a prison. He imitated his great
Master and suffered for the truth patiently. He
therefore, though very old, in the eighty-fourth
year of his age, and it was now winter-time,
immediately set out for London; and in his
way to Court, (the Court was then kept in
Bridewell) he passing through Smithfield, then
the common place for the burning of heretics,
said, " This place hath long groaned for me." He
appeared before the Council on the thirteenth
of September, the day fixed in the citation,
and after being in a very rude manner ex-
amined he was committed a close prisoner to
the Tower. In this situation he behaved him-
self chearfully, and it being cold frosty wea-
ther, and the servant belonging to the Lieute-
nant of the Tower, appointed to attend him,
neglecting to light him a fire, he merrily bid
the servant to tell his master, " That he was
well-

“ well-nigh starved with cold, and that if he
“ did not look better to him, perchance he
“ should deceive him.” The servant immediately told his master what the prisoner had said to him; whereupon the Lieutenant imagining, that he had some design of making his escape, (for the Lieutenant was persuaded in his mind, that the Papists intended to burn Master Latimer) came to him, and severely reprimanded and opprobriously used him, reciting at the same time the words he had said to his servant; “ Why, truly, replied honest Latimer,
“ you look that I should be burnt, but unless
“ you let me have some fire, the weather is so
“ cold, and I am so far advanced in years, I
“ am like to deceive your expectation, for I
“ assure you through the negligence of your
“ servant, I am like here to be starved to death
“ with cold.” The Lieutenant now understanding what was meant by Latimer’s merry threatening, ordered his servant to be more careful for the future in attending upon him, providing him with fire, and all other necessaries due to state prisoners.

Latimer was not long in the Tower without company, for Archbishop Cranmer, being accused in the Star-chamber of being guilty of High Treason, and of publishing seditious libels, was the next day sent to the Tower, and in a short time after Ridley Bishop of London, was sent thither also, for he had, on the sixteenth of July at St Paul’s maintained Queen Jane’s Title to the throne of England, which so displeased Queen Mary that she is said never to have forgiven him.



The Right Rev'd Father in God
Dr. Nicholas Ridley Bishop of London
Crown'd with Martyrdom at Oxford Oct^r. 16. 1555.

Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, having thus far obtained his ends, set all his wits to work to bring these three great men to the stake, as the event plainly shews. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer lay confined in the Tower several months, all the winter of the year 1553, and then in the following spring they were removed to Oxford.

1554. On the fourteenth day of April, Thomas Cranmer, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas Ridley, sometime Bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer, sometime Bishop of Worcester ; were removed from the Tower to Oxford, and there imprisoned in the Bocardo. This was contrived by Gardiner, under pretence of a disputation to be held between the Papists and these three the most eminent Reformers in order to settle certain points of religion, but the true intent was to find out matter of heresy against them, in order that they might be publicly burnt as heretics.

Here they were confined among the common felons and criminals, deprived of every comfort but life, and the pleasant reflections of having born testimony to the truth. Their time was not spent in the vanities and idleness usual to prisoners ; but they daily and hourly occupied themselves, either in brotherly conference, strengthening one the other in the true faith of Christ, or with fervent prayer, or in the exercise of useful and fruitful writing. Indeed Master Latimer, by reason of the feebleness of his age wrote least of them all in this later time of his imprisonment, yet in prayer he was zealously and fervently occupied, where-
in

in oftentimes so long he continued kneeling, that he was not able to rise without help ; and amongst other things , these were the three principal matters that he prayed for :

First, That as God had appointed him to be a Preacher of his word, so also he would give him grace to stand to his doctrine until his death, that he might give his heart's blood for the same. Secondly, that God of his mercy would restore his gospel to England once again, and these words ONCE AGAIN, ONCE AGAIN, he did so inculcate and beat (as it were) into the ears of the Lord God, as though he had seen God before him, and spoken to him face to face. Thirdly, That God would preserve the Queen's Majesty (meaning Queen Mary) that now is, and make her a comfort to this comfortless realm of England.

Fox says, neither were these things of him desired in vain, as the good success thereof after following declared, for the Lord most graciously granted all those his requests. He instances in his constancy at the stake when he was shortly after burnt at Oxford. In God's restoration of the true gospel of Christ in the preservation of the life of the Princess Elizabeth, and her accession to the throne of England, which, says he, the present days can testify.

Fox also gives us the substance of one of the above conferences between Bishop Ridley and Bishop Latimer, which is worthy of notice. He represents them sitting together in the prison, thinking on their approaching trial, of which it is supposed, they had not long before received

ceived the first notice. Ridley began the conference thus :

Ridley. The time is now come ; we are now called upon either to deny our faith, or to suffer death in the defence of it. You are an old soldier of Christ, and have frequently withstood the fear of death, whereas I am raw in the service, and unexperienced, I beg therefore you would furnish me with proper arguments that I may be prepared to refute my adversaries.

Latimer. You treat me, now, Sir, as I remember Master Bilney used to do, who when he wanted to teach me, would always do it under colour of being taught himself. As to the present case, I am determined to give the Commissioners little or no trouble. I shall only lay before them a plain and brief account of my faith ; for I know any thing more will be to no purpose. They tell us it shall be a free disputation, but I am well assured their grand argument will be, “ We have a law, and by “ our law ye ought to die.”

At Ridley’s earnest request they both entred into a long conference relating to the differences between the doctrines of the Papists and Protestants, which being ended, Ridley was strengthened greatly in the Reformed principles, and expressed himself in the manner following.

Ridley. Thus you see, good father (for so he always termed Latimer) how I would prepare myself for my adversary ; and how I would learn by practice to be expert in those weapons, which I shall be presently obliged to wield.—I will therefore watch in the cause of Christ, and in the defence of our religion,

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whereon depend all my hopes of immortality
I will always go armed with these scripture
weapons, and be ever ready to receive a watch-
ful foe; I will awake, and take the cross of
Christ upon my shoulders, and follow my Cap-
tain, who by his own blood hath hallowed the
way that leadeth to God. Thus have I opened
my mind freely to you; and methinks I see you
just going to lift up your eyes towards heaven, in
your accustomed prophetical manner thus to
speak: "Trust not, my son, trust not, I say,
my son, to these word-weapons, but remember
what our Lord says: "It shall be given you
in that same hour what you shall speak."
Pray for me, O father, pray for me, that I
may throw my whole care upon God; and may
trust in him only in my distresses."

Latimer. Of my prayers you may be well
assured, nor do I doubt but I shall have yours in
return, and indeed prayer and patience should
be our great resources. For myself, had I the
learning of St Paul, I should think it ill laid
out upon an elaborate defence, yet our case
admits of comfort; our enemies can do no
more than God permits; and God is faithful,
who will not suffer us to be tempted above
our strength. Be at a point with them, stand
to that, and let them say and do what they
please. To use many words would be in vain;
yet it is requisite to give a reasonable account of
your faith, if they will quietly hear you. For
other things, in a wicked judgment-hall, a
man may keep silence after the example of
Christ. As for their sophistry, you know fals-
hood may often be displayed in the colours
of

colours of truth ; but above all be upon your guard against the fear of death. This is the great argument you must oppose. Poor Shaxton, it is to be feared this argument had the greatest weight in his recantation. But let us be stedfast, and immoveable ; assuring ourselves, that we cannot be more happy, than by being such Philippians, as not only believe in Christ, but dare suffer for his sake." Thus ended the conference between these two true disciples of Jesus Christ, and eminent Reformers of this age.

On the sixteenth of April, Doctor Ridley, who had been taken out of prison and lodged at the house of Alderman Irish, and Hugh Latimer, who also had been taken out of prison and lodged at the house of another Alderman of Oxford, on the seventh, together with Archbishop Cranmer, who had remained still in Bocardo, were all severally brought before the Commissioners, who had seated themselves in great order, pomp and shew, before the high altar in the church of St Mary's, to the number of thirty-three, in order to dispute on the following articles or questions about the presence, substance and sacrifice of the sacrament.

Article I. Whether the natural body of Christ be really in the sacrament, after the words spoken by the Priest, or no ?

Art. II. Whether in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, any other substance do remain, than the substance of the body and blood of Christ ?

Art. III. Whether the mass be a sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the quick and dead ?

On these articles Archbishop Cranmer was brought from prison in Oxford and examined ; and then in like manner Doctor Ridley, Bishop of London, was brought from Alderman Irish's house in the town to St Mary's church and examined, whose examinations the reader will find in Fox at large, to which we shall at present refer him, as that only relates to our subject at present which concerns Master Latimer.

On the eighteenth, by eight of the clock in the morning, Master Hugh Latimer, sometime Bishop of Worcester, says Mr Fox, was brought from the house wherein he was lodged in Oxford to dispute on the aforesaid articles. This disputation was chiefly managed between Doctor Weston, the Prolocutor of the Convocation, Mr Smith of Oriel College, Doctor Cartwright, and Mr Harpsfield ; but we shall take notice here only of what passed between Doctor Weston the Prolocutor and Master Latimer the prisoner.

Weston. " Men and brethren, we are come together the third day by the help of God, to vanquish the strength of the arguments, and dispersed opinions of adversaries against the truth of the real presence of our Lord's body in the sacrament. And therefore, you father Latimer, if you have any thing to answer, I do admonish that you answer in short and few words ; and I desire it may be in Latin.

Latimer. I pray you, good master Prolocutor, do not exact that of me, which is not in me : I have not these twenty years much used the Latin tongue.

Weston

Weston. Take your ease, father, you may speak in English.

Latimer. I thank you, Sir, I am well. Let me here protest my faith, for I am not able to dispute ; and afterwards do your pleasure with me.

As to the first Article, I protest against it, because it is set forth with certain new-found and obscure terms, and not according to scripture. However, though I cannot answer without great peril ; yet I presume to say, that in the celebration of the Lord's Supper there is no other presence of Christ required than a spiritual presence ; and as we thereby abide in Christ, and Christ in us, to the obtaining of eternal life, if we persevere. And this same presence may be called most fitly a real presence, that is, a presence not feigned, but a true and faithful presence. Which thing I here rehearse, lest some sycophant or scorner should suppose me, with the Anabaptists, to make nothing else of the sacrament, but a bare and naked sign. As for that which is feigned of many concerning their corporal presence, I for my part take it for a papistical invention ; therefore think it utterly to be rejected.

As to the second Article, I dare be bold to say, that it hath no ground in God's word, but is a thing invented by man ; and therefore to be taken as fond and false ; and the mother and nurse of error. It were good for my Lords and Masters of the transubstantiation, to take heed lest they conspire with the Nestorians, for I do not see how they can avoid it.

The third Article, as I understand it, seemeth artfully to sow sedition against the offering which Christ himself offered for us in his own proper person, according to that pithy place of St Paul, Heb. i. 2. "That Christ his own-self hath made purgation of our sins." And afterward, "That he might; saith he, be a merciful and a faithful Bishop, concerning those things which are to be done with God, for the taking away of our sins." So that the expiation or taking away of our sins may be thought rather to depend on this, that Christ was an offering Bishop, than that he was offered, were it not that he was offered of himself; and therefore it is needless that he should be offered of any other. I will speak nothing of the wonderful presumption of man, to dare to attempt this thing without a manifest vocation; especially in that it tendeth to the overthrowing and making fruitless (if not wholly, yet partly) of the crois of Christ; for it is no base or mean thing to offer Christ. And therefore worthily a man may say to my Lords and Masters the offerers, By what authority do ye this? And, Who gave you this authority? Where? When? A man cannot, saith the Baptist, take any thing, except it be given him from above; much less then may any man presume to usurp any honour, before he be thereto called. Again, if any man sin, saith St John, we have not a master or offerer at home, which can sacrifice for us at Mass; but we have, saith he, an Advocate, Jesus Christ, which once offered himself long ago; of which offering

offering the efficacy and effect is perdurable for ever, so that it is needless to have such offerers.

I have taken the more pains to protest, because I refused to dispute, in consideration of my debility thereunto; that all men may know, I have so done not without great pains, having no man to help me, as I have never before been debarred to have. O Sir, you may chance to live till you come to the age and weakness that I am of. I have spoken in my time before two Kings more than once, two or three Hours together, without interruption: but now, that I am to speak the truth, by your leave, I could not be suffered to declare my mind before you, no, not for one quarter of an hour, without snatches, revilings, checks, rebukes, taunts, such as I have not felt the like, in such an audience, all my life long. Surely it is an heinous offence that I have given. But what was it? Forsooth, I had spoken of the four Marrowbones of the Mass. The which kind of speaking I never read to be a sin against the holy Ghost. I could not be allowed to shew what I meant by my metaphor; but now by your favour I will tell you, master, what I mean. The first (marrowbone) is the popish consecration, which hath been called God's body making. The second is transubstantiation. The third is missal oblation. And the fourth is adoration.

These chief and principal portions, parts and points belonging or incident to the Mass, and most esteemed and had in price in the same, I call the marrowbones of the Mass, which indeed you by force, might, and violence

lence intrude in sound of words in some of the scripture, with racking and cramping, injuring and wronging the same ; but else indeed, plain out of the scripture, as I am thoroughly persuaded, although in disputation I now could nothing do to persuade the same to others, being now unapt to study, and not having words in such readiness as should be requisite to the same.

I have heard much talk of Doctor Weston in my time ; but I never saw your person to my knowledge, till I came before you, as the Queen's Commissioner. I pray God send you right Judgment, as I perceive you have a great wit, great learning, with many other qualities. God give you grace ever well to use them, and ever to have in remembrance, that he that dwelleth on high, looketh on the low things on the earth ; and that there is no counsel against the Lord ; and also that this world hath been, and yet is a tottering world. And yet again, though we must obey the Princes, yet that this hath limitation, namely, in the Lord. For whoso doth obey them against the Lord, they be most pernicious to them, and the greatest adversaries they have; for they procure God's vengeance upon them, if God be the only ruler of things.

There be some so corrupt in mind, and truth being taken from them, that they think gain to be godliness ; very learned men, and yet men of no learning, but of railing, and raging about questions and strife of words. I call them men of no learning, because they know not Christ, how much else soever they know. And on this

this sort we are wont to call the great and learned, being ignorant of Christ, unlearned men ; for it is nothing but plain ignorance, to know any thing without Christ ; whereas whoso knoweth Christ, the same hath knowledge of Christ, although in other knowledge he be to seek. The Apostle St Paul confesseth of himself to the Corinthians, that he did know nothing but Jesus Christ crucified. Many men babble many things of Christ which yet know not Christ, but pretending Christ, do craftily colour and darken his glory. “ Depart from ‘such men,’ saith the Apostle St Paul to Timothy.

It is not out of the way to remember what St Augustine faith. The place where, I now remember not, except it be against the Epistles of Petilian : “ Whosoever, faith he, teacheth “ any thing necessarily to be believed, which “ is not contained in the Old and New Testa-“ ment, the same is accursed.” O beware of this curse if you be wise. I am much deceived, if Basilius hath not such like words : “ Whatso-“ ever, faith he, is besides the holy scripture, “ if the same be taught as necessarily to be “ believed, that is sin.” O therefore take heed of this sin.

There be some that speak many false things more probable, and more like to the truth than the truth itself. Therefore Paul giveth a watch-word : “ Let no man, faith he, deceive you with “ probability and persuasions of words.” But what mean you, saith one, by this talk so far from the matter ? Well, I hope, good masters, you will suffer an old man a little to play the child,

and to speak one thing twice. O Lord God, you have changed the most holy communion into a private action ; and you deny to the laity the Lord's cup, contrary to Christ's commandment ; and you do blemish the annunciation of the Lord's death till he come ; for you have changed the Common Prayer, called the Divine Service, with the administration of the sacraments, from the vulgar and known language into a strange tongue, contrary to the will of the Lord revealed in his word. God open the door of your heart, to see the things you should see therein. I would as fain obey my sovereign as any in this realm ; but in these things I can never do it with an upright conscience. God be merciful to us. Amen.

Then Doctor Weston required him either to dispute, or to subscribe to the truth of the three above recited articles ; but both these this faithful sufferer for the reformed principles utterly refused, saying, that as to disputation he was now so old (for he was in the eighty-fourth year of his age) he could not do it ; and as for the latter he would not subscribe, he would, he affirmed, chearfully suffer any punishment they (meaning Weston the Prosecutor and the other Commissioners) should inflict on him. But, notwithstanding these protestations, Weston endeavoured to draw the old reverend father into a disputation insensibly ; and when, at length, he found he could not, he dismissed the assembly.

On the Friday following, being the twenty-eighth day of April, the Commissioners met in St Mary's Church, in order to pass sentence

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on Archbishop Cranmer, and the Bishops of London and Worcester.

Doctor Weston used particular dissuasives with Master Latimer to say whether he would subscribe or no? But he replied, that he would stand to that he had said. Then the Doctor proceeded and read over him the sentence, and declared, that from that instant he was no member of the church; and therefore both him and all those who were his patrons and friends were condemned as heretics. Having so said, he again called Master Latimer by his name, and asked him solemnly, whether he would turn or no? Latimer desired him to proceed in the sentence, for that he was determined not to turn. After sentence of condemnation was awarded against Master Latimer, he answered again in the following words: "I thank God most heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this case glorify God by this kind of Death." To whom Weston smartly replied; "If you go to heaven in this faith, I am certain I shall never come there."

Soon after which, Master Latimer was sent to the Bailiff's house, Bishop Ridley to the Sheriff's, and the Archbishop was returned to prison in the Bocardo. Mr Addison, speaking of the behaviour of Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer at this disputation, has this very remarkable passage in favour of the latter: "This venerable old man, says he, knowing how his abilities were impaired by age, and that it was impossible for him to recollect all those reasons, which had directed him in

“ the choice of his religion, left his compa-
“ nions (Cranmer and Ridley) who were in
“ the full possession of their parts and learn-
“ ing, to baffle and confound their antago-
“ nists by the force of reason. As for him-
“ self, he, Latimer, only repeated to his ad-
“ versaries the articles in which he firmly
“ believed, and in the profession of which he
“ was determined to die.” He was persuaded,
(and so he told Ridley before the disputation
began) in his own mind, that it would be to
no purpose to be more explicit.

For this victory over these three heretics the Commissioners the next day caused a solemn procession of the sacrifice of the Mass to pass through the streets of Oxford ; it passed by the prison, from whence Cranmer was caused to see it ; Ridley also was caused to see it out of the Sheriff's house, which was in the street through which the procession passed ; but Latimer being at the Bailiff's house, who might, it is probable, live in a by-street or lane, he was conducted from thence in order to see this procession. Being fetched out, he thought he was then going to be burnt, and he spoke to one Augustine Cooper, a Catchpole, to make a quick fire. But when he came to Carfax, and saw the matter, the procession of the host, he ran as fast as his great age would permit him to the shop of one Spencer, and would not look towards it. In the procession, Doctor Weston carried the host or sacrament, and four Doctors supported the canopy over him.

Thus Cranmer and Ridley disputed, and Latimer only protested. Concerning the usage
and

and ill treatment they received from the Papists and the Commissioners, Bishop Ridley thus writes : " I never yet since I was born saw, " or heard any thing done or handled more " vainly or tumultuously, as with me in the " schools at Oxford. Verily I could never have " thought that it had been possible to have " found amongst men accounted to be of " knowledge and learning in this realm, any " so brazen-faced and shameless, so disorderly " and vainly to behave themselves, more like " stage-players in interludes to set forth a " pageant, than grave divines in schools to " dispute.—Some which should have been Mo- " derators, and overseers of others, and should " have given good example in words and gra- " vity ; themselves above all others did, as it " were, blow the trumpet to the rest, to rave, " roar, rage and cry out. By reason whereof " manifestly it appears, that they never sought " for any truth or verity, but only for the " glory of the world, and their own bragging " victory. Many times they spoke so thick " all together that they could not well hear one " another, and their objections were delivered " confusedly and tumultuously. A great part " of the time appointed for the disputation " was vainly consumed in opprobrious checks " and reviling taunts, with hissing and clap- " ping of hands. Of all which rude and " shameful treatment I humbly complained, " but was far from receiving the least redress. " At the first beginning of the disputation, " when I should have confirmed my answer " to the first proposition in few words, and
 " that

“ that after the manner and law of the schools,
“ before I could make an end of my first pro-
“ bation, which was not very long, even the
“ Doctors themselves cried out, He speaks blas-
“ phemies, he is a vile blasphemer. I then
“ humbly besought them, that they would
“ vouchsafe to hear me to the end. To which
“ the Prolocutor consented; yet when I began
“ to read again, there followed immediately
“ such shouting, noise and tumult, and con-
“ fusion of voices, crying, Blasphemies! blas-
“ phemies! as I to my remembrance never
“ heard the like. — The which cries and tu-
“ mults against me so prevailed, that whether
“ I would or no, I was obliged to leave off
“ the reading of my probations, although they
“ were very short. And thus, concludes Bishop
“ Ridley, was ended this most glorious dispu-
“ tation of the most holy fathers, the Sacrificers,
“ Doctors and Masters, which fought most
“ manfully, as any one may see, for their
“ country and kitchen, for their beauty and
“ belly, with triumphant applauses and favour
“ of the whole University.”

Here the reader has a specimen of the tem-
per, disposition, bigotry and zeal of professed
Papists. These three great Reformers were
condemned as it were unheard. But this is
no wonder, if we consider the reasons of state,
or of ecclesiastical policy that led to their de-
struction. First, Cranmer had divorced the
mother of Queen Mary at the instigation of
Henry VIII. Secondly, Ridley had at St Paul’s
preached up the right of the Princess Jane to the
Crown of England, in preference to the Princess
Mary.

Mary. And lastly, honest Latimer had spent many years, in the reign of King Henry, preaching up his supremacy over the church, and had thereby so irritated the See of Rome that occasion was of course sought how to take him off.

1555. It was not thought proper to put the above sentence against Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer in execution, because as yet the parliament had not revived the articles on which they had been adjudged ; yet they were kept in custody at Oxford, Cranmer in the prison of the Bocardo, Ridley in the Sheriff's house, and Latimer in the Bailiff's house.

However, the beginning of this year, the parliament revived the statutes against heretics. In order to put which in execution, Cardinal Pole called a Council of Bishops, to whom he delivered his opinion of the treatment of heretics in these words : “ For my own part, I think “ we should be content with the public resto-“ ration of religion ; and instead of irritating “ our adversaries by a vigorous execution of “ the revived statutes, I could wish that every “ Bishop in his diocese would try the more win-“ ning expedients of gentleness and persuasion. “ For we see how it has fared with the Emperor “ Charles the fifth, who by a severe persecution “ of the Lutherans, involved himself in many “ difficulties, and purchased nothing but dis-“ honour.” To this Gardiner, Bishop of Win-chester and also Lord Chancellor, replied, with red-hot zeal, “ That, in his opinion, it was “ one and the same thing not to have a law, “ and not to execute it ; — that some blood
“ must

" must be shed ;—that he was not an advocate for a general massacre ; to shake the leaves was of little avail ;—he would have the ax laid to the root of the tree : the Bishops (he meant Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, who were now in prison at Oxford) and most forward Preachers, ought certainly to die ; the rest were of no consequence." In this cruel proposal, he was seconded by righteous Bonner, Bishop of London : " I cannot, said he, my Lords, act canonically any where but in my own diocese ; and there I shall desire no man's help or countenance. And for those pestilent heretics, who are not in my jurisdiction, let them be sent up to me, and lodged in any of my prisons, and when I have got them there, by God, not one of them shall escape me." The result was, several Commissions were issued out by the Cardinal, and particularly one empowering John White, Bishop of Lincoln, James Bishop of Gloucester, and John Bishop of Bristol, they, or any two of them, should have full power and authority to cite, examine and judge Master Hugh Latimer and Doctor Nicholas Ridley, for divers and sundry erroneous opinions, which the said Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley did hold and maintain in open disputation had in Oxford, in the months of May, June and July, in the year of our Lord 1554, as long before in the time of perdition, and since. The which opinions if the named persons would recant, giving and yielding themselves to the determination of the universal and catholic Church, planted by Peter in the blessed See of Rome, that

that then the Judges, by the authority of their commission, should have power to receive the said penitent persons, and forthwith minister to them the reconciliation of the holy father the Pope; but if the said Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley would stoutly and stubbornly defend and maintain these their erroneous opinions and assertions, that then the said Lords by their commission should proceed in judgment, according to the law of heretics, that is, degrading them from their promotion and dignity of Bishops, Priests, and all other ecclesiastical orders, should pronounce them as heretics; and therefore clean cut them off from the church, and so yield them to receive the punishment due to all such heresy and schism.

Accordingly the said Lords commissioners pursuant to the said commission repaired to Oxford, and on the last day of September the said two persons, Nicholas Ridley and Hugh Latimer were cited to appear before the said Lords in the Divinity School at Oxford by eight of the clock in the morning. Doctor Ridley, Bishop of London, was questioned first. And then Bishop Latimer was brought in; bowing to the audience, having a handkerchief on his head, and upon it a night-cap or two, and a great cap (such as Gownsmen use, with two broad flaps to button under the chin) wearing an old threadbare Bristol frize gown girded to his body with a penny leatherne girdle, at the which was fastened by a long string of leather, his Testament, and his spectacles without case, depending about his neck upon his breast.

Bishop Latimer being placed, Doctor White Bishop of Lincoln opened his commission in

the following manner: Master Latimer, you must understand, that I and my Lords here have a commission from Cardinal Pole's grace, *Legate à latere* to this realm of England, from our most reverend father in God, the Pope's holiness, to examine you upon certain opinions and assertions of yours, which you as well here openly in disputationes in the year of our Lord 1554, as at sundry other times did affirm, maintain and obstinately defend. In which commission are two points; the one, which we must desire you, is, that if you shall now recant, revoke, and disannul these your errors, and together with all this realm, and all the world, confess the truth, we, upon a due repentance on your part, shall receive, reconcile and acknowledge you no longer a strayed sheep, but adjoin you again to the unity of Christ's church, from which you in the time of schism fell; I desire you to return thither from whence you came. Consider, Mr Latimer, that without the unity of the church is no salvation, and in the church can be no errors. Therefore what should stay you to confess that which all the realm confesseth, and forsake that which the King and Queen have renounced, and all the realm recanted? It was a common error, and it is now of all confessed; it shall be no more shame to you, than it was to us all.—Therefore, master Latimer, for God's love consider your estate; remember you are a learned man, you have taken degrees in the school, born the office of a Bishop, remember you are an old man, spare your body, accelerate not your death, and especially remember your soul's health, and the quiet of your conscience, consider that if you should

should die in this state, you shall be a stinking sacrifice to God ; for it is the cause that maketh the Martyr, and not the death ; consider that if you die in this state, you die without grace, for without the church can be no salvation. Let not vainglory have the upper hand, humiliate yourself, captivate your understanding, subdue your reason, submit yourself to the determination of the church, do not force us to do all that we may do, let us rest in that part which we most heartily desire, and I, for my part again with all my heart exhort you.

Latimer. Will your Lordship give me leave to speak a word or two ?

Lincoln. Yes, Mr Latimer, so that you use modest talk, without railing or taunts.

Lat. I beseech your Lordship, licence me to sit down.

Linc. At your pleasure Mr Latimer, take as much ease as you will.

Lat. Your Lordship gently exhorted me in many words to come to the unity of the church. I confess, my Lord, a catholic church, spread throughout all the world, in the which no man may err, without the which unity of the church no man can be saved : but I know perfectly by God's word, that this church is in all the world, and hath not his foundation in Rome only, as you say ; and methought your Lordship brought a place out of the scriptures to confirm the same, that there was a jurisdiction given to Peter, in that Christ bid him govern his people. Indeed, my Lord, St Peter did well and truly his office, in that he was bid to govern ; but since his time the Bishops of Rome have taken a new kind of government. Indeed, they

ought to govern, but how my Lord? not as they will themselves; but this government must be hedged in and ditched in; they must rule, but according to the word of God. But the Bishops of Rome have turned or changed the government according to the word of God, into a government according to their own pleasures, and as it pleaseth them best: as there is a book set forth which hath divers points in it, and amongst others, this point is one, which your Lordship went about to prove by the word, to govern, and the argument which he bringeth forth for the proof of that matter, is taken out of Deuteronomy, where it is said, If there ariseth any controversy among the people, the Priests of the order of Levi shall decide the matter according to the law of God; so it must be taken. This book perceiving this authority to be given to the Priests of the old law, taketh occasion to prove the same to be given to the Bishops and other the Clergy of the new law; but in proving this matter, whereas it was said there, as the Priests of the order of Levi should determine the matter according to God's law, that "according to God's law" is left out, and only is recited, as the Priests of the order of Levi shall decide the matter, so it ought to be taken of the people; a large authority I assure you. What gelding of scripture is this? What clipping of God's coin? This is much like the rule your Lordship talked of. Nay, my Lords, we may not give such authority to the Clergy, to rule all things as they will. Let them keep themselves within their commission. Now I trust, my Lord, I do not rail yet.

Linc. No, master Latimer, your talk is more like taunts than railing; but in that I have not read the book which you blame so much, nor know not of any such, I can say nothing therein.

Lat. Yes, my Lord, the book is open to be read, and is entitled to one which is Bishop of Gloucester, whom I never knew, neither did at any time see him to my knowledge.

[With that the people laughed, because the Bishop of Gloucester sat there in commission.]

Glocester. It is my book.

Lat. Was it your's, my Lord; indeed, I knew not your Lordship, neither ever did see you before, neither yet see you now, through the brightness of the sun shinning betwixt you and me.

[Then the audience laughed again, and Latimer said to them, Why, my masters, this is no laughing matter, I answer upon life and death. Wo unto you who laugh now, for ye shall weep bitterly.]

Linc. Mr Latimer, if you had kept yourself within due bounds, if you had not used such scoffs and taunts, this had not been done.

Gloc. (in excuse of his book) Master Latimer, hereby every man may see what learning you have.

Lat. (interrupting him) Lo! you look for learning at my hands which have gone so long to the school of oblivion, making the bare walls my library, keeping me so long in prison without book, or pen and ink; and now you let me loose to come and answer to articles. You deal with me as though two were appointed to fight for life

life and death, and over night the one through friends and favour is cherished, and hath good counsel given him how to encounter with his enemy. The other, for envy or lack of friends, all the whole night is set in the stocks. In the morning when they shall meet, the one is in strength and lusty ; the other stiff in his limbs, and almost dead for feebleness. Think you, that to run this man through with a spear is not a goodly victory ?

Gloc. (interrupting) I went not about to cite any places of scripture in that place of my book ; for then if I had not recited it faithfully, you might have had just cause of reprehension ; but I only in that place formed an argument *à majore*, in this sense ; that if in the old law the Priests had power to decide matters of controversy, much more ought the authority to be given to the Clergy in the new law : and I pray you in this point what availeth their rehearsal “ according to the law of God ?”

Lat. Yes, my Lord, very much. For I acknowledge authority to be given to the spirituality to decide matters of religion, and as my Lord said just now, to govern ; but they must do it according to the word and law of God, and not after their own will, after their own imaginations and fancies.

The Bishop of Lincoln, then proceeded to the recitation of the articles and objections of Heresy, as follows.

Article I. We object to thee, Hugh Latimer, first, that thou in this high University of Oxford, in the year 1554, in April, May, June, July, or in some one or more of them, hast affirmed,
and

and openly defended and maintained, and in many other times and places besides, That the true and natural body of Christ, after the consecration of the Priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar.

Art. II. That in the same year and months, thou hast publicly affirmed and defended, that in the sacrament of the altar, remaineth still the substance of bread and wine.

Art. III. That in the year and months aforesaid thou hast openly affirmed, and obstinately maintained, that in the Mass is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

Art. IV. That in the year, place and months aforesaid, these thy foresaid assertions solemnly have been condemned, by the scholaistical censure of this school, as heretical and contrary to the catholic faith, by the worshipful Doctor Weston, Prolocutor of the Convocation, as also by other learned men of both Universities.

Art. V. That all and singular the premises be true, notorious, famous, and openly known by public fame, as well to them near hand, as also to them in distant places afar off.

Lat. My Lord, I here protest, that notwithstanding these my answers which I am about to make, I do not thereby acknowledge any authority of the Bishop of Rome, for I am the King and Queen's subject, and not the Pope's, neither can I serve two masters; I therefore require the Notaries so to take this my protestation, that whatsoever I shall say or do, it shall not be taken as though I did it in, by or under the authority and supremacy of the Bishop of Rome.

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Linc. Master Latimer your protestation shall be so taken, but I require you to answer briefly, affirmatively, or negatively to the first article.

Lat. I do not deny, my Lord, that in the sacrament by spirit and grace is the very body and blood of Christ, because that every man, by receiving bodily that bread and wine, spiritually receiveth the body and blood of Christ, and is made partaker thereby of the merits of Christ's passion; but I deny that the body and blood of Christ is in such sort in the sacrament as you would have it.

Linc. Then master Latimer, you answer affirmatively.

Lat. Yea, if you mean of that gross and carnal being, which you do take.

[The Notaries took his answer to be affirmatively.]

Linc. What say you, master Latimer, to the second article.

Lat. There is, my Lord, a change in the bread and wine, and such a change as no power, but the omnipotency of God can make, in that which before was bread, should now have that dignity to exhibit Christ's body, and yet the bread is still bread, and the wine is still wine; for the change is not in the nature, but in the dignity, because now that which was common bread hath the dignity to exhibit Christ's body; for whereas it was common bread, it is now no more common bread, neither ought it to be so taken, but as holy bread sanctified by God's word.

Linc. (smiling) So, master Latimer, see what stedfastness is in your doctrine, that which you abhorred and despised most, you now most establish;

blish; for whereas you most railed at holy bread, you now make your communion holy bread.

Lat. A rush for holy bread. I say the bread in the communion is a holy bread indeed.

Linc. (interrupting him) O, you make a difference between holy bread and holy bread. [With that the audience laughed.] Well master Latimer, is not this your answer, that the substance of bread and wine remaineth after the words of consecration?

Lat. Yes verily, it must needs be so. For Christ himself calleth it bread, St Paul calleth it bread, the Doctors confess the same, the nature of a sacrament confirmeth the same, and I call it holy bread, not in that I make no difference betwixt your holy bread and this, but for the holy office which it beareth, that is, to be a figure of Christ's body, and not only a bare figure, but effectually to represent the same.

[So the Notaries penned his answer to be affirmatively.]

Linc. What say you to the third Question.

Lat. No, no, my Lord; Christ made one perfect sacrifice for all the whole world: neither can any man offer him again, neither can the Priest offer up Christ again for the sins of man, which he took away by offering himself once for all, as St Paul saith, upon the cross, neither is there any propitiation for our sins, save his cross only.

[So the Notaries penned his answer to this article also to be affirmatively.]

Linc. What say you to the fourth, master Latimer.

Lat. I do not understand what you mean thereby.

Linc. Marry only this, that these your assertions were condemned by Doctor Weston as heresies; is it not so master Latimer?

Lat. Yes, I think they were condemned, but how unjustly, he that shall be Judge of all, knoweth.

[So the Notaries took his answer to this article also to be affirmatively.]

Linc. What say you master Latimer to the fifth article?

Lat. I know not what you mean by these terms, I am no Lawyer, I would you would propose the matter plainly.

Linc. In that we proceed according to the law, we must use their terms also. The meaning only is this, that these your assertions are notorious, evil spoken of, and yet common and frequent in the mouths of the people.

Lat. I cannot tell how much, nor what men talk of them. I come not so much among them, in that I have been secluded a long time, what men report of them I know not, nor care not.

[The Notaries wrote down his answer affirmatively.]

Linc. Master Latimer, we mean not that these your answers shall be prejudicial to you. To-morrow you shall appear before us again, and then it shall be lawful for you to alter or change what you will. We give you respite till to-morrow, trusting that after you have pondered well all things against to-morrow, you will not be ashamed to confess the truth.

Lat.

Lat. Now, my Lord, I pray you give me licence in three words to declare the causes why I have refused the authority of the Pope.

Linc. Nay master Latimer, to-morrow you shall have licence to speak forty words.

Lat. Nay, my Lords, I beseech you to do with me now as it shall please your Lordships ; I pray you let me not be troubled to-morrow again.

Linc. Yes, master Latimer, you must needs appear again to-morrow.

Lat. Truly, my Lord, as for my own part, I require no respite, for I am at a word; you shall give me respite in vain; therefore I pray you let me not trouble you to-morrow.

Linc. Yes, for we trust, God will work with you against to-morrow. There is no remedy, you must needs appear again to-morrow at eight of the clock in St Mary's church.

[Then the Bishop charged the Mayor with master Latimer, and dismissed him, and then brake up their session for that day, about one of the clock in the afternoon.]

The second day's examination of Hugh Latimer.

Linc. Master Latimer, although yesterday after we had taken your answers to those articles which we proposed, we might justly have proceeded to judgment against you, especially in that you required the same, yet we having a good hope of your returning, desiring not your destruction, but rather that you would recant, revoke your errors, and return to the catholic church, deferred further process till this day ; and now according to the appointment, we have called you here before us, to hear whether you

are content to revoke your heretical assertions, and submit yourself to the determination of the church, as we most heartily desire, and I for my part, as I did yesterday, most earnestly do exhort you, or to know whether you persevere still the man that you were, for the which we would be sorry.

Then the Bishop of Lincoln called on master Latimer to answer to the several Articles in the same manner as he had done the day before. To which several Articles master Latimer answered affirmatively.

Whereupon Lincoln, with the other Bishops, exhorted master Latimer again to recant and revoke his errors. But on his refusal the Bishop of Lincoln called aloud to master Latimer, and bid him hearken to him; and then he pronounced on him the sentence, and delivered him over to the secular power.

Lat. My Lord, I desire now, according to your promise made me yesterday, leave me to declare the cause why I refused the Pope's authority.

Linc. You have now, master Latimer, received sentence, it is not lawful for me to talk with you; you are an heretic, and out of the catholic church.

Lat. My Lord, is it not lawful for me to appeal from your judgment?

Linc. Master Latimer, to whom would you appeal?

Lat. To the next general Council, which shall be summoned according to God's word.

Linc. It will be a long season before such a convocation as you desire will be convened.

Where-

Whereupon he committed master Latimer to the custody of the Mayor, and dismissed the assembly. On the same day, sentence was passed on Dr Ridley Bishop of London. And the sixteenth of October, about fourteen days after this time, was fixed for their execution.

This sentence made a great stir among the people, and various were the censures and conjectures thereon; insomuch, that it was feared, the execution of them might disturb the public peace; for it must be confessed, that these two were the principal and most eminent of all the Reformers; wherefore the Queen in Council thought proper to send a letter to Lord Williams of Thame, then Custos Rotulorum and Lord Lieutenant of the county of Oxford, to assemble a sufficient number of the militia, and to repair to Oxford to attend the execution of Doctor Nicholas Ridley and Master Hugh Latimer.

Oxford, for several preceeding days never had been fuller of people from all parts of the kingdom, especially from London, and forty miles round, than at this time; all the public inns were crowded, the colleges thronged, and as for private houses there was scarce a bed to be had for any price, or on any consideration.

At length, the day came, the sixteenth of October, whereon these two champions of the Protestant faith were to be led as sheep to the slaughter. You might have known there was something very extraordinary in agitation, for long before day-light the members of every college were in motion, and the streets and place of execution were thronged with spectators. Lord Williams with his guard took his post round the dreadful stake as soon as it was light.

About

About eight of the clock, Ridley and Latimer were conducted from the Mayor's house to the place of execution, which was a spot of ground on the north-side of the town over-against Balliol-College. In their way thither Ridley out-went Latimer some way before; but he looking back, espied Latimer coming after, and said to him; "O, be ye there?" "Yea, said Master Latimer, have after as fast as I can follow." Bishop Ridley first entered the lists, dressed in his episcopal habit; and soon after, Bishop Latimer, as usual, in his prison-garb. This difference in their drefs made a moving contrast, and augmented greatly the concern of the spectators, the Bishop of London shewing what they had before been; Bishop Latimer what they were now reduced to.

While these two great men stood before the stake ready to be sacrificed for having preached the true gospel of Christ, Dr Smith preached to them from these words; "Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing?" From whence he took occasion to reproach the two sufferers, and to asperse both their characters and tenets. He concluded with an exhortation to them to recant and come home again to the church, and save their lives and souls, which else he affirmed were condemned.

The Bishop of London desired, that he might reply to the sermon, and say something in the defence of himself and fellow-sufferer, but the Vice-chancellor ran towards him, and stopping his mouth with his hand, told him, "That if he would revoke his erroneous opinions, and recant the same, he should not only have liberty

“ berty so to do, but should also have the benefit of a subject, and have his life.” To whom Bishop Ridley thus replied, “ Well, so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ, and his known truth; God’s will be done in me;—we commit our cause to almighty God, which shall indifferently judge all.” To all which Master Latimer heartily and sincerely assented. Whereupon they were commanded immediately to make themselves ready for the stake. The attention of the spectators, at length, burst into tears, when they saw these two venerable men now preparing themselves for death. When they considered, as Mr Fox observes, their preferments, and places of honour they held in the commonwealth, the favour they stood in with their Princes, their great learning, and greater piety, they were overwhelmed with sorrow to see so much dignity, so much honour, so much estimation, so many godly virtues, the study of so many years, and so much excellent learning, about to be consumed in one moment.

Master Latimer now suffered the keeper to pull off his prison-garb, and then he appeared in a shroud; and “ whereas before, says Mr Fox, he seemed a withered and crooked old man, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might anywhere behold.” Being ready, he fervently recommended his soul to God, and then delivered himself to the executioner, saying to the Bishop of London these prophetical words: “ We shall this day, my Lord, light such a candle in England, as shall never be extinguished.” He went through this his last suffering with that composure and stability of mind, which nothing but

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but a sound faith and a good conscience could
produce.

On whose exit Mr Fox thus remarketh, " And
thus much, saith he, concerning the end of
this old and blessed servant of God, Master
Latimer, for whose laborious travels, fruit-
ful life, and constant death, the whole realm
hath cause to give great thanks to almighty
God." To which may be added, That we of this
nation, next under God, in a particular manner,
owe to him the many and great blessings of the
Reformation.

In his profession, as a Preacher of God's word,
he was indefatigable; he had a noble simplicity,
and in his sermons arraigned the vices of great
sinners with a plainness, which, unadorned with
human eloquence, found away to their hearts, and
made the Felixes of the age tremble before him.
One illustrious robber made restitution into his
hands of money stole from the public, or the
treasury, moved by one of his discourses on
restitution, which pierced his conscience, and
obliged him to sacrifice gain to godliness. At
length, he finished a life, which, through a
course of eighty-five years, and in the corrup-
tion of the last ages, preserved the piety, sim-
plicity and integrity of the first. In a literal sense,
he imitated his great Master, daily and hourly
going about and doing good; he sought all op-
portunities to benefit mankind.

One thing I think redounds greatly to his
honour, that the church of England has received
and established every one of those doctrines he
preached, and for the truth of which he suffered
the most cruel death.

SERMON

S E R M O N I.

. By Master HUGH LATIMER,

At the time of the Insurrection in the North;
which was in the twenty seventh year of the
reign of King Henry VIII. 1535. on the
Epistle for the twenty first Sunday after Tri-
nity.

EPHESIANS vi. 10, &c.

My brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places. Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, &c.

Saint Paul the holy apostle writeth this epistle unto the Ephesians, that is, to the people of the city of Ephesus. He writeth generally, to them all: and in the former chapters he teacheth them severally, how they should behave themselves in every estate, one to another: how they should obey their rulers; how wives should behave themselves toward their husbands; children toward their parents; and servants toward their masters: and how husbands,

2 *Master LATIMER's Sermon on the Epistle*

parents and masters should behave them, and love their wives, children and servants ; and generally each to love other.

Now cometh he forth and comforteth them, and teacheth them to be bold, and to play the men, and fight manfully. For they must fight with valiant warriors, as appeareth afterward in the text. And against they come to fight he comforteth them, saying, “ My brethren :” He calleth them brethren ; for though he taught them before to be subject to kings and rulers, and to be obedient to their superiors, yet he teacheth them that in Christ we be all brethren, according to the saying in the same chapter, “ God is no accepter of persons. My brethren, saith he, “ be ye comforted, be ye strong ;” not trusting to yourselves ; no, but be bold, and comforted by our Lord, and by the power of his virtue : not by your own virtue, for it is not of power to resist such assaults as he speaks of hereafter. “ Put on, or apparel you with the armour of God : ” Armour is an apparel to clothe a man, and maketh him seemly and comely ; setteth forth his body, and maketh him strong and bold in battle. And therefore Saint Paul exhorteth generally his brethren to be armed : and as the assaults be strong, and not small, so he giveth strong armour, and not small ; “ Put on, saith he, “ the armour of God.” He speaketh generally of armour, but afterwards he speaketh particularly of the parts of armour, where he saith, be armed complete, whole, be armed on every part with the armour of God ; not borrowed, nor patched, but all godly. And as armour setteth forth a man’s body, so this godly armour maketh us seemly in the sight of God, and acceptable in his wars.

Be ye therefore armed at all points with the armour of God, that ye may stand strongly against the assaults of the devil. “ That ye may stand,” saith he : Ye must stand in this battle, and not sit, nor lie along ;

along; for he that lieth is trodden under foot of his enemy. We may not sit, that is, not rest in sin, or lie along in sluggishness of sin, but continually fight against our enemy, and under our great Captain and Sovereign Lord Jesus Christ, and in his quarrel, armed with the armour of God, that we may be strong. We cannot be strong unless we be armed of God. We have no power of ourselves to stand against the assaults of the devil. There St Paul teacheth what our battle is, and wherefore we must be thus armed.

For, saith he, “ we have not wrestling or strife against flesh and blood ;” which may be understood, against certain sins, which come of the flesh only: but let us take it as it stands, “ against flesh and blood,” that is, against any corporal man, which is but a weak thing in comparison, and with one stroke destroyed or slain: but we have to do with strong, mighty princes and potentates, that mighty prince, that great conqueror, this world, the devil, yea also a conqueror : for though our Saviour Jesus Christ conquered him and all his, by suffering his blessed passion, yet is he a conqueror in this world, and reigneth over a great multitude of his own, and maketh continual assaults against the rest, to subdue them also under his power : which, if they be armed after the manner of St Paul’s teaching, shall stand strongly against his assaults. “ Our battle, saith St Paul, is against princes and potentates ;” that is, against devils. For after the common opinion, there fell from heaven of every order of angels, as of potentates. He saith also, “ against worldly rulers of these darknesses :” For, as Doctors write, the spirits that fell with Lucifer have their being in the air, and in darkness, and the rulers of this world, by God’s sufferance, to hurt, vex and assault them that live upon the earth. For their nature is, as they are damned, to desire to draw all mankind into like damnation, such is their malice. And though they

4 Master LATIMER's Sermon on the Epistle

hang in the air, or fall in a garden or other pleasant place, yet have they continually their pain upon their backs. Against these we wrestle, and “against spiritual wickedness in high places,” or in the air, or we fight against spiritual wickedness in heavenly things.

Think you not that this our enemy, this prince with all his potentates, hath great and sore assaults to lay against our armour? Yea, he is a crafty warrior, and also of great power in this world; he hath great ordnance and artillery, he hath great pieces of ordnance, as mighty Kings and Emperors, to shoot against God’s people, to persecute or kill them, such as Nero, the great tyrant who slew Paul, and divers other. Yea, what great pieces hath he had of Bishops of Rome, which have destroyed whole cities and countries, and have slain and burnt many? What great guns were those?

Yea, he hath also ordnance evil enough, they may be called *serpentines*: Some Bishops in divers countries and here in England which he hath shot at, some good christian men that they have blown to ashes. So can this great captain the devil shoot his ordnance. He hath yet less ordnance, for he hath of all sorts to shoot at good christian men; he hath hand-guns and bows which do much hurt, though not so much as the great ordnance: these be accusers, promoters and slanderers; they be evil ordnance, shrewd hand-guns and bows; they put a man to great displeasure, oftentimes death cometh upon that shot. For these things, saith the text, “take the armour of God.” Against the great captains of the devils, and against their artillery, their ministers, there can nothing defend us but the armour of God.

Take therefore this armour, saith the text, “that ye may resist in the evil day, and in all things stand perfectly, or be perfectly strong.” This evil day is not so called here, because any day or time is of itself

itself evil ; for God made every day good, and all days be good : but St Paul calleth it the *evil day*, because of the misfortune that chanceth or cometh in that day. As we have a common saying, I have had an evil day, or an evil night, because of the heaviness or evil that hath happened therein : so saith St Paul, " that ye may resist in the evil day." That is, when your great adversary hath compassed you round about with his potentates and rulers, and with his artillery, so that you be almost overcome, then, if you have the armour of God, you shall be strong, and need not to fear his assaults.

St Paul hath spoken of this armour of God generally, and now declareth the parts and pieces of armour, and teacheth them how to apparel every part of the body with this armour. He beginneth yet again, saying, " Be strong, having your reins, or your loins, girded about." Some men of war use to have about their loins an apron or girdle of mail, girt fast for the safeguard of the nether part of their body. So St Paul would we should gird our *loins*, which betokeneth letchery, or other sinfulness, with a *girdle*, which is to be taken for a restraint, or continence from such vices. In *truth*, or *truly gird* : it may not be feigned, or falsely girt, but in verity and truth. There be many batchelors, as yet men unmarried, which *seem* to be girt with the girdle of continence, and yet it is not in truth, it is but feignedly. And some religious persons make a profession of continence or chastity, and yet not in truth, their hearts being not truly chaste. Such feigned girding of the loins, cannot make a man strong to resist the assaults of the great captain or enemy in the evil day. Yet some get them girdles with great knots, as tho' they would be surely girt, and as though they would break the devil's head with their knotted girdles : But he will not be so overcome ; it is no knot of an hempen girdle that he feareth ; that is no piece of harness

harness of the armour of God, which may resist the assault in the evil day ; it is but feigned gear ; it must be in the heart, &c.

" And be ye apparelled or cloathed, saith St Paul, with the *habergeon*, or coat-armour of justice, that is, righteousness." Let your body be clothed in the armour of righteousness ; ye may do no wrong to any man, but live in righteousness, not clothed with any false quarrel or private grudge : Ye must live rightly in God's law, following his commandments and doctrine, clothed righteously in his armour, and not in any feigned armour, as in a friar's coat or cowl. For the assaults of the devil be crafty, to make us put our trust in such armour ; he will feign himself to fly, but then we be most in jeopardy : for he can give us an after-clap when we least * ween ; that is, suddenly return unawares to us, and then he giveth us an after-clap that overthroweth us : this armour deceiveth us.

In like manner, these men in the North + Country, they make pretence as though they were armed in God's

* expect or imagine.

+ In the twenty seventh year of King Henry VIII. on account of the great progress the Reformation had made, the advocates of the church of Rome, seeing their reign over the consciences of men was like to be at an end, stirred up the people in several parts of the kingdom to rebel. The most remarkable effort made against the Reformed, was what the good Bishop here expresses so much indignation at. Forty thousand men, under some of the turbulent and discontented Abbots and Clergy appeared in arms, declared themselves an holy Pilgrimage, and had for their ensigns Christ nailed to the cross on one side, and the cup and bread of the sacrament on the other ; thereby signifying, that they only took up arms for the maintainance of the true catholic church of Christ, and the deliverance thereof, now oppressed by incorrigible Heretics. These Pilgrims were opposed in different places by George Earl of Shrewsbury, the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Exeter, the Earls of Huntingdon and Rutland, Sir Ralph Evers and Sir Ralph Ellerker ; and being at length totally subdued, great numbers were executed for the same, at Carlisle, York, Scarborough and Hull. The principal persons who suffered in this rebellion

God's armour, girt in truth, and clothed in righteousness. I hear say they wear the cross and the wounds before and behind, and they pretend much truth to the King's grace, and to the commonwealth, when they intend nothing less ; and deceive the poor ignorant people, and bring them to fight against both the King, the church and the commonwealth.

They arm them with the sign of the cross, and of the wounds, and go clean contrary to him that bore the cross, and suffered those wounds. They rise for the King, and fight against the King in his ministers and officers ; they rise for the church, and fight against the church, which is the congregation of faithful men ; they rise for the commonwealth, and fight against it, and go about to make the commons to kill each other, and to destroy the commonwealth. Lo, what false pretence can the devil send among us ! It is one of his most crafty and subtle assaults, to send his warriors forth under the badge of God, as though they were armed in righteousness and justice.

But if we will resist strongly indeed, we must be cloathed or armed with the habergeon of strict justice or righteousness, in true obedience to our prince, and faithful love to our neighbours, and take no false quarrels in hand, nor any feigned armour ; but in justice, " having your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace."

Lo, what manner of battle this warrior St Paul teacheth us, " to be shod on our feet," that we may go readily and prepare the way for the gospel, yea, the gospel of peace, not of rebellion, not of insurrection ; no, it teacheth obedience, humility and quietness ; it maketh peace in the conscience, and
teacheth

rebellion were Lord Darcy, who was beheaded on Tower-hill ; the Lord Hussey, at Lincoln ; Lord Constable (of a family well known at this Day) was hanged in chains at Hull ; Sir John Bulmer hanged at Tyburn, and his wife (a woman of admirable spirit and bravery) burnt in Smithfield ; which, with a few examples more, put an end to these ill concerted commotions.

teacheth us true faith in Jesus Christ, and to walk in God's laws armed with God's armour, as St Paul teacheth here. Yea, if our Bishops in England had been “ shod for the preparation of this gospel, and had endeavoured themselves to teach and set it forth, as our most noble Prince hath devised ; also, if certain gentlemen, being justices, had executed his grace's commandment, in setting forth this gospel of peace, this disturbance among the people had not happened.

But ye say, it is new learning. Now I tell you it is the old learning. Yea, ye say, it is old heresy new scoured. Now I tell you it is old truth, long rusted with canker, and now new made bright and scoured. What a rusty truth is this ; “ Whatsoever thou bindest on earth shall be bound in heaven ? ” &c. This is a truth spoken to the apostles, and all true preachers their successors, that with the law of God they should bind and condemn all that sinned ; and whosoever did repent, they should declare him loosed and forgiven, by believing in the blood of Christ. But how hath this truth been over-rusted with the pope's rust ? For he, by this text, “ Whatsoever thou bindest, &c.” hath taken upon him to make what laws he listed, clean contrary to the word of God, which willetteth that every man should obey the prince's law. And by this text, “ Whatsoever thou loosest, &c.” he hath made all people believe, that for money he might forgive what and whom he listed. So that if any man had robbed his master, or taken any thing wrongfully, the pope would loose him, by this pardon or that pardon, given to these friars or those friars, put in this box or that box. And as it were, by these means, a division of the spoil was made, so that it was not restored, nor the person rightly discharged : and yet most part of the spoil came to the hands of him and his ministers. What is this but a new learning ; a new canker to rust

rust and corrupt the old truth? Ye call your learning old: it may indeed be called old, for it cometh of that Serpent which did pervert God's commandment and beguiled Eve; so it is an old custom to pervert God's Word, and to rust it, and corrupt it.

We be a great many that profess to be true ministers of the gospel, but at the trial, I think it will come to pass as it did with Gideon, a Duke, which God raised up to deliver the children of Israel from the Midianites, in whose hands they had fallen, because they had broken God's commandment, and displeased him: yet at length he had compassion on them, and raised up Gideon to deliver them. And when they heard that they had a Captain or a Duke that should deliver them, they assembled a great number, about thirty thousand: but when it came to pass that they should fight, they departed all save five hundred. So, I fear me, that at the trial, there will be found but few ministers of the true gospel of peace, and armed in the true armour of God.

It followeth, "And above all things take the shield or buckler of faith." The buckler is a thing wherewith a man most chiefly defendeth himself: and that must be perfect faith in Jesus Christ, in our Captain, and in his Word. It must also be a true faith, it is else no part of the armour of God: it must not be feigned, but a sure buckler, which may stop or quench the violence of the flaming d... of the most wicked.

"Take also the helmet of health," or true health in Jesus Christ, for there is no health in any other man: not the health of a grey friar's coat, or the health of this pardon, or that pardon; that were a false helmet, and should not defend from the violence of the wicked.

"And the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God." Lo St Paul teacheth you battle, to take in your left hand the shield of faith, to defend and

bear off the darts of the devil; and in the other hand, a sword to strike with against the enemy; for a good man of war may not stand against, and defend only, but must also strike against his enemy. So St Paul giveth us here a sword, "The Word of God." For this sword is it that beateth this great Captain our enemy. Christ himself gave us an example to fight with this sword, for he answered the devil with the Scripture, and said, "It is written." With this sword he drove away the devil: and so let us break his head with this sword, the true Word of God, and not with any word of the Bishop of Rome's making, nor with his old learning, nor his new learning, but with the pure Word of God. The time passeth, I will therefore make an end.

Let us fight manfully, and not cease; for no man is crowned or rewarded but in the end. We must therefore fight continually, and with this sword, and thus armed, and we shall receive the reward of victory. And thus the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with all your spirits. *Amen.*



S E R M O N II.

By the Reverend Father in Christ Master HUGH LATIMER Bishop of Worcester.

Preached to the Convocation of the Clergy,
before the Parliament began, the sixth day of
June, the twenty eighth year of the reign of
the late King Henry VIII.

Translated out of Latin into English, to the intent that
things well said to a few, may be understood of
many, and do good to all them that desire to un-
derstand the truth.

BRETHREN, ye be come together this day,
as far as I perceive, to hear of great and weighty
matters. Ye come together to entreat of things that
most appertain to the commonwealth. This being
thus, ye look, I am assured, to hear of me, who am
commanded to make as a preface, this exhortation,
(albeit I am unlearned and far unworthy to utter such
things as shall be meet for this your assembly.) I
therefore, not only very desirous to obey the com-
mandment of our primate, but also right greatly co-
veting to serve and satisfy all your expectations; lo,
briefly and as plainly as I can, will speak of matters
both worthy to be heard in your congregation, and
also of such as best shall become my office in this
place. That I may do this the more commodiously,
I shall take that notable sentence, in which our Lord
was not afraid to pronounce, “ the children of this

"world to be much more prudent and politic, than the "children of light in their generation." Neither will I be afraid, trusting that he will aid and guide me to use this sentence, as a good ground and foundation of all such things, as hereafter I shall speak of.

Now I suppose that you see right well, being men of such learning, for what purpose the Lord said this, and that ye have no need to be holpen with any part of my labour in this thing. But yet, if ye will pardon me, I will wade somewhat deeper in this matter, and as nigh as I can, fetch it from the first original beginning. For undoubtedly, ye may much marvel at saying, if ye will ponder both what is said, and who saith it. Define me first these three things, what prudence is, what the world, what light, and who be the children of the world, who of the light ; see what they signify in scripture. I marvel if ye will all agree, that the children of the world should be wiser than the children of the light. To come somewhat nigher the matter, thus the Lord beginneth :

L U K E xvi. 1, 2.

There was a certain rich man which had a Steward; and the same was accused unto him that he had wasted his goods. And he called him, and said unto him, How is it that I hear this of thee? give an account of thy Stewardship: for thou mayst no longer be Steward.

BRETHREN, because these words are to be spoken in a parable, and are so wrapped in wrinkles, that yet they seem to have a face and similitude of a thing done indeed, and like an history, I think it profitable to tarry somewhat in them. And though we may perchance find in our hearts to believe all that is there spoken to be true: yet I doubt whether we may abide it, that these words of Christ do pertain

pertain unto us, and admonish us of our duty, which do and live after such sort, as though Christ when he spake any thing, had, as the time served him, served his turn, and not regarded the time that came after him, neither provided for us, or any matters of ours; as some of the Philosophers thought, which said, that God walketh up and down in heaven, and thinketh nothing of our affairs. But, my good Brethren, err not you so; stick not you to such your imaginations. For if ye inwardly behold these words, if ye diligently roll them in your minds, and after explicate and open them, ye shall see our time much touched in these mysteries: ye shall perceive that God by his example shaketh us by the nostrils and pulleth us by the ears. Ye shall perceive very plainly, that God setteth before our eyes in this similitude, what we ought most to flee, and what we ought soonest to follow. For St Luke saith, “the Lord spake these words to his disciples.” Wherefore let it be out of all doubt, that he spake them to us, which even as we will be counted the successors and vicars of Christ’s disciples, so we be, if we be good dispensers, and do our duty. He said these things partly to us, which spake them partly of himself. For he is that rich man, which not only had, but hath, and shall evermore have, I say not one, but many Stewards, even to the end of the world.

He is man, seeing that he is God and man. He is rich not only in mercy but in all kind of riches: for it is he that giveth to us all things abundantly: it is he at whose hand we receive both our lives, and all other things necessary for the preservation of the same. What man hath any thing, I pray you, but he hath received it of his plentifullnes? To be short, it is he that “openeth his hand, and filleth all things living “with his blessing,” and giveth unto us in most ample wise his benediction. Neither can his treasure be spent, how much soever we lavish out, how much soever

soever we take of him, his treasure tarrieth still, ever taking, never spent.

He is also the good man of the house; the church is his household, which ought with all diligence to be fed with his word, and his sacraments. These be his goods most precious, the dispensation and administration whereof, he would Bishops and Curates should have. Which thing St Paul affirmeth, saying, “Let men esteem us as the ministers of Christ, and “dispensers of God’s mysteries.” But, I pray you, what is to be looked for in a dispenser? This surely, “that he be found faithful,” and that he truly dispense, and lay out the goods of the Lord; that he give meat in time, give it, I say, and not sell it: meat, I say, and not poison. For the one doth intoxicate and slay the eater, the other feedeth and nourisheth him. Finally, let him not neglect nor defer the doing of his office, but let him do his duty when time is, and need requireth it. This is also to be looked for, that he be one whom God hath called, and put in office, and not one that cometh uncalled, unsent for; not one that of himself presumeth to take honour upon him. And surely, if all this that I say be required in a good Minister, it is much lighter to require them all in every one, than to find one any where that hath them all. Who is a true and faithful Steward? He is true, he is faithful, that coineth no new money, but seeketh it ready coined of the good man of the house; and neither changeth it, nor clippeth it, after it is taken to him to spend, but spendeth even the self-same that he had of his Lord, and spendeth it as his Lord commanded him; neither to his own advantage uttering it, neither as the slothful servant did, hiding it in the ground. Brethren, if a faithful Steward ought to do as I have said, I pray you ponder and examine this well, whether our Bishops and Abbots, Prelates and Curates, have been hitherto faithful Stewards or no? Ponder, whether yet many of them be

be as they should be or no ? Go to, tell me now as your conscience leadeth you, (I will let pass to speak of many other) was there not some, that despising the money of the Lord, as copper and not current, either coined new themselves, or else uttered abroad that newly coined of others, some time either adulterating the word of God, or else mingling it (as Vintners do, which brew and utter the evil and good both in one pot) sometime in the stead of God's word, blowing out the dreams of men. While they thus preached to the people, the redemption that cometh by Christ's death, to ferve only them that died before his coming, that were in the time of the old testament ; and that now since, redemption and forgiveness of sins purchased by money, and devised by men, is of efficacy, and not redemption purchased by Christ : They have a wonderful pretty example to perswade this thing, of a certain married woman, who when her husband was in purgatory, in that fiery furnace that hath burned away so many of our pence, paid her husband's ransom, and so of duty claimed to be set at liberty. While they thus preached to the people, that dead images (which at the first were set up, as I think; only to represent things absent) not only ought to be covered with gold, but also ought of all faithful and christian people, yea in this scarceness and penury of all things, to be clad with silk garments, and those also laden with precious gems and jewels. And that besides all this, they are to be lighted with wax candles, both within the Church and without the Church, yea and at noon day ; as who should say, here no cost can be too great ; whereas in the mean time, we see Christ's faithful and lively images, bought with no less price than with his most precious blood, alas, alas, to be an hungred, a thirst, a cold, and to lie in darkness, wrapped in all wretchedness, yea, to lie there till death take away their miseries. While they preached these will-works, that come of their own devotion, although

although they be not so necessary as the works of mercy, and the precepts of God, yet they said in the pulpit, that will-works were more principal, more excellent, and, plainly to utter what they mean, more acceptable to God, than works of mercy: as though now man's inventions, and fancies, could please God better than God's precepts, or strange things better than his own: while they thus preached, that more fruit, more devotion cometh of the beholding of an image, though it be but a Pater-noster while, than is gotten by reading and contemplation in Scripture, though you read and contemplate therein seven years space. Finally, while they preached thus, souls tormented in purgatory to have most need of our help, and that they can have no aid, but of us in this world: of the which two, if the one be not false, yet at the least it is ambiguous, uncertain, doubtful, and therefore rashly, and arrogantly with such boldness affirmed in the audience of the people; the other by all mens opinions, is manifestly false. I let pass to speak of much other such like counterfeit doctrine, which hath been blasted and blown out by some for the space of three hours together. Be these the christian and divine mysteries, and not rather the dreams of men? Be these the faithful dispensers of God's mysteries, and not rather false dissipators of them? who God never put in office, but rather the devil set them over a miserable family, over an house miserably ordered and entreated. Happy were the people, if such preached seldom.

And yet it is a wonder to see these, in their generation, to be much more prudent and politic, than the faithful Ministers are in their generation; while they go about more prudently to establish mens dreams, than these do to hold up God's commandments.

Thus it cometh to pass, that works lucrative, will-works, and mens fantasies, reign: but christian works,

works, necessary and fruitful works; be trodden under foot. Thus the evil is much better set out by evil men, than the good by good men: because the evil be more wise, than be the good in their generation. These be the false stewards, whom all good and faithful men every day accuse unto the rich master of the household, not without great heaviness, that they waste his goods; whom he also one day will call to him, and say to them as he did to this steward, when he said, “What is it that I hear of thee?” Here God partly wondereth at our ingratitude and perfidy, partly chideth us for them, and being both full of wonder and ready to chide, asketh us, “What is this that I hear of you?” As though he should say unto us; “All good men in all places complain of you, accuse your avarice, your exactions, your tyranny: They have required in you a long season, and do yet require, diligence and sincerity. I commanded you that with all industry and labour, ye should feed my sheep: ye earnestly feed yourselves from day to day, wallowing in delights and idleness; I command you to teach my commandments, and not your fancies; and that you should seek my glory and my advantage; you teach your own traditions, and seek your own glory and profit. You preach very seldom, and when you do preach, do nothing but comber * them that preach truly, as much as lieth in you; that it were much better such were not to preach at all, than so perniciously to preach. O, what hear I of you? You, that ought to be my preachers, what other thing do you, than apply all your study hither, to bring all my preachers to envy, shame, contempt? yea, more than this, ye pull them into perils, into prisons, and, as much as in you lieth, to cruel deaths. To be short, I would that christian people should hear my doctrine, and at their convenient leisure, read it also, as many as would; your care is not, that all men may hear,

N^o. I.

D

but

* Or hinder.

but all your care is, that no lay-man do read it. Surely being afraid lest they by the reading should understand it, and understanding learn to rebuke your slothfulness. This is your generation, this is your dispensation, this is your wisdom. In this generation, in this dispensation, you be most politic, most witty. These be the things that I hear of your demeanor. I wished to hear better report of you. Have you thus deceived me? or, have you rather deceived yourselves? Where I had but one house, that is to say, the church, and this so dearly beloved of me, that for the love of her, I put myself forth to be slain, and to shed my blood: this church at my departure I committed to your charge, to be fed, to be nourished, and to be made much of: My pleasure was, ye should occupy my place; my desire was, ye should have born like love to this church, and like fatherly affection, as I did: I made you my vicars, yea, in matters of most importance.

For thus I taught openly. "He that should hear you, should hear me; he that should despise you, should despise me *." I gave you also keys, not earthly keys, but heavenly. I left my goods that I have most highly esteemed, that is, my word and sacraments, to be dispensed of you. These benefits I gave you, and do you give me these thanks? Can you find in your hearts thus to abuse my goodness, benignity, and gentleness? Have you thus deceived me? No, no, ye have not deceived me, but yourselves. My gifts and benefits towards you, shall be your greater damnation. Because ye have contemned the lenity, and clemency of the Master of the house, ye have right well deserved to abide the rigour and severity of the Judge. Come forth then, let us see an account of your stewardship; an horrible and fearful sentence: Ye may have no longer my goods in your hands.

"hands. A voice to weep at, and to make men to
"tremble."

You see, brethren, you see, to what evil the evil stewards must come. Your labour is paid for, if ye can so take heed, that no such sentence be spoken to you ; hay, we must all take heed lest these threatenings one day take place in us. But lest the length of my Sermon offend you too much, I will leave the rest of the parable, and take me to the handling of the end of it ; that is, I will declare unto you, how the children of this world, be more witty, crafty, and subtle, than are the children of the light in their generation. Which sentence, would God it lay in my poor tongue, to explicate with such proper words, that I may seem rather to have painted it before your eyes, than to have spoken it ; and that you might rather seem to see the thing, than to hear it : but I confess plainly this thing to be far above my power. Therefore this being only left to me, I wish for that I have not, and am sorry that is not in me which I would so gladly have, that is, power so to handle the matter I have in hand, that all that I say may turn to the glory of God, your souls health, and the edifying of Christ's body. Wherefore I pray you all to pray with me unto God, and that also in your petitions you desire, that these two things he will vouchsafe to grant us, first, a mouth for me to speak rightly : next, ears for you, that in hearing me, ye may take profit at my hands : and that this may come to effect, you shall desire him, unto whom our Master Christ bad we should pray, saying even the same prayer that he himself did institute. Wherein we shall pray for our sovereign Lord the King, chief and supreme head of the Church of England, under Christ, and for the most excellent, gracious, and virtuous Lady Queen Jane, his most lawful wife, and for all his, whether they be of the Clergy or Laity, whether they be of the Nobility, or else other of his Grace's

subjects; humbly beseeching almighty God, that every one of us, even from the highest to the lowest, may in his degree and calling earnestly endeavour to set forth the glory of God, and the gospel of his son Christ Jesus, that so living in his fear and love, we may in the end of our days depart out of this life in his friendship and favour. For these graces, and what else his wisdom knoweth most needful for us, let us pray as we are taught, saying, *Our Father, &c.*

Master LATIMER's Discourse on the same Day in the Afternoon.

L U K E xvi. 8.

— *For the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light.*

CHRIST in this saying touched the sloth and sluggishness of his, and did not allow the fraud and subtilty of others; neither was glad that it was indeed as he said, but complained rather that it should be so: as many men speak many things, not that they ought to be so, but that they are wont to be so. Nay, this grieved Christ, that the children of this world should be of more policy than the children of the light; which thing was true in Christ's time; and even now in our time is most true. Who is so blind but he feeth this clearly, except perchance there be any that cannot discern the children of the world from the children of light? The children of the world conceive and bring forth more providently, and things conceived and brought forth they nourish and conserve with much more policy, than do the children of light. Which thing is as sorrowful to be said, as it seemeth absurd to be heard. When ye

hear

hear the children of the world, you understand the world as a father. For the world is father of many children, not by the first creation and work, but by imitation of love. He is not only a father, but also the son of another father. If ye know once his father, by and by ye shall know his children. For he that hath the devil to his father, must needs have devilish children. The devil is not only taken for a father, but also for a Prince of the world, that is, of worldly folk. It is either all one thing, or else not much different, to say, “children of the world, and children of the devil;” according to that which Christ said to the Jews, “Ye are of your father the devil * :” whereas undoubtedly he spake to the children of this world. Now seeing the devil is both the author and ruler of darkness, in the which the children of this world walk, or, to say better, wander; they mortally hate both the light, and the children of light. And hereof it cometh, that the children of light never, or very seldom lack persecution in this world, unto the which the children of the world, that is, of the devil, bringeth them. - And there is no man but he feeth that these use much more policy in procuring the hurt and damage of the good, than those in defending themselves. Therefore brethren, gather you the disposition and study of the children by the disposition and study of the fathers. Ye know this is a proverb much used: An evil crow, an evil egg. Then the children of this world that are known to have so evil a father, the world so evil a grandfather, the devil, cannot chuse but be evil. Surely the first head of their ancestry, was the deceitful serpent the devil, a monster monstrous above all monsters. I cannot wholly express him, I wot † not what to call him, but a certain thing altogether made of the hatred of God, of mistrust in God, of wings‡, deceits, discord, manslaughters, and in a word, a thing concrete and

* John viii.

† or know.

‡ or flights.

and heaped up of perjuries, and made of all kind of mischief. But what, trow^{||} ye, mean I to observe particularly the devil's nature, when no reason, no power of man's mind can comprehend it? This only I can say grossly, and as in sum, of the which all we, our hurt is the more, have experience, the devil to be a stinking lake of all vices, a foul filthy channel of all mischieves; and that this world, his son, even a child meet to have such a parent, is not much unlike his father.

Then this devil being such a one as cannot be unlike himself: Lo of Envy his well beloved * Lemmon he begot the World, and after left it with Discord at nurse; which World, after that it came to man's estate, had of many concubines, many sons, he was so fecund a father, and had gotten so many children of Lady Pride, Dame Gluttony, Mistress Avarice, Lady Lechery, and of Dame Subtlety, that now hard and scant ye may find any corner, any kind of life, where many of his children be not. In courts, in cowls, in cloisters, in rotchets, be they never so white, yea where shall ye not find them? Howbeit, they that be secular and laymen, are not by and by children of the world, no, the children of light that are called spiritual, are of the Clergy. No, no, as ye may find among the Laity many children of light, so among the Clergy, how much soever we arrogate these titles unto us, and think them only attributed to us; "Ye are the light of the world †, the chosen people of Christ, a kingly priesthood, an holy nation, and such other ‡ :" Ye shall find many children of the world, because in all places the world getteth many children. Among the lay people, the world ceaseth not to bring to pass, that as they be called worldly, so they are worldly indeed, driven headlong by worldly desires: insomuch that they may

|| or think

* Mistris.

† Matt. v.

‡ : Pet. ii.

may right well seem to have taken as well the means, as the name of their fathers. In the Clergy, the world also hath learned a way to make of men spiritual, worldlings, yea, and there also to form worldly children, with great pretence of holiness, and crafty colour of religion; they utterly desire to hide and cloak the name of the world, as though they were ashamed of their father, which do execrate and detest the world, being nevertheless their father, in words and outward signs, but in heart and work they * coll and kiss him, and in all their lives declare themselves to be his babes, insomuch that in all worldly points they far pass and surmount those that they call seculars, laymen, or men of the world. The child so diligently followeth the steps of his father, never destitute of the aid of his grandfather. These be our holy men, that say they are dead to the world, when no men be more lively in worldly things than some of them be. But let them be in profession and name most farthest from the world, most alienated from it, yea so far, that they may seem to have no occupying, no kindred, no affinity, nothing to do with it: yet in their life and deeds they shew themselves no bastards, but right begotten children of the world, as that which the world long sithens † had by his dear wife Dame Hypocrify, and since hath brought them up and multiplied to more than a good many, increased them too much, albeit they swear by all he-saints and she-saints too, that they know not their Father, nor Mother, neither the World, nor Hypocrify, as indeed they can semble and disseimble all things; which thing they might learn wonderful well of their parents. I speak not of all religious men, but of those that the world hath fast knit at his girdle, even in the midst of their religion, that is, of many and more than many. For I fear, lest in all orders of men, the better, I must say, the greater part of them

* hug.

† 229.

them are out of order, and children of the world. Many of these might seem ingrate and unkind children, that will no better acknowledge and recognise their parents in words and outward pretence, but abrenounce and cast them off, as though they hated them as dogs and serpents. Howbeit they in this wise are most grateful to their parents, because they be most like them, so lively representing them in countenance and conditions, that their parents seem in them to be young again, forasmuch as they ever say one thing, and think another. They shew themselves to be as sober, as temperate, as Curio the Roman was, and live every day as though all their life were a shroving time. They be like their parents, I say, inasmuch as they in following them, seem and make men believe they hate them. Thus grandfather Devil, father World, and mother Hypocrisy, have brought them up. Thus good obedient sons have born away their parents commandments, neither these be solitary, how religious, how mocking, how monking, I would say, whosoever they be.

O ye will lay this to my charge, that a monk and a solitary signifieth all one. I grant this to be so, yet these be solitary that they be not all one, but accompanied with great flocks of fraternities. And I marvel if there be not a great sort of Bishops and Prelates, that are brethren German unto these, and as a great sort, so even as right born, and the world's children by as good title as they. But because I cannot speak of all, when I say Prelates, I understand Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Archdeacons, Deans, and other of such sort, that are now called to this convocation, as I see, to entreat here of nothing but of such matters as both appertain to the glory of Christ, and to the wealth of the people of England. Which thing I pray God they do as earnestly as they ought to do. But it is to be feared, that as Light hath many of her children here, so the World hath sent some of his whelps

whelps hither : amongst the which I know there can be no concord nor unity, albeit they be in one place, in one generation ; I know there can be no agreement between these two, as long as they have minds so unlike, and so contrary affections and judgments, so utterly diverse in all points. But if the children of this world be either more in number, or more prudent than the children of light, what then avail-eth us to have this Convocation ? Had it not been better we had not been called together at all ? For as the children of this world are evil, so they breed and bring forth things evil ; and yet there be more of them in all places, or at least they be more politic, than the children of light in their generation. And here I speak of the generation whereby they do ingender, and not of that whereby they are ingendered, because it would be too long to entreat, how the children of light are ingendered, and how they come in at the door, and how the children of the world be ingendered, and come in another way. Howbeit, I think all you that be here were not ingendered after one generation, neither that ye all came by your promotions after one manner ; God grant that ye, ingendered worldly, do not ingender worldly : and as now I much pass not how ye were ingendered, or by what means ye were promoted to those dignities that ye now occupy, so it be honest, good and profitable, that ye in this your consultation shall do and ingender.

The end of your convocation shall shew what ye have done ; the fruit that shall come of your consul-tation, shall shew what generation ye be of. For what have ye done hitherto, I pray you, these seven years and more ? What have ye ingendered ? What have ye brought forth ? What fruit is come of your long and great assembly ? What one thing that the people of England hath been an hair the better for ? Or you yourselves, either accepted before God, or

better discharged toward the people committed to your cure? Or that the people is better learned and taught now, than they were in time past; to whether of these ought we to attribute it, to your industry, or to the providence of God, and the foreseeing of the King's Grace? Ought we to thank you, or the King's Highness? Whether stirred the other first, you the King, that ye might preach, or he you by his letters, that ye should preach oftener? Is it unknown, think you, how both ye and your curates were in a manner by violence enforced to let books to be made, not by you, but by profane and lay persons, to let them, I say, be sold abroad, and read for the instruction of the people? I am bold with you, but I speak Latin and not English, to the Clergy not to the Laity; I speak to you being present, and not behind your backs. God is my witness, I speak whatsoever is spoken of the good-will that I bear you; God is my witness, who knoweth my heart, and compelleth me to say what I say.

Now, I pray you in God's name, what did you so great fathers, so many, so long a season, so often assembled together? What went you about? What would ye have brought to pass; two things taken away? The one, that ye, as I heard, burned a dead man: The other, that ye, which I left, went about to burn one being alive. Him, because he did, I cannot tell how, in his testament withstand your profit; in other points, as I have heard, a very good man; reported to be of an honest life whilst he lived, full of good works, both good to the Clergy and also to the Laity. This other, which truly never hurt any of you, ye would have raked in the coals, because he would not subscribe to certain Articles which took away the supremacy of the King. Take away these two noble acts, and there is nothing else left that ye went about, that I know of; saving that I now remember, that somewhat ye attempted against

Erasmus,

Erasmus *, albeit as yet nothing is come to light. Ye have oft sat in consultation, but what have ye done? Ye have had many things in deliberation, but what one is put forth, whereby either Christ is more glorified, or else Christ's people made more holy? I appeal to your own consciences. How chanceth this? How came this thus? Because there were no children of light, no children of God among you, which, setting the world at nought, would study to illustrate the glory of God, and thereby shew themselves children of light? I think not so, certainly I think not so. God forbid, that all you, which were gathered together under the pretence of light, should be children of the world. Then why happened this? Why I pray you? Perchance either because the children of the world were more in number, in this your congregation, as it oft happeneth, or at the least of more policy than the children of light in their generation: whereby it might very soon be brought to pass, that these were much more stronger, engendering the evil, than those in producing the good. The children of light have policy, but it is not like the policy of the serpent, and is joined with dovelike simplicity. They engender nothing but simply, faithfully, and plainly, even so doing all that they do. And therefore they may with more facility be † combred in their engendering, and the more ready to take injuries. But the children of this world have worldly policy, foxly craft, lion-like cruelty, power to do hurt, more than either asps or basilisks, engendering and doing all things fraudulently, deceitfully, guilefully. Which as Nimrod, and such sturdy and stout hunters, being full of simulation and dissimula-

* This is supposed to relate to the suppression or censure of Erasmus's book of Colloquies, written in Latin, wherein are several smart and witty turns and reflections on the Monks and Priests of his time.

† hindered.

tion before the Lord, deceive the children of light, and comber them easily. Hunters go not forth in every man's sight, but do their affairs closely, and with use of guile and deceit wax every day more craf-tier than other.

The children of this world be like crafty hunters, they be misnamed children of light, forasmuch as they so hate light, and so study to do the works of darkness. If they were the children of light, they would not love darkness. It is no marvel, that they go about to keep others in darkness, seeing they be in darkness, from top to toe overwhelmed with darkness, darker than the darkness of hell. Wherefore it is well done in all orders of men, but especially in the order of Prelates, to put a difference between children of light, and children of the world, because great deceit ariseth in taking the one for the other. Great imposture cometh; when they that the common people take for the light, go about to take the sun and the light out of the world. But these be easily known, both by their diversity of minds, and also their armour. For whereas the children of light are thus minded, that they seek their adversaries health, wealth, and profit, with loss of their own commodities, and oft-times with jeopardy of their life: The children of the world, contrarywise, have such stomachs, that they will sooner see them dead than do them good, than sustain any loss of temporal things. The armour of the children of light, is first the word of God, which they ever set forth, and with all diligence put it abroad, that, as much as in them lieth, it may bring forth fruit: after this, patience and prayer, with the which in all adversities the Lord comforteth them. Other things they commit to God, unto whom they leave all revengement. The armour of the children of this world, are sometimes frauds and deceits, sometimes lies and money: By the first, they make their dreams, their traditions: by the second, they establish and confirm their dreams, be they never so absurd,

absurd, never so against scripture, honesty, or reason. And if any man resist them, even with these weapons they seek to slay him. Thus they bought Christ's death, the very Light himself, and obscured him after his death; thus they buy every day the children of light, and obscure them, and shall so do, until the world be at an end. So that it may be ever true, that Christ said; "The children of this world be wiser in their generation than the children of light."

These worldlings pull down the lively faith, and full confidence that men have in Christ, and set up another faith, another confidence, of their own making: the children of light the contrary. These worldlings set little by such works as God hath prepared for their salvation, but they extol traditions and works of their own invention; the children of light the contrary. The worldlings, if they spy profit, gains, or lucre in any thing, be it never such a trifle, be it never so pernicious, they preach it to the people, (if they preach at any time,) and these things they defend with tooth and nail. They can scarce disallow the abuses of these, albeit they be intolerable, lest in disallowing the abuse, they lose part of their profit. The children of the light, on the contrary, put all things in their degree, best highest, next the worst, lowest. They extol things necessary, christian, and commanded of God. They pull down will-works feigned by men, and put other in their place. The abuses of all things they earnestly rebuke. But yet these things be so done on both parties, and so they both do gender, that the children of the world shew themselves wiser than the children of light, and that frauds and deceits, lies and money, seem evermore to have the upper hand. I hold my peace, I will not say, how fat feasts and jolly banquets be jolly instruments to set forth worldly matters withal. Neither the children of the world be only wiser

wiser than the children of light, but are also some of them, among themselves, much wiser than the other in their generation. For albeit, as touching the end, the generation of them all is one: yet in this same generation, some of them have more craftily engendered, than the other of their fellows.

For what a thing was that, that once every hundred years was brought forth in Rome by the children of this world, and with how much policy it was made, ye heard at Paul's Cross in the beginning of last Parliament. How some brought forth canonizations, some expectations, some pluralities and unions, some tot-quot *^s, and dispensations, some pardons, and these of wonderful variety; some stationaries, some jubilaries, some pocularies for drinkers, some manuaries for handlers of relicks, some pedaries for pilgrims, some oscularies, for kissons; some of them ingendered one, some other such features, and every one in that he was delivered of, was excellent politic, wife; yea so wise, that with their wisdom they had almost made all the world fools.

But yet they that begot and brought forth that our old antient Purgatory pick-purse, that was swaged and cowled with a Franciscan's cowl, put upon a dead man's back, to the fourth part of his sins, that, that was utterly to be spoiled, and of none other, but of our most prudent Lord the Pope, and of him as oft as him listed: that satisfactory, that missal, that scalary: they I say, that were the wise fathers and genitors of this purgatory, were, in my mind, the wisest of all their generation, and so far pass the children of light, and also the rest of their company, that they both are but fools, if ye compare them with these. It was a pleasant fiction, and from the beginning

* This word is compounded of the two Latin adjectives, *tot*, *so many*, and *quot*, *how many*; and may be supposed here to mean, the many ways and artifices the Priests of this age had of getting money by imposing on the people.

ginning so profitable to the feigners of it, that almost, I dare boldly say, there hath been no Emperor, that hath gotten more by taxes and tallages, of them that were alive, than these the very right and begotten sons of the world, got by dead mens tributes and gifts. If there be some in England, that would this sweeting of the world to be with no less policy kept still, than it was born and set forth in Rome; who then accuse Christ of lying? No, no; as it hath been ever true, so it shall be, that the children of this world be much wiser, not only in making their things, but also in conserving them. I wot * not what it is, but somewhat it is I wot †, that some men be so loth to see the abuse of this monster, Purgatory, which abuse is more than abominable. As who should say, there is none abuse in it, or else as though there can be none in it. They may seem heartily to love the old thing, that thus earnestly endeavour themselves to restore his old name. They would not set an hair by the name, but for the thing. They be not so ignorant, no they be crafty, but that they know if the name come again, the thing will come after. Thereby it ariseth, that some men make their cracks, that they, maugre all mens heads, have found Purgatory. I cannot tell what is found. This, to pray for dead folks, this is not found, for it was never lost. How can that be found, that was never lost? O subtle finders, that can find things, if God will, ere they be lost. For that cowlish deliverance, their scalary losings, their papal spoliations, and other such their figments, they cannot find. No, these be so lost, as they themselves grant, that though they seek them never so diligently, yet they shall not find them, except perchance they hope to see them come in again with their names. And that then money-gathering may return again, and deceit walk about the country, and so stablish their kingdom in all kingdoms. But to what end this

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† or know.

chiding between the children of the world, and the children of light will come, only he knoweth that one day shall judge them both.

Now to make haste and to come somewhat nigher the end; Go to, good brethren and fathers, for the love of God go ye to; and seeing we are here assembled, let us do something whereby we may be known to be the children of light. Let us do somewhat, lest we, which hitherto have been judged children of the world, seem even still to be so. All men call us Prelates, then seeing we be in council, let us so order ourselves, that we be Prelates in honour and dignity, so we may be Prelates in holiness, benevolence, diligence, and sincerity. All men know that we be here gathered, and with most fervent desire they can hear, breath, and gape for the fruit of our convocation; as our acts shall be, so they shall name us; so that now it lieth on us, whether we be called children of the world, or children of light.

Wherefore lift up your heads, brethren, and look about with your eyes, spy what things are to be reformed in the Church of England. Is it so hard, is it so great a matter for you, to see many abuses in the Clergy, many in the Laity? What is done in the Arches*? Nothing to be amended? What do they there? Do they evermore rid the peoples business and matters, or linger and trifle them? Do they still correct vice, or else defend it, sometime being well corrected in other places? How many sentences be given there in time, as they ought to be? If men say truth, how many without bribes? Or if all things be well done there, what do men in Bishops Consistories? Shall you after see the punishments assigned by the laws executed, or else money redemptions used in their stead? How think you by the ceremonies that are in England, oft-times, with no less offence of weak consciences, contemned; more oftener with superstition

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* The Court of Arches, which is a Court belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and was of old time held in Bow Church in Cheapside, from whence it received the name.

so defiled, and so depraved, that you may doubt whether it were better some of them to tarry still, or utterly to take them away? Have not your fore-fathers complained of the ceremonies, of the superstition, and estimation of them?

Do ye see nothing in our holidays? Of the which very few were made at the first, and they to set forth goodness, virtue, and honesty? But sithens* in some places, there is neither mean nor measure in making new holidays, as who shall say, this one thing is serving of God, to make this law, that no man may work. But what doth the people on these holidays? Do they give themselves to godliness, or any ungodliness? See ye nothing, brethren? If you see not, yet God seeth. God seeth all the whole holidays, to be spent miserably in drunkenness, in glossing, in strife, in envy, in dancing, dicing, idleness, and gluttony. He seeth all this, and threatneth punishment for it. He seeth it, which neither is deceived in seeing, nor deceiveth when he threatneth.

Thus men serve the devil, for God is not thus served, albeit ye say, ye serve God. No, the devil hath more service done unto him on one holiday, than on many working days. Let all these abuses be counted as nothing, who is he that is not sorry, to see in so many holidays rich and wealthy persons to flow in delicacies, and men that live by their travail, poor men, to lack necessary meat and drink for their wives and their children, and that they cannot labour upon the holidays, except they will be cited and brought before their Officials? Were it not the office of good Prelates, to consult upon these matters, and to seek some remedy for them? Ye shall see, my brethren, ye shall see once, what will come of this our winking.

What think ye of these images that are had more than their fellows in reputation? that are gone unto,

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with such labour and wearines of the body, frequented with such cost, fought out and visited with such confidence? What say ye by these images, that are so famous, so noble, so noted, being of them so many and so divers in England? Do you think, that this preferring of picture to picture, image to image, is the right use, and not rather the abuse of images? But ye will say to me, Why make ye all these interrogations? And why, in these your demands, do you hinder and withdraw the good devotion of the people? Be not all things well done, that are done with good intent, when they be profitable to us? Surely Covetousness both thinketh and speaketh. Were it not better for us, more for our estimation, more meeter for men in our places, to cut away a piece of this our profit, if we will not cut away all, than to wink at such ungodliness, and so long to wink for a little lucre, specially if it be ungodliness, and also seem unto you ungodliness? These be two things, so oft to seek mere images, and sometimes to visit the relicks of saints. And yet, as in those there may be much ungodliness committed, so there may here some superstition be hid, if that sometimes we chance to visit pigs bones, instead of saints relicks, as in time past it hath chanced, I had almost said, in England. Then this is a great blindness, a darkness too sensible, that these should be so commended in Sermons of some men, and preached to be done after such manner, as though they could not be evil done; which, notwithstanding, are such, that neither God nor man commanded them to be done. No rather, men commanded them either not to be done at all, or else more slowlier and seldomer to be done, forasmuch as our ancestors made this constitution. “ We command the priests, that they oft admonish the people, and in especial women, that they make no vows but after long deliberation, consent of their husbands, and counsel of the priest.” The Church of

of England in time past made this constitution. What saw they that made this decree? They saw the intolerable abuses of images. They saw the perils that might ensue of going on pilgrimage. They saw the superstitious difference that men made between image and image. Surely somewhat they saw. The constitution is so made, that in manner it taketh away all such pilgrimages. For it so plucketh away the abuse of them, that it leaveth either none, or else seldom use of them. For they that restrain making vows for going of pilgrimage, restrain also pilgrimage. Seeing that for the most part it is seen that few go on pilgrimage but vow-makers, and such as by promise bind themselves to go. And when, I pray you, should a man's wife go on pilgrimage, if she went not before she had well debated the matter with herself, and obtained the consent of her husband, being a wise man, and were also counselled by a learned priest so to do? When should she go far off to these famous images? For this the common people of England think to be going on pilgrimage, to go to some dead and notable image out of town, that is to say, from their house. Now if your forefathers made this constitution, and yet thereby did nothing, the abuses every day more and more increased, what is left for you to do? Brethren and Fathers, if ye purpose to do any thing, what should ye sooner do, than to take utterly away these deceitful and juggling images? Or else, if ye know any other mean to put away abuses, to shew it, if ye intend not to remove abuses. I think it should be grateful and pleasant to you to mark the earnest mind of your forefathers, and to look upon their desire, where they say in their constitution, "We command you," and not we *counsel* you. How have we been so long a cold, so long slack in setting forth so wholesome a precept of the Church of England, where we be so hot in all things that have any gains in them, albeit

they neither be commanded us, nor yet given us by counsel: as though we had rather the abuse of things should tarry still, than be taken away, or lose our profit? To let pass the solemn and nocturnal bacchanals, the prescript miracles, that are done upon certain days in the west part of England, who hath not heard? I think ye have heard of St Blessis's heart which is at Malverne *, and of St Algares's bones, how long they deluded the people? I am afraid, to the loss of many souls. Whereby men may well conjecture, that all about in this realm, there is plenty of such juggling deceits. And yet hitherto ye have sought no remedy. But even still the miserable people are suffered to take the false miracles for the true, and to lie still asleep in all kind of superstition. God have mercy upon us!

Last of all, how think you of Matrimony? Is all well here? What of Baptism? Shall we evermore in ministering of it speak Latin, and not in English rather, that the people may know what is said and done?

What think ye of these mass priests, and of the masses themselves? What say ye? Be all things here
so

* The Monastery of Malverne was situated about twelve miles south-west of the city of Worcester, in Bishop Latimer's own diocese; and undoubtedly he was an eye-witness, and one also who connived at the pious frauds and impositions of the neighbouring Monks. What these two Saints were particularly famous for, we have not been able to learn; but undoubtedly all persons troubled with cardialgic disorders resorted to the tomb or shrine of Saint Blessis, both for the prevention and relief of their maladies; as did those troubled with gouts, rheumatic pains, aches, &c. to the tomb or shrine of Saint Algares. It was customary at such times for the pilgrims to kneel down before the shrine, say several Pater-nosters, Ave Maria's and Ora pro nobis's, and their offerings, according to their devotion and ability. And many times the crafty Priests, feigning spiritual and heavenly voices, would direct the pilgrims what to do for the relief of their several distresses; and which, as the Monks were then, like the Jewish Priests of old, generally skilled in physic, had now-and-then success, which raised the divine reputation of their Saint, and brought together a vast concourse of people to pay their devotions, and, what was the intent of the whole, to enrich the Fraternity.

so without abuses, that nothing ought to be amended? Your forefathers saw somewhat, which made this constitution, against the venality, and sale of masses, that under pain of suspending, no priest should sell his sayings of triennials*, or annals||. What saw they, that made this constitution? What priests saw they? What manner of masses saw they, think ye? But at the last, what became of so good a constitution? God have mercy upon us! If there be nothing to be amended abroad, concerning the whole, let every one of us make one better: if there be neither abroad nor at home any thing to be amended, and redressed, my Lords, be ye of good chear, be merry; and at the least, because we have nothing else to do, let us reason the matter how we may be richer. Let us fall to some pleasant communication, after let us go home, even as good as we came hither, that is, right begotten children of the World, and utterly worldlings. And while we live here let us all make good chear. For after this life their is small pleasure, little mirth for us to hope for: if now there be nothing to be changed in our fashions, let us say, not as St Peter did: "Our end approacheth nigh," this is an heavy hearing; but let us say as the evil servant said: "It will be long ere my master come †." This is pleasant. "Let us beat down our fellows: "Let us eat and drink with drunkards ‡." Surely as oft as we do not take away the abuse of things, so oft we beat our fellows. As oft as we give not the people their true food, so oft we beat our fellows

* This word should be *tricennials*, for a tricennial was a mass said for the dead during thirty days, or one month, after their decease. And this mistake might be made by the Transcriber in dropping the letter *c*.

|| Annals, were anniversary days, yearly services said by the Priest for a dead person, once every year. The Official recommended the soul of his deceased benefactor to mercy, forgiveness and redemption, through the merits and blood of the Son of God, the Lamb slain for the sins of the whole world.

† 1 Pet. iv. ‡ Matt. xxiv. Luke xii.

lows. As oft as we let them die in superstition, so oft we beat them. To be short, as oft as we blind, lead them blind, so oft we beat, and grievously beat our fellows. When we welter in pleasure and idleness, then we eat and drink with drunkards. But God will come, God will come, he will not tarry long away. He will come upon such a day as we nothing look for him, and at such an hour as we know not : He will come and cut us in pieces. He will reward us as he doth the hypocrites. He will set us, where wailing shall be, my brethren ; where gnashing of teeth shall be, my brethren. And let here be the end of our tragedy if ye will. These be the delicate dishes prepared for the World's well-beloved children. These be the wafers and junkets provided for worldly Prelates, wailing and gnashing of teeth. Can there be any mirth, where these two courses last all the feast ? Here we laugh, there we shall weep. Our teeth make merry here, ever dashing in delicacies ; there we shall be torn with teeth, and do nothing but gnash and grind our own. To what end have we now excelled others in policy ? What have we brought forth at the last ? Ye see brethren what sorrow, what punishment is provided for you, if ye be worldlings. If ye will not thus be vexed, be ye not the children of the World : If ye will not be the children of the World, be not stricken with the love of worldly things, lean not upon them. If ye will not die eternally, live not worldly. Come, go to, leave the love of your profit; study for the glory and profit of Christ, seek in your consultations such things as pertain to Christ, and bring forth at the last somewhat that may please Christ. Feed ye tenderly with all diligence the flock of Christ. Preach truly the word of God. Love the light, walk in the light, and so be ye the children of Light while ye are in this world, that ye may shine in the world that is to come bright as the sun, with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to whom be all honour, praise, and glory. *Amen.*

S E R M O N IV.

By the Reverend Father in Christ Master HUGH LATIMER Bishop of Worcester.

Preached in the Shrouds * at Paul's Church in London the 18th day of January, in the Year 1548.

R O M A N S xv. 4.

For whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning.

ALL things that are written in God's book, in the Bible book, in the book of holy scripture, are written to be our doctrine. I told you in my first Sermon, honourable audience, that I purposed to declare unto you two things. The one, that seed should

* It should be *Crowds*, and therefore this might have been an error in the Printer or Transcriber. The Crowds, as we learn from Mr Stow, was a chapel, under the choir of St Paul's church, dedicated to the holy Jesu; and it being now winter-time when this sermon was preached, it was customary to make use of the Crowds instead of the Pulpit Crofs which was in the open air, and stood where the tree is now in St Paul's church-yard. — There was a Fraternity belonging to this chapel; and divers persons of note were buried in the Crowds, particularly William Say, some time Dean of St Paul's, in 1468; and Margaret Countess of Shrewsbury, who both lay before the beautiful image of Christ therein erected. The Fraternity was suppressed in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, and then the chapel of the Crowds was converted into the parish-church of St Faith, for the service of the Stationers, Text-writers, and others dwelling in St Paul's church-yard, Pater-noster-Row, and other places adjoining. *Stow, 4to Edit. p. 330, 338.* The word *Crowd* is Saxon, and signifieth a vault, a grotto, or cloister for burial of the dead.

should be sown in God's field, in God's plough land.
And the other, who should be the sowers.

That is to say, what doctrine is to be taught in Christ's church and congregation, and what men should be the teachers and preachers of it : the first part I have told you in the three Sermons past, in which I have assayed to set forth my plough, to prove what I could do. And now I shall tell you who be the ploughers; for God's word is a seed to be sown in God's field, that is, the faithful congregation, and the preacher is the sower. As it is in the gospel; " He that soweth, the husbandman, the ploughman, went forth to sow his seed. So that a preacher is resembled to a ploughman, as it is in another place; " No man that putteth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is apt for the kingdom of God *." That is to say, let no preacher be negligent in doing his office. Albeit this is one of the places that hath been racked, as I told you of racking scriptures. And I have been one of them myself that hath racked it, I cry God mercy for it ; and have been one of them that hath believed and expounded it against religious persons that would forsake their order which they have professed, and would go out of their cloister : whereas indeed it toucheth not monkery, nor maketh any thing at all for any such matter ; but is directly spoken of diligent preaching of the word of God.

For preaching of the gospel is one of God's plough-works, and the preacher is one of God's plough-men. Ye may not be offended with my similitude, in that I compare preaching to the labour and work of ploughing, and the preacher to a ploughman : Ye may not be offended with this my similitude, for I have been slandered of some persons for such things. It hath been said of me, O Latimer, nay, as for him, I will never believe him while I live,

nor

* Luke ix.

nor never trust him; for he likened our blessed Lady to a saffron-bag: where indeed I never used that similitude. But it was, as I have said unto you before now, according to that which Peter saw before in the spirit of prophecy, and said, that there should come after "men by whom the way of truth should be evil spoken of, and slandered." But in case I had used this similitude, it had not been to be reproved, but might have been without reproach. For I might have said thus; As the saffron-bag that hath been full of saffron, or hath had saffron in it, doth ever after favour and smell of the sweet saffron that it contained; so our blessed Lady, which conceived and bare Christ in her womb, did ever after resemble the manners and virtues of that precious babe that she bare. And what had our blessed Lady been the worse for this? Or what dishonour was this to our blessed Lady? But as preachers must beware and be circumspect, that they give not any just occasion to be slandered and ill spoken of by the hearer, so must not the auditors be offended without cause. For heaven is in the gospel likened to a mustard-seed: it is compared also to a piece of leaven; and as Christ saith, that at the last day he will come like a thief; now what dishonour is this to God? Or what derogation is this to heaven? Ye may not then, I say, be offended with my similitude; for because I liken preaching to a ploughman's labour, and a Prelate to a Ploughman. But now ye will ask me whom I call a Prelate? A Prelate is that man, whomsoever he be, that hath a flock to be taught of him; whosoever hath any spiritual charge in the faithful congregation, and whosoever he be that hath cure of souls. And well may the preacher and plowman be likened together: First, for their labour in all seasons of the year; for there is no time of the year in which the ploughman hath not some special work to

do. As in my country in Leicestershire, the ploughman hath a time to set forth, and to assay his plough, and other times for other necessary works to be done. And then they also may be likened together for the diversity of works, and variety of offices that they have to do. For as the ploughman first setteth forth his plough, and then tilleth his land, and breaketh it in furrows, and sometimes ridgeth it up again ; and at another time harroweth it and clotteth it, and sometimes dungeth and hedgeth it, diggeth it and weedeth it, purgeth and maketh it clean : So the Prelate, the preacher, hath many diverse offices to do. He hath first a busy work to bring parishioners to a right faith, as Paul calleth it ; and not a swerving faith, but a faith that embraceth Christ, and trusteth to his merits ; a lively faith, a justifying faith ; a faith that maketh a man righteous, without respect of works : as ye have it very well declared and set forth in the Homily. He hath then a busy work, I say, to bring his flock to a right faith, and then to confirm them in the same faith. Now casting them down with the law, and with threatenings of God for sin ; then raising them up again with the gospel, and the promises of God's favour. Now weeding them, by telling them their faults, and making them forsake them ; then clotting them, by breaking their stony hearts, and by making them supple-hearted, and making them to have hearts of flesh ; that is, soft hearts, and apt for good doctrine to enter in. Now teaching to know God rightly, and to know their duty both to God and their neighbours ; then exhorting them when they know their duty, that they do it, and be diligent in it ; so that they have a continual work to do. Great is their busines, and therefore great should be their hire : They have great labours, and therefore they ought to have good livings, that they may commodiously feed their flock ; for the preaching of the word of God

God unto the people, is called meat : scripture calleth it meat ; not strawberries, that come but once a year, and tarry not long, but are soon gone : but it is meat, it is no dainties. The people must have meat that must be familiar and continual, and daily given unto them to feed upon. Many make a strawberry of it, ministring it but once a year ; but such do not the office of good Prelates. For Christ saith, " Who think ye is a wise and faithful servant ? He " that giveth meat in due time." So that he must at all times convenient preach diligently : therefore faith he, " Who think ye is a faithful servant ? " He speaketh it as though it were a rare thing to find such a one, and as though he should say, There be but a few of them to find in the world. And how few of them there be throughout this realm that give meat to their flock as they should do, the Visitors can best tell : Too few, too few, the more is the pity, and never so few as now.

By this it appeareth that a Prelate, or any that hath cure of souls, must diligently and substantially work and labour. Therefore saith Paul to Timothy, " He that desireth to have the office of a Bishop, or a Prelate, that man desireth a good work." Then if it be a good work, it is a work ; ye can make but a work of it. It is God's work, God's plough, and that plough God would have still going. Such then as loiter and live idly, are not good Prelates, or Ministers. And of such as do not preach and teach, and do their duties, God saith by his Prophet Jeremiah, " Cursed be the man that doth the work of God fraudulently," guilefully or deceitfully ; some books have it negligently or slackly. How many such Prelates, how many such Bishops (Lord, for thy mercy !) are there now in England ? And what shall we in this case do ; shall we company with them ? O Lord, for thy mercy ! Shall we not company with them ? O Lord, whither

ther shall we flee from them? But "cursed be he
" that doth the work of God negligently or guile-
" fully." A sore word for them that are negligent in
discharging their office, or have done it fraudulent-
ly; for that is the thing that maketh the people ill.

But true it must be that Christ saith, "Many
" are called, but few are chosen*." Here have I
occasion by the way somewhat to say unto you;
yea, for the place that I alledged unto you out of
Jeremiah, the forty eighth chapter †; and it was
spoken of a special work of God, a work that was
commanded to be done, and it was of shedding
blood, and destroying the cities of Moab. For,
saith he, "Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword
" from shedding of blood." As Saul, when he
kept back the sword from shedding of blood, (at
what time he was sent against Amaleck) was refus-
ed of God for being disobedient to God's com-
mandment, in that he spared Agag the King. So
that that place of the Prophet was spoken of them
that went to the destruction of the cities of Moab,
among the which there was one called Nebo, which
was much reproved for idolatry, superstition, pride,
avarice, cruelty, tyranny, and for hardness of heart;
and for these sins was plagued of God and destroyed.

Now what shall we say of these rich citizens of
London; what shall I say of them? Shall I call
them proud men of London, malicious men of Lon-
don, merciless men of London? No, no, I may
not say so; they will be offended with me then.
Yet must I speak. For is there not reigning in
London as much pride, as much covetousness, as
much cruelty, as much oppression, and as much su-
perstition, as was in Nebo? Yes, I think, and much
more too. Therefore I say, Repent, O London;
repent, repent. Thou hearest thy faults told thee,
amend them, amend them. I think, if Nebo had
had

* Matt. xxii.

† Jerem. xlviij.

had the preaching that thou hast, they would have converted. And you Rulers and Officers, be wise and circumspect, look to your charge, and see you do your duties ; and rather be glad to amend your ill living, than to be angry when you are warned or told of your fault. What ado was there made in London at a certain man, because he said, and indeed at that time on a just cause, Burgesses, quoth he, nay, Butterflies : Lord what ado there was for that word ; and yet would God they were no worse than butterflies. Butterflies do but their nature ; the butterfly is not covetous, nor greedy of other mens goods ; nor full of envy and hatred, nor malicious, nor cruel, nor merciless. The butterfly glorieth not in her own deeds, nor preferreth the traditions of men before God's word ; it commiteth not idolatry, nor worshippeth false gods. But London cannot abide to be rebuked ; such is the nature of man. If they be pricked, they will kick ; if they be rubbed on the gall, they will wince ; but yet they will not amend their faults, neither will they be ill spoken of. But how shall I speak well of them ? If you could be content to receive and follow the word of God, and favour good preachers, if you could bear to be told of your faults, if you could amend when you hear of them, if you would be glad to reform what is amiss ; if I might see such an inclination in you, that you would leave to be merciless, and begin to be charitable, I would then hope well of you, I would then speak well of you. But London was never so ill as it is now. In times past, men were full of pity and compassion, but now there is none, nor in London their brother shall die in the street, nor cold, he shall lie sick at the door between stock and stock, I cannot tell what to call it, and perison there for hunger : Was there ever more unmercifulness in Nemo ? I think not. In times passed, when any rich man died in London, they were

were wont to help the poor scholars of the Universities with exhibitions, and relieve other poor people with money. Also when I was a scholar in Cambridge myself, I often heard good report of London; but now I can hear no such good report, although I inquire for it, and hearken for it; for now their charity is waxen cold, and none helpeth the poor. Also in those days, what did they when they helped the scholars? Marry they maintained and gave them livings that were very papists, and professed the Pope's doctrine: and now that the knowledge of God's word is brought to light, and many earnestly study and labour to set it forth, now almost no man helpeth to maintain them.

O London, London, repent, repent; for I think God is more displeased with London than ever he was with the city of Nebo. Repent therefore, repent London, and remember that the same God liveth now that punished Nebo, even the same God, and none other; and he will punish sin as well now as he did then; and he will punish the iniquity of London, as well as he did then of Nebo: Amend therefore. And ye that be Prelates, look well to your office; for right prelating is busy labouring, and not lording. Therefore preach and teach, and let your plough be doing. Ye Lords, I say, that live like loiterers, look well to your office, the plough is your office and charge. If you live idle and loiter, you do not your duty, you follow not your vocation; let your plough therefore be going, and cease not, that the ground may bring forth fruit.

But now me thinketh I hear one say unto me: Wot you what you say? Is it a work? Is it a labour? How then hath it happened, that we have had so many hundred years so many unpreaching Prelates, lordly Loiterers, and idle Ministers? Ye would have me here to make answer, and to shew the cause thereof. Nay, this land is not for me to plough,

plough, it is too stony, too thorny, too hard for me to plough. They have so many things that make for them, so many things to say for themselves, that it is not for my weak team to plough them. They have to say for themselves long customs, ceremonies and authority, placing in parliament, and many things more. And I fear me this land is not yet ripe to be ploughed. For, as the saying is, it lacketh withering : this land lacketh withering, at least way it is not for me to plough. For what shall I look for among thorns, but pricking and scratching ? What among stones, but stumbling ? What, I had almost said, amongst serpents, but stinging ? But thus much I dare say, that since lording and loitering hath come up, preaching hath gone down ; contrary to the Apostles times : for they preached and lorded not, and now they lord and preach not. For they that be lords will ill go to plough : it is no meet office for them ; it is not seeming for their estate. Thus came up lording loiterers : thus crept in unpreaching Prelates, and so have they long continued. For how many unlearned Prelates have we now at this day ? And no marvel ; for if the ploughmen that now be were made lords, they would clean give over ploughing ; they would leave off their labour, and fall to lording outright, and let the plough stand ; and then both ploughs not walking, nothing should be in the commonwealth but hunger. For ever since the Prelates were made Lords and Nobles, the plough standeth, there is no work done, the people starve. They hawk, they hunt, they card, they dice, they pass time in their Prelacies with gallant gentlemen, with their dancing minions, and with their fresh companions, so that ploughing is set aside. And by their lording and loitering, preaching and ploughing is clean gone. And thus if the ploughmen in the country were as negligent in their office as Prelates

lates be, we should not long live, for lack of sustenance. And as it is necessary to have this ploughing for the sustentation of the body, so must we have also the other for the satisfaction of the soul, or else we cannot live long ghostly. For as the body wasteth and consumeth away for lack of bodily meat, so doth the soul pine away for default of ghostly meat. But there be two kinds of inclosing, to let or hinder both these kinds of ploughing; the one is an inclosing to let or hinder the bodily ploughing, and the other to let or hinder the holiday ploughing, the church ploughing.

The bodily ploughing is taken in and inclosed through singular commodity. For what man will let go, or diminish his private commodity for a commonwealth? And who will sustain any danger for the respect of a public commodity? The other plough also no man is diligent to set forward, nor no man will hearken to it. But to hinder and let it all mens ears are open. Yea, and a great many ploughmen, which are very busy, and would seem to be very good workmen, I fear me, some be rather mock-gospellers, than diligent and faithful ploughmen. I know many myself that profess the gospel of Christ Jesus, and yet live nothing thereafter: I know them, and have been conversant with some of them; I know them, and I speak it with a mournful heart, there is as little charity and good living in them as in any other; according to the which, Christ saith in the gospel to the great number of people that followed him, as though they had an earnest zeal to his doctrine, whereas indeed they had it not; “Ye follow not me, saith he, because ye have seen the signs and miracles that I have done; but because ye have eaten the bread, and refreshed your bodies, therefore you follow me.” So likewise I think, that many now-a-days profess the gospel for the living sake, and not for the love they

they bear to God's word. But they that will be true ploughmen, must work faithfully for God's sake, for the edifying of their brethren. And as diligently as the husbandman plougheth for the sustentation of the body, so diligently must the Prelates and Ministers labour for the feeding of the soul ; both the ploughs must still be going, as most necessary for man. And wherefore are Magistrates ordained, but that the tranquility of the commonwealth may be confirmed, limiting both ploughs ?

But now for the fault of unpreaching Prelates, methinks I could guess what might be said for excusing them : They are so troubled with lordly living, they be so placed in palaces, couched in courts, ruffling in their rents, dancing in their domino's, burdened with embassages, pampering of their paunches, like a Monk that maketh his jubilee ; munching in their mangers, and moiling in their gay manours and mansions, and so troubled with loitering in their lordships, that they cannot attend it. They are otherwise occupied, some in the King's matters, some are Embassadors, some of the Privy Council, some to furnish the Court, some are Lords of the Parliament, some are Presidents, and some Comptrollers of Mints.

Well, well, is this their duty ? Is this their office ? Is this their calling ? Should we have Ministers of the church to be Comptrollers of the Mints ? Is this a meet office for a Priest that hath cure of souls ? Is this his charge ? I would here ask one question ; would fain know who comptrolleth the devil at home in his parish, while he comptrolleth the Mint ? If the Apostles might not leave the office of preaching to the Deacons, shall one leave it for minting ? I cannot tell you ; but the saying is, that since Priests have been Minters, money hath been worse than it was before. And they say likewise, that the evilness of money hath made

all things dearer. And in this behalf I must speak here to my country, England, as Saint Paul did in his first epistle to the Corinthians, the sixth chapter; for Paul was no sitting Bishop, but a walking and a preaching Bishop. Yet when he went from them, he left there behind him the plough going still; for he wrote unto them, and rebuked them for going to law, and pleading their causes before the heathen Judges: "Is there, faith he, utterly among you no wise man, to be an arbitrator in matters of judgment? What, not one of all that can judge between brother and brother; but one brother goeth to law with another, and under heathen Judges? Choose them Judges which are most abject and vile in the congregation." Which he speaketh in rebuking them; For, faith he, "I speak it to your shame." So England, I speak it to thy shame; Is there never a Nobleman to be a Lord President*, but it must be a Prelate? Is there never a wise man in the realm to be a Comptroller of the Mint? I speak it to your shame. If there be never a wise man, make a Water-bearer, a Tinker, a Cobler, a Slave or a Page, Comptroller of the

* The Lord Presidents, Embassadors and Comptrollers of the Mint, the good Bishop here so zealously inveighs against, for being unpreaching Prelates, and holding places inconsistent with their holy vocation, and to the utter destruction of the flock of Christ committed to their care, by never appearing in their dioceses, but when commanded by law, or to receive their money, at stated times, which they took care never to neglect: But scarce one of them would deign to preach to the people, though never more wanted than at this time. These wolves in sheep's cloathing were, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester; Nicholas Heath and Richard Pate, of Worcester; Cuthbert Tunstall, of Durham; Edmund Bonner, of London; and George Day, of Chichester. Of these, Gardiner, Bonner and Heath, were not only the most furious persecutors on account of religion any age had known; but as remarkable for their neglect of the episcopal office: Heath having never preached in the diocese of Worcester during the time he held that see, which was upwards of seven years; and all the others were in secular employments.

the Mint: make a mean Gentleman, a Groom, a Yeoman, or a poor Beggar, Lord President.

Thus I speak, not that I would have it so; but to your shame, if there be never a Gentleman meet nor able to be Lord President. For why are not the Noblemen and young Gentlemen of England so brought up in the knowledge of God, and in learning, that they may be able to execute offices in the commonwealth? The King hath a great many Wards, and I think there is a Court of Wards; why is there not a School of Wards, as well as there is a Court for their lands? Why are they not sent to Schools where they may learn? Or why are they not sent to the Universities, that they may be able to do the King service when they come to age? If the Wards and young Gentlemen were well brought up in learning, and in the knowledge of God, they would not when they come to age so much delight in vanities. And if the Nobility be well trained in godly learning, the people would follow the same example. For truly, such as the Noblemen be, such will the people be. And now, the only cause why Noblemen be not made Lord Presidents, is because they have not been brought up in learning.

Therefore for the love of God appoint Teachers and Schoolmasters, you that have charge of youth; and give the Teachers stipends worthy their pains, that they may bring them up in Grammar, in Logic, in Rhetoric, in Philosophy, in the Civil Law, and in that which I cannot leave unspoken of, the word of God. Thanks be unto God, the Nobility otherwise is very well brought up in learning and godliness, to the great joy and comfort of England; so that there is now good hope in the youth, that we shall another day have a flourishing commonwealth, considering their godly education. Yea, and there be already Noblemen enow, though not so

many as I could wish, able to be Lord Presidents, and wise men enow for the Mint. And as unmeet a thing it is for Bishops to be Lord Presidents, or Priests to be Minters, as it was for the Corinthians to plead matters of variance before heathen Judges. It is also a slander to the Noblemen, as though they wanted wisdom and learning to be able for such offices, or else were men of no conscience, or else were not meet to be trusted in such places. Besides, a Prelate hath a charge and cure otherwise ; and therefore he cannot discharge his duty and be a Lord President too. For a Presidentship requireth a whole man ; and a Bishop cannot be two men. A Bishop hath his office, namely, a flock to teach and look unto ; and therefore he cannot meddle with another office, which alone requireth a whole man : He should therefore give it over to whom it is meet, and labour in his own business ; as Paul writeth to the Thessalonians ; “ Let every man do his own busines, and follow his calling.” Let the Priest preach, and let Noblemen handle temporal matters. Moses was a marvellous man, and a good man : Moses was a wonderful fellow, and did his duty, being a married man ; we lack such as Moses was. Well, I would all men would look to their duty, as God hath called them, and then we should have a flourishing christian commonwealth.

And now I would ask a strange question ; Who is the most diligent Bishop and Prelate in all England, and passeth all the rest in doing his office ? I can tell, for I know him who he is ; I know him well : But now methinks I see you listening and hearkening that I should name him. There is one that passeth all the other, and is the most diligent Prelate and Preacher in all England. And will ye know who it is ? I will tell you : It is the Devil. He is the most diligent preacher of all other ; he is never out of his diocess ; he is never from his cure ;

ye shall never find him unoccupied ; he is ever in his parish ; he keepeth residence at all times ; ye shall never find him out of the way, call for him when ye will ; he is ever at home ; the most diligent preacher in all the realm. He is ever at his plough : no lording nor loitering may hinder him ; he is ever applying to his busines ; ye shall never find him idle, I warrant you. And his office is to hinder religion, to maintain superstition, to set up idolatry, to teach all kind of popery. He is as ready as can be wished for to set forth his plough ; to devise as many ways as can be to deface and obscure God's glory. Where the devil is resident, and hath his plough going, there away with books and up with candles ; away with Bibles and up with beads ; away with the light of the gospel, and up with the light of candles, yea, at noon-day. Where the devil is resident, that he may prevail, up with all superstition and idolatry ; censing, painting of images, candles, palms, ashes, holy water, and new service of mens inventing ; as though man could invent a better way to honour God with, than God himself hath appointed. Down with Christ's cross, up with Purgatory pickpurse, up with popish Purgatory, I mean. Away with cloathing the naked, the poor and impotent, up with decking of images, and gay garnishing of stocks and stones : up with man's traditions and his laws, down with God's will and his most holy word. Down with the old honour due unto God, and up with the new gods honour. Let all things be done in Latin : there must be nothing but Latin, not so much as " Re-
" member man that thou art ashes, and into ashes
" shalt thou return." What be the words that the Minister speaketh unto the ignorant people, when he giveth them ashes upon Ash-wednesday, but they must be spoken in Latin ; and in no wise they must be translated into English ?

O that our Prelates would be as diligent to sow the corn of good doctrine, as Satan is to sow cockle and darnel ! And this is the devilish ploughing, the which worketh to have things in Latin, and hindereth the fruitful edification. But here some man will say to me, What Sir, are ye so privy to the devil's counsel that ye know all this to be true ? — Truly I know him too well, and have obeyed him a little too much in condescending to some follies ; and I know him as other men do, that he is ever occupied, and ever busied in following the plough. I know him by St Peter's words, who saith of him, “ He goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom “ he may devour.” I would have this text well viewed and examined, every word of it: He goeth about every corner of his diocese ; he goeth on visitation daily, and leaveth no place of his cure unvisited : he walketh round about from place to place, and ceaseth not. As a Lion, that is, strongly, boldly, fiercely, and proudly ; with haughty looks, with a proud countenance, and stately braggings. Roaring ; for he letteth not slip any occasion to speak or to roar out when he seeth his time. He goeth about *seeking*, and not sleeping, as our Bishops do ; but he seeketh diligently, he searcheth diligently all corners, where he may have his prey. He roveth abroad in every place of his diocese ; he standeth not still, he is never at rest, but ever in hand with his plough, that it may go forward. But there was never such a Preacher in England as he is. Who is able to tell his diligent preaching, which every day, and every hour, laboureth to sow cockle and darnel, that he may bring out of form, and out of estimation and request, the institution of the Lord's Supper and Christ's cross ? For there he lost his right ; for Christ said, “ Now is the judgment of “ this world, and the Prince of this world shall be “ cast out. And as Moses did lift up the serpent “ in

" in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lift-
" ed up. And when I shall be lifted up from the
" earth, I will draw all things unto myself *." —
For the devil was disappointed of his purpose; for
he thought all to be his own: and when he had once
brought Christ to the cross, he thought all cock-
sure.

But there lost he all his reigning: for Christ said,
" I will draw all things to myself." He meaneth,
drawing of man's soul to salvation. And that he
said he would do by his own self; not by any other
body's sacrifice. He meant by his own sacrifice upon
the cross, where he offered himself for the re-
demption of mankind; and not the sacrifice of the
mass to be offered by another. For who can offer
him but himself? He was both the offerer and the
offering. And this is the prick †, this is the mark
at which the devil shooteth, to evacuate the cross
of Christ, and to mangle the institution of the Lord's
Supper; the which although he cannot bring to
pass, yet he goeth about by his flights and subtil
means to frustrate the same. And above these ‡ fifteen
hundred years he hath been a doer, only pur-
posing to evacuate Christ's death, and to make it of
small efficacy and virtue. For as Christ saith, " ac-
cording as the serpent was lifted up in the wil-
derness," so would he himself be exalted; that
thereby as many as trusted in him should have sal-
vation. The devil would none of that. They would
have us saved by a daily oblation propitiatory; by a
sacrifice expiatory, or remissory.

Now if I should preach in the country, among
the unlearned, I would tell what propitiatory, ex-
piatory, and remissory is; but here is a learned au-
ditory: yet for them that be unlearned I will ex-
pound it. Propitiatory, expiatory, remissory or sa-
tisfactory, signify all one thing in effect, and is no-
thing

* John iii. † or point. ‡ now seventeen hundred years.

thing else but a thing whereby to obtain remission of sins, and to have salvation. And this way the devil used to evacuate the death of Christ, that we might have affiance in other things, as the sacrifice of the Priest; whereas Christ would have us to trust in his only sacrifice. So he was, "The Lamb that "hath been slain from the beginning of the world;" and therefore he is called, "A continual sacrifice;" and not for the continuance of the mass, as blanchers have blanched it, and wrested it; and as I myself once took it to be. But Paul saith, "By himself, and by none other, Christ made purgation "and satisfaction for the whole world."

Would Christ this word, *by himself*, had been better weighed and looked upon, and *satisfaction*, to make them holy; for he is a *continual* sacrifice, in effect, fruit and operation. That like as they, which seeing the serpent hang up in the desert, were put in remembrance of Christ's death, in whom as many as believed were saved; so all men that trust in the death of Christ shall be saved, as well they that were before, as they that came after. For he was a continual sacrifice, as I said, in effect, fruit, operation and virtue. As though he had from the beginning of the world, and continually should to the world's end, hang still upon the cross. And he is as fresh hanging on the cross now, to them that believe and trust in him, as he was above fifteen hundred years ago, when he was crucified.

Then let us trust upon his death only, and look for no other sacrifice propitiatory, than the same bloody sacrifice, the lively sacrifice; and not the dry sacrifice, but a bloody sacrifice. For Christ himself said, "It is perfectly finished:" I have taken at my Father's hand the dispensation of redeeming mankind, I have wrought man's redemption, and have dispatched the matter. Why then mangle ye him? Why do ye divide? Why make you of him more sacrifices

sacrifices than one ? Paul saith, “ Christ our pass-over is offered ;” so that the thing is done, and Christ hath done it, and he hath done it *always*, once for all : and it was a bloody sacrifice, not a dry sacrifice.

Why then, it is not the mass that availeth or profiteth for the quick and the dead. Wo worth thee, O Devil, wo worth thee, that hast prevailed so far and so long ; that hast made England to worship false gods, forsaking Christ our Lord. Wo worth thee devil, wo worth thee devil, and all thy angels. If Christ by his death draweth all things to himself, and draweth all men to salvation, and to heavenly bliss, that trust in him ; then the Priests at the mass, at the popish mass, I say, what can they draw, when Christ draweth all, but lands and goods from the right heirs ? The Priests draw goods and riches, benefices and promotions to themselves ; and such as believe in their sacrifices they draw to the devil. But Christ is he that draweth souls unto him by his bloody sacrifice. What have we to do then, but to eat in the Lord at his Supper ?

What other service have we to do to him, and what other sacrifice have we to offer, but the mortification of our flesh ? What other oblation have we to make, but of obedience, of good living, of good works, and of helping our neighbours ? But as for our redemption, it is done already, it cannot be better : Christ hath done it so well, that it cannot be amended. It cannot be devised how to make that any better than he hath done it. But the Devil, by the help of that Italian Bishop his proud Chaplain, hath laboured by all means that he might, to frustrate the death of Christ and the merits of his passion. And they have devised for that purpose to make us believe in other vain things by his pardons ; as to have remission of sins for praying on hallowed beads ; for drinking of the bakehoute bowl ; as a

Canon of Waltham-Abbey once told me, that whosoever they put their loaves of bread into the oven, as many as drank of the pardon bowl should have pardon for drinking of it. A mad thing, to give pardon to a bowl. Then to Pope Alexander's holy water, to hallowed bells, palms, candles, ashes, and what not? And of these things, every one hath taken away some part of Christ's satisfaction; every one hath robbed some part of Christ's passion and cross, and hath mangled Christ's death, and hath been made to be propitiatory and satisfactory, and to put away sin. Yea, and Alexander's holy water yet at this day remaineth in England, and is used for a remedy to chase away spirits and devils; yea, and I would this had been the worst. But wo worth thee, O devil, that hast prevailed to evacuate Christ's cross, and to mangle the Lord's Supper. These be the Italian Bishop's devices, and the devil hath pricked at this mark to frustrate the cross of Christ: He shot at this mark long before Christ came, he aimed at this four thousand years before Christ hanged on the cross, or suffered his passion.

For the brazen serpent was set up in the wilderness, to put men in remembrance of Christ's coming; that like as they which beheld the brazen serpent were healed of their bodily diseases, so they that looked spiritually upon Christ that was to come, by him should be saved spiritually from the devil. The serpent was set up in memory of Christ to come, but the devil found means to steal away the memory of Christ's coming, and brought the people to worship the serpent itself, yea, to serve him, to honour him, to worship him, and to make an idol of him. And this was done by the market-men that I told you of. And the Clerk of the market did it for the lucre and advantage of his master, that thereby his honour might increase; for by Christ's death he could have but small worldly advantage. And so even

even now hath he divers blanchers belonging to the market, to hinder and stop the light of the gospel, and to hinder the King's proceedings in setting forth the word and glory of God. And when the King's Majesty, with the advice of his honourable Council, goeth about to promote God's word, and to set an order in matters of religion, there shall not want blanchers that will say; As for images, whereas they have used to be censied, and to have candles offered unto them, none be so foolish to do it to the stock or stone, or to the image itself; but it is done to God and his honour before the image. And though they should abuse it, these blanchers would be ready to whisper the King in the ear, and to tell him, that this abuse is but a small matter; and that the same, with all other like abuses in the Church, may be reformed easily. It is but a small abuse, say they, and it may be easily amended. But it should not be taken in hand at the first, for fear of trouble or further inconveniences.

The people will not bear sudden alterations; an insurrection may be made after sudden mutation, which may be to the great harm and loss of the realm. Therefore all things shall be well, but not out of hand, for fear of further business. These be the blanchers that hitherto have stopped the word of God, and hindered the true setting forth of the same. There be many put-offs, so many put-bys, so many respects and considerations of worldly wisdom. And I doubt not but there were many blanchers in the old time, to whisper in the ear of good King Hezekiah, for the maintenance of idolatry done to the brazen serpent, as well as there hath been now of late, and be now, that can blanch the abuse of images, as other like things.

But good King Hezekiah would not be so blinded; he was like to Apollos, fervent in spirit. He would give no ear to the blanchers; he was not

moved with these worldly respects, with these prudent considerations, with these policies : he feared not insurrections of the people : he feared not lest his people would not bear the glory of God, but he (without any of these respects, or policies, or considerations, like a good King, for God's sake and for conscience sake) by and by plucked down the brazen serpent, and destroyed it utterly, and beat it to powder. He out of hand did cast out all images, he destroyed all idolatry, and clearly did extirpate all superstition. He would not hear these blanchers and worldly wise men, but without delay followed God's cause, and destroyed all idolatry out of hand. Thus did good King Hezekiah ; for he was like Apollos, fervent in spirit, and diligent to promote God's glory.

And good hope there is that it shall be likewise here in England ; for the King's Majesty is so brought up in knowledge, virtue and godliness, that it is not to be misdoubted but that we shall have all things well, and that the glory of God shall be spread abroad throughout all parts of the realm, if the Prelates will diligently ply their plough, and be Preachers rather than Lords. But our* blanchers, which will be Lords, and no Labourers, when they are commanded to go and be resident upon their cures, and preach in their benefices, they will say, Why ? I have set a deputy there ; I have a deputy that looketh well to my flock, and he shall discharge my duty. My duty, quoth you, I looked for that word all this while. And what a deputy must he be, think ye ? Even one like himself ; he must be a Canonist : that is to say, one that is brought up in the study of the Pope's laws and decrees ; one that will set forth papistry as well as himself ; one that will maintain all superstition and idolatry ; and one that will nothing at all, or else very weakly, resist

* or white-washers of the gospel of Christ.

fist the devil's plough. Yea, happy is it if he take no part with the devil ; and where he should be an enemy unto him, it is well if he take not the devil's part against Christ.

But in the mean time, the Prelates take their pleasures : They are Lords, and no Labourers; but the devil is always very diligent at his plough. He is no unpreaching Prelate : He is no lordly loiterer from his cure ; but a busy ploughman. So that among all the Prelates, and among all the pack of them that have cure, the devil shall go for my money, for he still plyeth his busines. Therefore, ye unpreaching Prelates, learn of the devil : And if ye will not learn of God, nor good men, for shame learn of the devil. “ I speak it to your shame : ” If you will not learn of God, nor good men, to be diligent in your office, learn of the devil. Howbeit there is now very good hope that the King’s Ma-jesty, being by the help of good governance of his most honourable Counsellors, trained and brought up in learning, and knowledge of God’s word, will shortly provide a remedy, and set an order herein ; which thing that it may so be, let us all pray for him. Pray for him, good people ; pray for him. Ye have great cause and need to pray for him. *Amen.*



S E R M O N V.

By the Reverend Father in Christ Master HUGH LATIMER Bishop of Worcester.

Being the First of the Seven Preached before
King Edward VI. within the Preaching-place
in the Palace at Westminster, on the eighth
day of March, in the Year 1549.

R O M A N S xv. 4.

For whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning; that we through patience and comfort of scripture might have hope.

IN taking this part of scripture, most noble audience, I play as a truant, which when he is at school will choose a lesson wherein he is perfect, because he is loth to take pains in studying a new lesson, or else feareth stripes for his slothfulness. — In like manner I might seem now in my old age to some men, to take this part of scripture, because I would wade easily and lightly away therewith, and drive my matter at my pleasure, and not to be bound unto a certain theme. But ye shall consider, that the aforesaid words of Paul are not to be understood of all scriptures, but only of those which are written in God's book; and all things which are therein, “are written for our learning.” The excellency of this word is so great, and of so high dignity, that there is no earthly thing to be compared unto it. The author thereof is great, that is, God himself

self, eternal, almighty, everlasting. The scripture because of him is also great, eternal, most mighty and holy. There is no King, Emperor, Magistrate and Ruler, of what state soever they be, but are bound to obey this God, and to give credence unto his holy word, in directing their steps ordinateley according unto the same word : Yea truly, they are not only bound to obey God's book, but also the Minister of the same, " for the word's sake," so far as he speaketh " sitting in Moses's chair ;" that is, if his doctrine be taken out of Moses's law. For in this world God hath two swords, the one is a temporal sword, the other a spiritual sword. The temporal sword resteth in the hands of Kings, Magistrates, and Rulers under him, whereunto all subjects, as well the Clergy as the Laity, be subject, and punishable for any offence contrary to the same book. The spiritual sword is in the hands of the Ministers and Preachers ; whereunto all Kings, Magistrates and Rulers ought to be obedient; that is, to hear and follow, so long as the Ministers sit in Christ's chair ; that is, speaking out of Christ's book. The King correcteth transgressors with the temporal sword, yea, and the Preacher also, if he be an offender. But the Preacher cannot correct the King, if he be a transgressor of God's word, with the temporal sword ; but he must correct and reprove him with the spiritual sword, fearing no man, setting God only before his eyes ; under whom he is Minister, to supplant and root up all vice and mischief by God's word : whereunto all men ought to be obedient, as is mentioned in many places of scripture, and amongst many this is one ; " Whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do." Therefore let the Preacher teach, improve, attend and instruct in righteousness with the spiritual sword, fearing no man, though death should ensue. Thus Moses,

fes, fearing no man, with this sword did reprove King Pharaoh at God's commandment.

Micaiah the Prophet also did not spare to blame King Ahab for his wickedness, according to God's will, and to prophesy of his destruction, contrary to many false prophets. These aforesaid Kings, being admonished by the Ministers of God's word, because they would not follow their godly doctrine, and correct their lives, came unto utter destruction. Pharaoh giving no credit unto Moses, the Prophet of God, but applying unto the lusts of his own heart, what time he heard of the passage of God's people, having no fear or remembrance of God's work, he with his army did pursue after, intending to destroy them; but he and his people were drowned in the Red sea. King Ahab also, because he would not hearken unto Micaiah, was killed with an arrow. Likewise also the house of Jeroboam, with many others, came unto destruction, because he would not hear the Ministers of God's word, and correct his life according to his will and pleasure. Let the Preacher therefore never fear to declare the message of God unto all men. And if the King will not hear them, the Preachers may admonish and charge them with their duties, and so leave them unto God, and pray for them. But if the Preachers digress out of Christ's chair, and shall speak their own fancies, then, instead of "Whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do;" change it into these words following: "Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheeps cloathing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves; ye shall know them by their fruits." Yea, change "Whatsoever they bid you to do," if their doctrine be evil, into "Take heed, and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, and of the Sadducees."

In teaching evil doctrine all Preachers are to be eschewed, and in no wise to be hearkened unto. In
speak-

speaking truth, they are to be heard. All things written in God's book, are most certain, true, and profitable for all men: for in it is contained meet matter for Kings, Princes, Rulers, Bishops, and for all estates. Wherefore it behoveth every Preacher somewhat to acquaint and accommodate himself and his matter, agreeable unto the comfort and amendment of the audience unto which he declareth the message of God. If he preach before a King, let his matter be concerning the office of a King; if before a Bishop, then let him treat of bishoply duties and orders, and so forth in other matters, as time and audience shall require.

I have thought it good to entreat upon these words following, which are written in the seventeenth chapter of Deuteronomy, " When thou art " come unto the land which the Lord thy God " giveth thee, and enjoyest it, and dwellest therein; " if thou shalt say, I will set a King over me, like " unto all the nations that are about me: then thou " shalt make him King over thee, whom the Lord " thy God shall choose. One of thy brethren must " thou make King over thee, and mayst not set a " stranger over thee, which is not of thy brethren. " But in any wise let him not hold too many horses, " that he bring not the people again to Egypt thro' " the multitude of horses: forasmuch as the Lord " hath said unto you, Ye shall henceforth go no " more that way. Also he shall not have too many " wives, lest his heart turn away: neither shall he " gather him silver and gold too much." As in divers other places of scripture is meet matter for all estates, so in this aforesaid place is described chiefly the doctrine fit for a King. But who is worthy to utter this doctrine before our noble King? Not I, God knows, which am through age both weak in body and oblivious; unapt I am, not only because of painful study, but also for this short warn-

ing. Well, unto God I will make my moan, who never failed me. God is my helper in all my necessities: to him alone will I make my petition. To pray unto saints departed I am not taught. To desire like grace of God as they had, right godly it is; or to believe God to be no less merciful unto us, being faithful, than he was unto them, it is greatly comfortable. Therefore only unto God let us lift up our heart, and say the Lord's Prayer.

DEUTERONOMY xvii. 14, 15.

When thou art come unto the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and enjoyest it, and dwellest therein: If thou shalt say, I will set a King over me, like unto all the nations that are about me: then thou shalt make him King over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall choose.

1. “ **O**NE of thy brethren must thou make King over thee; and must not set a stranger over thee, which is not of thy brethren.
2. “ But in any wise let not such a one prepare unto himself many horses, that he bring not my people again unto Egypt.
3. “ Furthermore, let him not prepare unto himself many wives, lest his heart turn from God.
4. “ Nor he shall not multiply unto himself too much gold and silver.”

As the text doth rise, I will touch and go a little in every place, until I come unto *too much*. I will touch all the aforesaid things, but not too much. The text is, “ When thou shalt come into the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee,” &c. To have a King, the Israelites did with much importunity call unto God, and God long before promised them a King; and they were fully certified thereof, that

that God had promised that thing. For unto Abraham he said, “ I will multiply thee exceedingly, “ and will make nations of thee; yea, and Kings “ shall spring out of thee *.” These words were spoken long before the children of Israel had any King. Notwithstanding here yet God prescribed to them an order, how they should choose their King, and what manner of man he should be, where he saith, “ When thou shalt come into the land,” &c. As who should say, O ye children of Israel, I know your nature right well, which is evil, and inclined unto all evils. I know that thou shalt choose a King to reign over thee, and to appear glorious in the face of the world, after the manner of other gentiles. But because thou art stiff-necked, wild, and art given to walk without a bridle or line, therefore I will prevent thy evil and beastly manners, I will hedge strongly thy way, I will make a durable law, which shall compel thee to walk ordinatorily, and in a plain way: that is, thou shalt not choose thee a King after thy will and fancy, but after me thy Lord and God.

Thus God conditioned with the Jews, that their King should be such a one as he himself would choose them. This was not much unlike a bargain that I heard of late should be betwixt two friends for a horse: the owner promised the other should have the horse if he would; the other asked the price; he said twenty nobles. The other would give him but four pounds. The owner said he should not have him then. The other claimed the horse, because he said he should have him if he would. — Thus this bargain became a Westminster matter; the Lawyers got twice the value of the horse; and when all came to all, two fools made an end of the matter. Howbeit the Israelites could not go to law with God for choosing their King, for would they,

nill they, their King should be of his choosing, lest they would walk inordinately in a deceivable way, unto their utter loss and destruction. For as they say commonly, He that walketh plainly, walketh safely. As the Jews were stiff-necked, and were ever ready to walk inordinately, no less are we Englishmen given to untowardness, and inordinate walking after our own fansies and brains. We will walk without the limits of God's word, we will choose a King at our own pleasure. But let us learn to frame our lives after the noble King David, who when he had many occasions given of King Saul to work evil for evil; yea, and having many times opportunity to perform mischief, and to slay King Saul; nevertheless yet fearing God, would not follow his fleshly affections, and walk inordinately without the will of God's word, which he confessed always to be his direction; saying, "Thy word, O Lord, is a lantern unto my feet, and a light unto my steps." Thus having in mind to walk ordinitely, he did always avoid to do evil. For when King Saul was in a cave without any man, David and his men sitting at the sides of the cave, yea and David's men moved him to kill Saul, David made answer and said unto them, "The Lord keep me from doing this thing unto my master, that is the Lord's anointed." At another time also, moved by Abishai to kill Saul sleeping, David said, "Destroy him not; for who can lay his hand on the Lord's anointed, and be guiltless?" &c. I would God we would follow King David, and then we should walk ordinitely, and yet do but that we are bound of duty to do: for God saith, "That thing which I command, that only do." There is a great error risen now-a-days among many of us, which are vain and new-fangled men, climbing beyond the limits of our capacity and wit, in wrenching this text of scripture hereafter following after their own fansy and brain, their

their error is upon this text ; “ Hear the voice of “ the people in all that they say unto thee ; for they “ have not cast thee away, but me.” They wrench these words awry after their own fansies, and make much doubt as touching the King and his godly name. They that so do walk inordinately, they walk not directly and plainly, but delight in balks and stubble way.

It maketh no matter by what name the rulers be named, if so be they shall walk ordinitely with God, and direct their steps with God. For both Patriarchs, Judges and Kings, had and have their authority of God, and therefore godly. But this ought to be considered which God faith, “ Thou “ must not set a stranger over thee.” It hath pleased God to grant us a natural liege King and Lord of our own nation, an Englishman, one of our own religion. God hath given him to us, and he is a most precious treasure ; and yet many of us do desire a stranger to be King over us. Let us no more now desire to be bankers, but let us endeavour to walk ordinitely and plainly after the word of God.

Let us follow Daniel ; let us not seek the death of our most noble and rightful King, our own brother both by nativity and godly religion. Let us pray for his good estate, that he live long among us.

O what a plague were it, that a strange King, of a strange land, and of a strange religion, should reign over us ? Where now we be governed in the true religion, he should extirp and pluck away altogether ; and then plant again all abomination and popery. God keep such a King from us. Well, the King’s Grace hath sisters, my Lady Mary and my Lady Elizabeth, which by succession and course are inheritors to the crown, who, if they should marry with strangers, what should ensue ? God knoweth. But God grant (if they so do, whereby strange religion cometh in) that they never come to courfing

ing nor succeeding. Therefore to avoid this plague, let us amend our lives, and put away all pride, which doth drown men in this realm at these days ; all covetousness, wherein the magistrates and rich men of this realm are overwhelmed ; all lechery, and other excessive vices, provoking God's wrath, were he not merciful, even to take from us our natural King and liege Lord ; yea, to plague us with a strange King, for our unrepentant hearts. Wherefore, if as ye say, ye love the King, amend your lives, and then ye shall be a means that God shall send him us long to reign over us. For undoubtedly sins provoke much God's wrath. Scripture saith, “I will give thee a King in my wrath.” Now we have a lawful King, a godly King ; nevertheless, yet many evils do reign. Long time the Ministers appointed have studied to amend, and redress all evils ; long time before this, great labour hath been about this matter ; great cracks hath been made, that all should be well : But when all came to all, for all their boasts, little or nothing was done. In whom these words of Horace may well be verified, saying, *Parturiunt montes, nasceretur ridiculus mus* ; The mountain swelleth up, the poor mouse is brought out. Long before this time, many have taken in hand to bring things to pass, but finally their works came unto small effect and profit.

Now I hear say all things are ended after a godly manner, or else shortly shall be. Make haste, make haste ; and let us learn to convert, to repent, and to amend our lives. If we do not, I fear, I fear lest for our sins and unthankfulness, an hypocrite shall reign over us. Long we have been servants and in bondage, serving the Pope in Egypt : God hath given us a deliverer, a natural King. Let us seek no stranger of another nation, no hypocrite which shall bring us again all papistry, hypocrisy and idolatry : no diabolical Minister, which shall maintain
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all devilish works and evil exercises. But let us pray that God maintain and continue our most excellent King here present, true inheritor of this our realm, both by nativity and also by the special gift and ordinance of God. He doth rectify us in the liberty of the gospel, in that therefore let us stand ; “ Stand in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free *.” In Christ’s liberty we shall stand, if we so live that we profit ; if we cast away all evil, fraud and deceit, with such other vices, contrary to God’s word ; and in so doing, we shall not only prolong and maintain our most noble King’s days in prosperity, but also we shall prosper our own lives, to live not only prosperously, but also godly.

“ In any wise, let not such a one prepare unto himself many horses,” &c. In speaking these words, ye shall understand, that I do not intend to speak against the strength, policy and provision of a King ; but against excess, and vain trust that Kings have in themselves more than the living God, the author of all goodness, and giver of all victory.— Many horses are requisite for a King ; but he may not exceed in them, nor triumph in them, more than is needful for the necessary affairs and defence of the realm. What meaneth it, that God hath to do with the King’s stable, but only he would be master of his horses ? The scripture saith, “ He dwelleth on high.” It followeth, “ He looketh on the low things ;” yea, upon the King’s stables, and upon all the offices in his houses. God is the great grandmaster of the King’s house, and will take account of every one that beareth rule therein, for the executing of their offices ; whether they have justly and truly served the King in their offices, or no. Yea, God looketh upon the King himself, if he work well or not. Every King is subject unto God, and all other men are subject unto the King. In a King God requireth faith, not excess of horses. Horses for a King

* Galat. v.

King be good and necessary, if they be well used ; but horses are not to be preferred above poor men. I was once offended with the King's horses, and therefore took occasion to speak in the presence of the King's Majesty that is dead. When abbies stood, abbies were ordained for the comfort of the poor ; wherefore I said, it was not decent that the King's horses should be kept in them, as many were at that time ; the living of poor men thereby diminished or taken away. But afterward a certain Nobleman said to me, What hast thou to do with the King's horses ? I answered and said, I spake my conscience, as God's word directed me. He said, Horses be the maintenance and part of a King's honour, and also of his realm ; wherefore in speaking against them, ye are against his honour. I answered, God teacheth what honour is decent for a King, and for all other men according to their vocations. God appointeth every King a sufficient living for his estate and degree, both by lands and other customs ; and it is lawful for every King to enjoy the same goods and possessions. But to extort and take away the right of the poor, is against the honour of the King. If you do move the King to do after that manner, then you speak against the honour of the King. For I fully certify you extortioners, violent oppressors, ingrossers of tenements and lands, through whose covetousness villages decay and fall down, the King's liege people for lack of sustenance are famished and decayed. They be those which speak against the honour of the King. God requireth in the King and all Magistrates a good heart, to walk directly in his ways, and in all subjection, in obedience due unto a King. Therefore I pray God both the King, and also we his people, may endeavour diligently to walk in his ways, to his great honour and our profit.

“ Let him not prepare unto himself too many “ wives,” &c. Although we read here that the Kings among the Jews had liberty to take more wives

wives than one, we may not therefore attempt to walk inordinately, and to think that we may also take many wives. For Christ hath forbidden this unto Christians. And let us not impute sin unto the Jews because they had many wives ; for they had a dispensation so to do. Christ limiteth unto us one wife only ; and it is a great thing for a man to rule one wife rightly and ordinately. For a woman is frail, and proclive unto all evils ; a woman is a very weak vessel, and may soon deceive a man, and bring him unto evil. Many examples we have in holy scripture : Adam had but one wife, called Eve, and how soon had she brought him to consent unto evil, and to come to destruction ? How did wicked Jezebel pervert King Ahab's heart from God and all godliness, and finally unto destruction ? It is a very hard thing for a man to rule well one woman. Therefore let our King, what time his Grace shall be so minded to take a wife, choose him one which is of God, that is, which is of the household of faith. Yea, let all estates be no less circumspect in choosing her, taking great deliberation, and then they shall not need divorcements, and such mischiefs, to the evil example and slander of our realm. And that she be such an one as the King can find in his heart to love, and to lead his life in pure and chaste espousage ; and then he shall be the more prone and ready to advance God's glory, and to punish and to extirp the great lechery used in this realm.

Therefore we ought to make a continual prayer unto God, for to grant our King's Grace such a mate as may knit his heart and hers, according to God's ordinance and law ; and not to consider and cleave only to a politic matter or conjunction, for the enlarging of dominions, for surety and defence of countries, setting apart the institution and ordinance of God. We have now a pretty little Shilling indeed, a very pretty one : I have but one, I

think, in my purse ; and the last day I had put it away almost for an old Groat : and so I trust some will take them. The fineness of the silver I cannot see : but therein is printed a fine sentence, that is, *TIMOR DOMINI FONS VITÆ VEL SAPIENTIÆ* ; “ The fear of the Lord is the fountain of life, or “ wisdom *.” I would God this sentence were always printed in the heart of the King in choosing his wife, and in all his officers. For like as the fear of God is the fountain of wisdom, or of life ; so the forgetting of God is the fountain of foolishness, or of death, although it be never so politic ; for upon such politic matters death doth ensue and follow.

All their divorcements, and other like conditions, are to the great displeasure of almighty God ; which evils, I fear me, are much used in these days, in the marriage of Noblemens children, for joining lands to lands, possessions to possessions ; neither the virtuous education nor living being regarded : but in the infancy such marriages be made, to the displeasure of God, and breach of espousals.

Let the King therefore choose unto him a godly wife, whereby he shall the better live chaste ; and in so living, all godliness shall increase, and righteousness be maintained. Notwithstanding, I know hereafter some will come and move your Grace towards wantonness, and to the inclination of the flesh and vain affections. But I would your Grace should bear in memory an history of a good King, called Lewis, that travelled towards the Holy Land (which was a great matter in those days) and by the way sickened, being long absent from his wife. And upon this matter the Physicians did agree, that it was for lack of a woman ; and did consult with the Bishops therein ; who did conclude, that because of the distance of his wife, being in another country, he should take a wench. This good King hearing

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* Prov. xvi.

their conclusion, would not assent thereunto ; but said, he had rather be sick even unto death, than he would break his espousals. Wo worth such counsellors : Bishops! nay, rather Buzzards.

Nevertheless, if the King should have consented to their conclusion, and accomplished the same, if he had not chanced well, they would have excused the matter : As I have heard of two that have consulted together, and according to the advice of his friend, the one of them wrought where the succel-sion was not good. The other imputed a piece of reproach to him for such counsel-giving. He excused the matter, saying, that he gave him none other counsel, but, had it been his case, he would have done likewise. So I think the Bishops would have excused the matter, if the King should have reproved them for their counsel. I do not read that the King did rebuke them for their counsel ; but if he had, I know what would have been their answer : they would have said, We give you no worse counsel than we would have followed ourselves, had we been in like case.

Well, Sir, this King did well, and had the fear of God before his eyes. He would not walk in by-walks, where are many balks. Amongst many balkings is much stumbling ; and by stumbling it chanceth many times to fall down to the ground.— And therefore let us not take any by-walks, but let God's word direct us : let us not walk after, nor lean to our own judgments, and proceedings of our forefathers, nor seek out what they did, but what they should have done. Of which thing the scripture admonisheth us, saying, “ Let us not incline ourselves unto the precepts and traditions of our fathers ; nor let us do that seemeth right in our eyes.” But surely, we will not exchange our fathers doings and traditions with scripture ; but chiefly lean unto them and to their description, and do that seemeth good in our eyes. But surely that in

going down the ladder, the stairs of heaven, as it was made by the Pope, came to be a mass; but that was a false ladder to bring men to heaven. The true ladder to bring a man to heaven, is the knowledge and following of the scripture.

Let the King therefore choose a wife which feareth God; let him not seek a proud wanton, and one full of rich treasures and worldly pomp.

“ He shall not multiply unto himself too much gold and silver.” Is there too much, think you, for a King? God doth allow much unto a King, as it is expedient that he should have much; for he hath great expenses, and many occasions to spend much for the defence and surety of his realms and subjects. And necessary it is that the King have a treasure always in a readiness, for that and such other affairs as be daily in his hands. The which treasure, if it be not sufficient, he may lawfully and with a safe conscience take taxes of his subjects. For it were not meet the treasure should be in the subjects purses, when the money should be occupied, nor it were not best for themselves: for the lack thereof might cause both it, and all the rest that they have, should not be long theirs. And so, for a necessary and expedient occasion, it is warranted by God’s word to take of the subjects. But if there be sufficient treasures, and burdening of subjects to be for a vain thing, so that he will require thus much or so much of his subjects, which perchance are in great necessity and penury; then this covetous intent, and the request thereof, is *too much*, which God forbiddeth the King here in this place of scripture to have. But who shall see this too much, or to tell the King of this too much; think you any of the King’s privy chamber? No: for fear of loss of favour. Shall any of his sworn Chaplains? No: they be of the closet and keep close such matters. But the King himself must see this too much; and that shall he do by no means with his corporal eyes.

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Wherefore he must have a pair of spectacles, which shall have two clear sights in them ; that is, the one is faith, not a temporal faith, which shall last but a while, but a faith which is continuing in God. — The second clear sight is charity, which is fervent toward his christian brother. By them two must the King ever see when he hath too much. But few there be that use these spectacles, the more is their damnation.

Not without cause Chrysostom with admiration saith, “ I marvel if any ruler can be saved.” — Which words he speaketh not of an impossibility, but of a great difficulty ; for that their charge is marvellous great, and that none about them dare shew them the truth of the thing how it goeth.

Well then, if God will not allow a King too much, whether will he allow a subject too much ? No, that he will not. Whether have any men here in England too much ? I doubt most rich men have too much ; for without too much we can get nothing. As for example, the Physician : If the poor man be diseased, he can have no help without too much. And of the Lawyer, the poor man can get no counsel, expedition, nor help in his matter, except he give him too much. At Merchants hands no kind of ware can be had, except we give for it too much. You Landlords, you Rent-raisers, I may say you Step-lords, you unnatural Lords, you have for your possessions yearly too much. For what here before went for twenty or forty pounds a year, which is an honest portion to be had gratis in one lordship of another man’s sweat and labour ; now is let for fifty or an hundred pounds by the year. Of this too much cometh this monstrous and portentous dearth made by man, notwithstanding God doth send us plentifully the fruits of the earth, mercifully, contrary to our deserts. Notwithstanding, too much which these rich men have, causeth such dearth, that poor men, which live of their labour,

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cannot with the sweat of their face have a living, all kind of vi&tuals is so dear ; pigs, geese, capons, chickens, eggs, &c. These things with other are so unreasonably enhanced. And I think verily that if it thus continue, we shall at length be constrained to pay for a pig a pound.

I will tell you, my Lords and Masters, this is not for the King's honour. Yet some will say, Knowest thou what belongeth unto the King's honour better than we ? I answer, that the true honour of a King is most perfectly mentioned and pointed forth in the scriptures, of which ye be yet ignorant, for lack of time that ye cannot read it ; albeit that your counsel be never so politic, yet it is not for the King's honour. What this honour meaneth ye cannot tell. It is the King's honour that his subjects be led in the true religion ; that all his Prelates and Clergy be set about their work in preaching and studying, and not to be interrupted from their charge. Also it is the King's honour that the commonwealth be advanced, that the dearth of these aforesaid things be provided for, and the commodities of this realm so employed, as it may be to the setting of his subjects on work, and keeping them from idleness. And herein resteth the King's honour and his office. So doing, his account before God shall be allowed and rewarded.

Furthermore, if the King's honour, as some men say, standeth in the great multitude of people ; then these Grasiers, Inclosers and Rent-rearers, are hinderers of the King's honour. For where there has been a great many householders and inhabitants, there is now but a shepherd and his dog ; so they hinder the King's honour most of all.

My Lords and Masters, I say also, that all such proceedings which are against the King's honour, as I have in part declared before, and as far as I can perceive, do intend plainly to make the yeomanry slavery,

slavery, and the Clergy shavery *. For such works are all singular private wealth and commodity.— We of the Clergy had too much, but this is taken away, and now we have too little. But for my own part I have no cause to complain, for I thank God and the King, I have sufficient. And God is my judge, I came not to crave of any man any thing ; but I know them that have too little.

There lieth a great matter by these appropriations, great reformation is to be had in them. I know where is a great market town, with divers hamlets and inhabitants, where do rise yearly of their labours to the value of fifty pounds, and the Vicar that serveth, being so great a cure, hath but twelve or fourteen marks by the year ; so that of this pension he is not able to buy him books, nor give his neighbours drink ; and all the great gain goeth another way.

My father was a Yeoman, and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pounds by the year at the utmost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for an hundred sheep ; and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able, and did find the King a harness, with himself and his horse, whilst he came to the place that he should receive the King's wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness when he went to Blackheath field. He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to have preached before the King's Majesty now. He married my sisters with five pounds or twenty nobles apiece; so that he brought them up in godliness and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours ; and some alms he gave to the poor. And all this he did of the said farm : whereas he that now hath it pays sixteen pounds by the year, or more, and is not able

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* Means the Clergy's being fleeced of the Church and Abby-lands ; whereby they were, in a sense, shaved or shorn.

to do any thing for his Prince, for himself, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor.

Thus all the enhancing and rearing goeth to your private commodity and wealth. So that where you have a single too much, you have that; and since the same, ye have enhanced the rents, and so have increased another too much: so now ye have double too much, which is too too much. But let the Preacher preach till his tongue be worn to the stumps, nothing is amended. We have good statutes made for the commonwealth, as touching commoners and inclosers, with many meetings and sessions; but in the end of the matter there cometh nothing forth. Well, well, this one thing I will say unto you, from whence it cometh I know, even from the devil. I know his intent in it. For if ye bring it to pass, that the yeomanry be not able to put their sons to school, as indeed Universities do wondrously decay already, and that they be not able to marry their daughters for the avoiding of whoredom; I say, ye pluck salvation from the people, and utterly destroy the realm. For by Yeomens sons the faith of Christ is, and hath been maintained chiefly. Is this realm taught by rich mens sons? No, no, read the Chronicles; ye shall find sometimes Noblemens sons which have been unpreaching Bishops and Prelates, but ye shall find none of them learned men. But verily, they that should look to the redress of these things, be the greatest against them. In this realm are a great many folks, and amongst many I know but one of tender zeal, who at the motion of his poor tenants hath let down his lands to the old rents for their relief. For God's love let not him be a phenix, let him not be alone, let him not be an hermit closed in a wall; some good man follow him, and do as he giveth example.

Surveyors there be, that greedily gorge up their covetous goods; hand-makers, I mean: honest men I touch not; but all such as survey, they make up their mouths, and the commons be utterly undone by them: whose bitter cry ascendeth up to the ears of the God of Sabaoth: The greedy pit of hell-burning fire, without great repentance, doth tarry and look for them. A redress God grant. For surely, surely, but that two things do comfort me, I should despair of redress in these matters. One is, that the King's Majesty, when he cometh to age, will see a redress of these things so out of frame: giving example by letting down his own lands first, and then enjoin his subjects to follow him. The second hope I have, is, I believe that the general accounting day is at hand, the dreadful day of judgment, I mean, which shall make an end of all these calamities and miseries. For, as the scriptures be, "When they shall say, Peace, peace, " all things are safe; then is the day at hand:" A merry day, I say, for all such as do in this world study to serve and please God, and continue in his faith, fear and love. And a dreadful horrible day for them that decline from God, walking in their own ways; to whom, as it is written in the twenty-fifth of Matthew, is said, "Go, ye cursed, into everlasting punishment, where shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth." But unto the other he shall say; "Come, ye blessed children of my father, possess the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world." Of the which God make us all partakers. Amen.



S E R M O N VI.

By the Reverend Father in Christ Master HUGH LATIMER Bishop of Worcester.

Being the Second Sermon Preached before King Edward VI. March the fifteenth.

R O M A N S xv. 4.

All things that are written in God's book, in the holy Bible, they were written before our time, but yet to continue from age to age, as long as the world doth stand.

IN this book is contained doctrine for all estates, even for Kings. A King herein may learn how to guide himself. I told you in my last Sermon much of the duty of a King, and there is one place behind yet, and it followeth in the Text *: “ And “ when the King is set in the seat of his kingdom, “ he shall write him out a book, and take a copy of “ the Priests, or Levites.” He shall have a book with him, and why? To read in it all the days of his life, to learn to fear God, and learn his law, and other things, as it followeth in the text with the appurtenances and hangings on, that he turn not from God, neither to the right hand, nor to the left. And wherefore shall he do this? “ That he “ may live long, he and his children.”

Hitherto

* Deut. xvii.

Hitherto goeth the Text. That I may declare this the better, to the edifying of your souls and the glory of God, I shall desire you to pray, &c.

" And when the King is set in the seat of his kingdom," &c.

Before I enter into this place, right honourable audience, to furnish it accordingly, which by the grace of God I shall do at leisure, I would repeat the place I was in last, and furnish it with an history or two, which I left out in my last Sermon. I was in a matter concerning the sturdiness of the Jews, a foward and stiff-necked kind of people, much like our Englishmen now a-days, that in the minority of a King, take upon them to break laws, and to go by-ways. For when God had promised them a King, when it came to the point, they refused him. These men walked by-walks ; and the saying is, many by-walks, many balks ; many balks, much stumbling ; and where much stumbling is, there is sometimes a fall : howbeit there were some good walkers among them, that walked in the King's highway ordinarily, uprightly, plain dunstable way ; and for this purpose I would shew you an history which is written in the third of the Kings.

King David being in his childhood †, an old man in his second childhood, for all old men are twice children, as the proverb is, An old man twice a child ‡; it happened with him, as it doth oftentimes, when wicked men of a King's childhood take occasion of evil.

This King David being weak of nature, and impotent, insomuch that when he was covered with clothes, he could take no heat, was counselled of his servants to take a fair young maid to nourish him, and to keep him warm in his body ; I suppose she was his wife. Howbeit he had no bodily com-

pany with her, and well she might be his wife. For though the scripture doth say, “ He knew her not,” he had no carnal copulation with her, yet it saith not, “ He married her not.” And I cannot think that King David would have her to warm his bosom in bed, except she had been his wife ; having a dispensation of God to have as many wives as he would : for God had dispensed with them to have many wives. Well, what happened to King David in childhood, by the child of the devil ? Ye shall hear: King David had a proud son whose name was Adonijah, a man full of ambition, desirous of honour, always climbing. Now whilst the time was of his father’s childhood, he would depose his father, not knowing of his father’s mind, saying, “ I will reign, I will be King ;” he was a stout stomached child, a by-walker, of an ambitious mind ; he would not consent to his father’s friends, but got him a chariot, and men to run before it : and divers other adherents to help him forward : worldly wise-men, such as had been before of his father’s counsel, great men in the world, and some, no doubt of it, came of good-will, thinking no harm ; for they could not think that he did it without his father’s will, having such great men to set him forth ; for every man cannot have access at all times to the King, to know his pleasure. Well, albeit he would be King. He makes a great feast, and thereto calls Joab the ring-leader of his father’s army, a worldly wise-man, a by-walker, that would not walk the King’s high-way ; and one Abiathar the high Priest. For it is a marvel if any mischief be in hand, if a Priest be not at some end of it ; and took him as King, and cried, “ God save King Adonijah.” David suffered all this, and let him alone, for he was in his childhood, a bedrid man. But see how God ordered the matter. Nathan the Prophet, and Zadok a Priest, and Benaiah, the Cherethites

rethites and Pelethites, the King's guard, they were not called to the feast.

These were good men, and would not walk by-ways, therefore it was folly to break the matter to them ; they were not called to counsel. Therefore Nathan, when he heard of this, he cometh to Bathsheba, Solomon's mother, and saith : " Hear ye not how " Adonijah the son of Haggith reigneth King, David " not knowing ?" And he bad her put the King in mind of his oath that he sware, that her son Solomon should be King after him. This was wise counsel according to the proverb, " He that walketh in " the high plain way, walketh safely."

Upon this she went and brake the matter to David, and desired him to shew who should reign after him in Jerusalem ; and added, that if Adonijah were King, she and her son after his death should be destroyed : saying ; " We shall be sinners," we shall be taken for Traitors : for though we meant no harm, but walked uprightly, yet because we went not the by-way with him, he being in authority will destroy us. And by-and-by cometh in Nathan, and taketh her tale by the end, and sheweth him how Adonijah was saluted King, and that he had bid to dinner the King's servants, all saving him, and Zadok, and Benaiah, and all his brethren the King's sons, save Solomon.

King David remembraing himself, swore, as sure as God liveth, Solomon my son shall reign after me ; and by and by commandeth Nathan and Zadok, and his guard, the Cherethites and Pelethites, to take Solomon his son, and set him upon his mule, and anoint him King. And so they did, crying, " Long live King Solomon." Thus was Solomon throned, by the advice and will of his father : and though he were a child, yet was his will to be obeyed and fulfilled, and they ought to have known his pleasure.

Whilst this was a doing, there was such a joy and outcry of the people, for their new King, and blowing of trumpets, that Joab and the other company being in their jollity, and keeping good chear, heard it, and suddenly asked, what is this ado? And when they perceived, that Solomon, by the advice of his father, was anointed King, by-and-by there was all whisht *; all their good chear was done, and all that were with Adonijah, went away, and let him reign alone, if he would: And why: He walked a by-way, and God would not prosper it.

God will not work with private authority, nor with any thing done inordinately. When Adonijah saw this, that he was left alone, he took sanctuary, and held by the horns of the altar, and sware that he would not depart thence till Solomon would swear that he should not lose his life. Here is to be noted the notable sentence, and great mercy of King Solomon.

Let him, saith he, order himself like a quiet man, and there shall not one hair fall from his head: "But if there shall be any evil found in him, if he hath gone about any mischief, he shall die for it." Upon this he was brought unto Solomon, and as the book saith, he did homage unto him. And Solomon said to him: "Get thee into thy house :" belike he meant to † ward, and there to see his wearing: as if he should say: Shew thyself without gall of ambition, to be a quiet subject, and I will pardon thee for this time: But I will see the wearing of thee. Here we may see the wonderful great mercy of Solomon, for this notorious treason that Adonijah had committed; it was a plain matter, for he suffered himself to be called King; it hung not of vehement suspicion or conjecture, nor sequel, or consequent. Yet notwithstanding Solomon for that present forgave him, saying: I will forget it utterly, but I will keep it in suspense,

* Silence.

† to Prison.

suspence, I will take no advantage of thee at this time. This Adonijah and Absalom were brethren, and came both of a strange mother; and Absalom likewise was a Traitor, and made an insurrection against his father. Beware therefore these mothers; and let Kings take heed how they marry, in what houses, in what faith. For strange bringing up bringeth strange manners.

Now giveth David an exhortation to Solomon, and teacheth him the duty of a King, and giveth him a lesson, as it followeth at large in the book, as he that list to read it, may see it there at full. But what doth Adonijah all this while? He must yet climb again, the gall of ambition was not out of his heart, he will now marry Abishag, the young Queen that warmed King David's bosom, as I told you, and cometh to Bethsheba desiring her to be a mean to Solomon her son that he might obtain his purpose. And bringing me out a couple of lies at a clap, and committing me two unlawful acts. For first he would have been King without his father's consent, and now he will marry his father's wife. And the two lies were these: first, said he to Bathsheba, "Thou knowest that the kingdom belongeth unto me, for I am the elder; the kingdom is mine." He lieth falsly, it was none of his. Then said he, "All the eyes of Israel are cast upon me:" that is to say, all Israel consenteth to it; and there he lieth falsly. For Nathan, Zadok, and other wise men, never agreed to it. Here was a great enterprise of Adonijah, he will be climbing still. Well, Bathsheba went at his request to her son Solomon, and asked a boon, and he granted her whatsoever she did ask. Notwithstanding he broke his promise afterward, and that right well; for all promises are not to be kept, especially if they be against the word of God, or not standing with a common profit.

And

And therefore as soon as Solomon heard that Adonijah would have married the young Queen Abishag : Nay, then let him be King too, said he : Now I perceive he is a naughty man, a proud-hearted fellow, the gall of ambition is not yet out of his heart, and so commanded him to be put to death. Thus was Adonijah put to execution, whereas if he had kept his house, and not broken his injunction, he might have lived still. Abiathar, what became of him ? The King, because he had served his father before him, would not put him to death, but made him as it were a quondam. " Because thou hast been " with my father, said he, and didst carry the ark " before him. I will not kill thee." But I will promise thee thou shalt never minister any more ; " Get " thee to thy land, and live there." A great matter of pity and compassion ; so God grant us all such mercy.

And here was the end of Ely's stock, according to the promise and threatening of God. As for the Pelethites we do not read that they were punished. Marry, Shimei transgressed his injunction : for he kept not his house, but went out of Jerusalem to seek two servants of his, that had run from him ; and when it came to Solomon's ear, it cost him his life.

I have ript the matter now to the full, and have told you of plain-walkers, and of by-walkers, and how a King in his childhood is a King, as well as in any other age. We read in scripture of such as were but eight or twelve years old, and yet the word of the holy Ghost called them Kings, saying : " He " began to reign," or he began to be King. Here is of by-walkers. This history should be remembered, the proverb is : " Happy is he that can beware of another man's jeopardy." For if we offend not as others do, it is not our own deserts. If we fall not, it is God's preservation. We are all offenders

ders : for either we may do, or have done, or shall do, except God preserve us, as evil as the worst of them. I pray God we may all amend and repent : but we will all amend now I trust. We must needs amend our lives every man. The holy communion is at hand, and we may not receive it unworthily.

Well, to return to my history. King David, I say, was a King in his second childhood. And so young Kings, though they be children, yet are they Kings notwithstanding. And though it be written in scripture ; “ Wo to thee, O land, where the King is a child ;” it followeth in another place : “ Blessed is the land, where there is a noble King.” Where Kings be no banqueters, no players, and where they spend not their time in hawking and hunting : And when had the King’s Majesty a council, that took more pains both night and day for the setting forth of God’s word, and profit of the commonwealth ? And yet there be some wicked people that will say, Tush, this gear will not tarry, it is but my Lord Protector’s and my Lord of Canterbury’s doing : The King is a child, and he knoweth not of it. Jesu have mercy ! how like are we Englishmen to the Jews, ever stubborn, stiff-necked, and walking in by-ways. Yea, I think no Jew would at any time say, this gear will not tarry : I never heard nor read at any time that they said, These laws were made in such a King’s days, when he was but a child ; let us alter them. O Lord, what pity is this, that we should be worse than the Jews !

Blessed be the land, saith the word of God, where the King is noble. What people are they that say, the King is but a child ? Have not we a noble King ? Was there ever King so noble, so godly brought up with so noble Counsellors, so excellent and well learned Schoolmasters ? I will tell you this, and speak it even as I think. His Majesty hath more godly wit and understanding, more learning and knowledge at

this age, than twenty of his progenitors, that I could name, had at any time of their life.

I told you in my last Sermon of Ministers, of the King's people, and how few Noblemen were good Preachers ; and I left out an history then, which I will now tell you.

There was a Bishop of Winchester in King Henry the Sixth's days, which King was but a child *, and yet were there many good acts made in his childhood ; and I do not read that they were broken. This Bishop was a great man born, and did bear such a stroke, that he was able to shoulder the Lord Protector. Well, it chanced that the Lord Protector and he fell out, and the Bishop would bear nothing at all with him, but played me the Satrapa † ; so the Regent of France was fain to be sent for from beyond the seas, to set them at one, and go between them : For the Bishop was as able and ready to buckle with the Lord Protector, as he was with him.

Was not this a good Prelate ? He should have been at home preaching in his diocese with a ‡ wan-nion.

This Protector was so noble and godly a man, that he was called of every man the good Duke Humphrey.

He kept such a house, as never was since kept in England, without any inhancing of rents, I warrant you, or any such matter. And the Bishop for standing

* Henry the Sixth was but nine months old when he ascended the throne. The Duke of Gloucester was Lord Protector, and Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, and afterwards a Cardinal, was Guardian to the King. This Bishop was made Lord High Chancellor on the sixteenth of July, in the year 1424. In the following year, six articles of accusation were objected to him ; but he cleared himself of them to the satisfaction of the Parliament, and was acquitted. He crowned Henry, King of France, at Paris, on the seventeenth of December, in the year 1430. To say no more of him, it appears, he was a great, wicked and ambitious man.

† Peer, or Prime Minister.

‡ Crosier, or pastoral staff.

standing so stiffly by the matter, and bearing up the order of our mother the holy Church, was made a Cardinal at Calais; and thither the Bishop of Rome sent him a Cardinal's hat. He should have had a Tyburn tippit, a half-penny halter, and all such proud Prelates.

These Romish hats never brought good into England.

Upon this the Bishop goeth me to the Queen Katherine the King's wife, a proud and stout woman, and perswaded her, that if the Duke were in such authority still, and lived, the people would honour him more than the King. And the King should not be set by; and so between them, I cannot tell how it came to pass, but at St Edmundsbury, in a Parliament, the good Duke Humphrey was smothered.

But now to return to my Text, and to make further rehearsal of the same, the matter begineth thus.

“ And when the King is set in the seat of his kingdom.” What shall he do? Shall he dance, and dally; banquet, hawk, and hunt? No forsooth, Sir: For as God set an order in the King's stable, as I told you in my last Sermon, so will he appoint what pastime a King shall have. What must he do then? He must be a student, he must write God's book himself: Not thinking because he is a King he hath licence to do what he will, as these worldly flatterers are wont to say.

Yea trouble not yourself, Sir, ye may hawk and hunt, and take your pleasure. As for the guiding of your kingdom and people, let us alone with it.

These flattering clawbacks are the original roots of all mischief, and yet a King may take his pastime in hawking or hunting, or such like pleasures. But he must use them for recreation, when he is weary of weighty affairs, that he may return to them the

more lusty : and this is called pastime with good company. He must write out a book himself. He speaketh of writing, because printing was not used at that time. And shall the King write it out himself ? He meaneth, he shall see it written, and rather than he shall be without it, write it himself. Jesus have mercy ! is God so chary with a King ; to have him well brought up, and instructed ? Yea, forsooth : For if the King be well ordered, the realm is well ordered.

Where shall we have a copy of this book ? Of the Levites. And why ? Because it shall be a true copy, not falsified.

Moses left the book in an old chest *, as the Levites had it in keeping. And because there should be no error, no addition, no taking away from it, he biddeth them fetch the copy of the Levites.

And was not here a great miracle of God, how this book was preserved ? It had lain hid many years, and the Jews knew not of it. Therefore at length, when they had found it, and knew it, they lamented for their ignorance that they had so long been without it, and rent their clothes, repenting their unfaithfulness. And the holy Bible, God's book, that we have among us, it hath been preserved hitherto by a wonderful miracle of God, though the keepers of it were never so malicious. First ever since the Bishop of Rome was in authority, they have gone about to destroy it ; but God worketh wonderfully, he hath preserved it, mauger their hearts, and yet are we unthankful that we cannot consider it. I will tell you what a Bishop of this realm said once to me : he sent for me, and marvelled that I would not consent to such traditions as were then set out. And I answered him, that I would be ruled by God's book, and rather than I would dissent one jot from it, I would be torn with wild horses. And I chanced in our communication, to name the Lord's Supper ?

Tush,

* Deut. viii,

Tush, saith the Bishop? What do you call the Lord's Supper? What new term is that? There stood by him a dubber, one Doctor Dubber, he dubbed him by-and-by, and said, that this term was seldom read in the Doctors. And I made answer, that I would rather follow Paul in using his terms, than them, though they had all the Doctors on their side. Why, said the Bishop, cannot we without scriptures order the people? How did they before the scripture was first written and copied out? But God knoweth, full ill yet would they have ordered them. For seeing that having it, they have deceived us, in what case should we have been now without it? But thanks be to God, that by so wonderful a miracle be hath preserved the Book still.

It followeth in the text: "He shall have it with "him:" in his progress, he must have a man to carry it, that when he is hawking and hunting, or in any pastime, he may always commune with them of it. He shall read in it, not once a year, for a time, or for his recreation when he is weary of hawking and hunting, but "All the days of his life." Where are these worldlings now? These bladder-puffed up wily men? Wo worth them that ever they were about any King. But how shall he read this book, as the * Homilies are read? Some call them homelies, and indeed so they may be well called, for they are homely handled: For though the Priest read them never so well, yet if the parish like them not, there is such talking and babbling in the church that nothing can be heard: And if the parish be good and the Priest naught, he will so hack and chop it, that it were as good for them to be without it, for any word that shall be understood. And yet the more pity that is suffered of your Graces Bishops in their diocesses unpunished. But I will be a suiter to your Grace,

* The Homilies here meant, were those composed and published by Archbishop Cranmer, and printed by Grafton.

Grace; that ye will give your Bishops charge ere they go home, upon their allegiance, to look better to their flocks, and to see your Majesty's Injunctions better kept, and send your Visitors at their tails. And if they be found negligent or faulty in their duties, out with them. I require it in God's behalf, make them quondams, all the pack of them. But peradventure ye will say: Where shall we have any to put in their rooms? Indeed I were a presumptuous fellow, to procure your Grace to put them out, if there were not other to put in their places. But your Majesty hath divers of your Chaplains, well learned men, and of good knowledge; and yet ye have some that be bad enough, hangers-on of the Court, I mean not those. But if your Majesty's Chaplains, and my Lord Protector's, be not able to furnish their places, there is in this realm, thanks be to God, a great sight of laymen, well learned in the scriptures, and of a virtuous and godly conversation, better learned than a great sight of us of the Clergy.

I can name a number of them that are able, and would be glad, I dare say, to minister the function if they be called to it. I move it of conscience to your Grace, let them be called to it orderly, let them have institution, and give them the names of the Clergy. I mean not the name only, but let them do the function of a Bishop, and live of the same: not as it is in many places, that one should have the name, and eight others the profit. For what an enormity is this in a christian realm to serve in a civility, having the profit of a Provostship, and a Deanery, and a Parsonage? But I will tell you what is like to come of it; it will bring the Clergy shortly into a very slavery. I may not forget here my heavenly ladder, that I spake of in my last Sermon. I will repeat it now again, desiring your Grace in God's behalf, that ye will remember it. The Bishop of Rome had a ladder, but his was a Mass matter: But this ladder which reached

reached unto heaven, that I now speak of, is the true ladder that bringeth a man to heaven. The top of the ladder, or first greese * is this : “ Whosoever calleth upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.” The second step : “ How shall they call upon him, in whom they have not believed ? ” The third stair is this : “ How shall they believe in him, of whom they never heard ? ” The fourth step : “ How shall they hear without a Preacher ? ” Now the nether end of the ladder is : “ How shall they preach except they be sent ? ” This is the foot of the ladder, so that we may go backward now, and use the school argument. Take away preaching, take away salvation. But I fear one thing ; and it is, lest for safety of a little money, you will put in chantry Priests to save their pensions. But I will tell you, Christ bought souls with his blood, and will ye sell them for gold and silver ? I would not that ye should do with the chantry Priests, as ye did with the Abbots, when Abbies were put down. For when their enormities were first read in the Parliament-house, they were so great and abominable, that there was nothing but down with them. But within a while after, the same Abbots were made Bishops, as there be some of them yet alive, to save and redeem their pensions. O Lord, think ye that God is a fool, and seeth it not ? And if he see it, will he not punish it ? And so now for safety of money, I would not that ye should put in chantry Priests. I speak not now against such chantry Priests as are able to preach, but those that are not able. I will not have them put in ; for if ye do this ye shall answer for it.

It is in the Text, that a King ought to fear God, “ he shall have the dread of God before his eyes : ” Work not by worldly policy, for worldly policy feareth not God. Take heed of these clawbacks, these venomous

* Step or round.

venomous people that will come to you, that will follow you like Gnathoes and Parasites; if you follow them, you are out of your book. If it be not according to God's word that they counsel you, do it not for any worldly policy; for then ye fear not God.

It followeth in the Text: "That he be not proud " above his brethren." A King must not be proud, for God might have made him a Shepherd, when he made him a King; and done him no wrong. There be many examples of proud Kings in scripture; as Pharaoh, that would not hear the message of God. Herod also, that put John Baptist to death, and would not hear him; he told him, that "it was not " lawful for him to marry his brother's wife." Jero-boam also was a proud King. Another King there was that worshipped strange gods, and idols of those men whom he had overcome before in battle. And when a Prophet told him of it: "What? said he, " who made you one of my council?" These were proud Kings: Their examples are not to be followed.

But wherefore shall a King "fear God, and turn "neither to the right hand nor to the left? Wherefore shall he do all this? "That he may reign a long "time, he and his children." Remember this, I beseech your Grace. And when these flatterers, and fibbergibes another day shall come, and claw you by the back, and say, Sir, trouble not yourself? What should you study? Why should you do this, or that? Your Grace may answer them thus and say: What, Sirrah? I perceive you are weary of us and our posterity. Doth not God say in such a place, that a King should write out a book of God's law, and read it? Learn to fear God, and why? That he and his might reign long. I perceive now thou art a Traitor.

Tell him this tale once, and I warrant you he will come no more to you, neither he, nor any after such a sort.

And thus shall your Grace drive these flatterers and clawbacks away. And I am afraid I have troubled you too long.

Therefore I will furnish the text with an history or two, and then I will leave you to God. You have heard how a King ought to pass the time; he must read the book of God: and it is not enough for him to read, but he must be acquainted with all scripture; he must study, and he must pray: and how shall he do both these?

He may learn of Solomon. God spake unto Solomon when he was made a King, and bad him ask of him what he would, and he should have it. Make thy petition said God, and thou shalt obtain. Now mark Solomon's prayer. "O Lord God, saith "he, it is thou that hast caused me to reign, and "hast set me in my father's seat; for thou God only "makest Kings."

Thus should Kings praise and thank God, as Solomon did. But what was his petition? Lord, said he, "Grant me a docible heart, a wise heart, and wisdom to go in and to go out:" that is, to begin all my affairs well, and to bring them to good effect and purpose, that I may learn to guide and govern my people.

When he had made this petition, it pleased God well, that Solomon asked wisdom, and neither riches nor long life; and therefore God made him this answer: "Because thou hast chosen wisdom above "all things, I will give it thee; and thou shalt be the "wisest King that ever was before thee." And so he was the wisest in all kind of knowledge that ever was since. And though he did not ask riches, yet God gave him both riches and honour, more than ever any of his ancestors had. So your Grace must learn how to do, of Solomon. You must make your petition, now study, now pray.

They must be yoked together ; and this is called pastime in good company.

And when God had given Solomon wisdom, he sent him by-and-by occasion to occupy his wit. For God gave never a gift, but he sent occasion at one time or other to shew it to God's glory. As, if he sent riches, he sendeth poor men to be helped with it. But now men must occupy their goods otherwise. They will not look on the poor, they must help their children, and purchase them more land than ever their grandfathers had before them : But I shall tell you what Christ said ; " He that loveth his child better than me, is " not worthy to be my disciple." And I cannot see how ye shall stand before God at the latter day, when this sentence shall be laid against you.

But to return to my purpose ; there were two poor women came before Solomon to complain. They were two harlots, and dwelled together in one house, and it chanced within two days each had a son. The one of these women by chance in the night, had killed her child, and rose privily and went to the other woman, and took her live child away, and left her dead child in its place. Upon that they came both before Solomon to have the matter judged whose the child was. And the one said ; It is my child : Nay faith the other, It is my child : Nay faith the other, It is mine. So there was yea and nay between them, and they held up the matter with scolding after a woman-like fashion. At length Solomon repeated their tale as a good judge ought to do, and said to the one woman : Thou sayest that child is thine. Yea, said she. And thou sayest it is thine, to the other. " Well, fetch me a sword, faith he :" for there was no way now to try which was the true mother, but by natural inclination. And so he said to one of his servants : " Fetch me a sword, and divide the child, between them." When the mother of the child that accused the other heard him say so ; " Nay, for God's sake,

"sake, said she, let her have the whole child, and
"kill it not. Nay, quoth the other, neither thine
"nor mine; but let it be divided." Then said Solo-
mon, "Give this woman the child, this is the mo-
"ther of the child." What came of this? "When
"all Israel heard of this judgment, they feared the
"King." It is wisdom and godly knowledge that
causeth a King to be feared.

One word note here for God's sake, and I will
trouble you no longer. Would Solomon, being so
noble a King, hear two poor women? They were
poor, for as the scripture saith: They were together
alone in a house; they had not so much as one servant
between them both. Would King Solomon, I say,
hear them in his own person? Yea, forsooth. And
yet I hear of many matters before my Lord Protector,
and my Lord Chancellor that cannot be heard. I
must desire my Lord Protector's Grace to hear me
in this matter, that your Grace would hear poor mens
suits yourself. Put them to none other to hear, let
them not be delayed. The saying is now, that money
is heard every where; if he be rich he shall soon have
an end of his matter.

Others are fain to go home with weeping tears, for
any help they can obtain at any Judge's hand. Hear
mens suits yourself, I require you in God's behalf,
and put it not to the hearing of these velvet coats,
these upskips. Now a man can scarce know them
from an ancient Knight of the country. I cannot go
to my book, for poor folks come unto me, desiring
me that I will speak that their matters may be heard.
I trouble my Lord of Canterbury, and being at his
house, now and then I walk in the garden looking in
my book, as I can do but little good at it.

But something I must needs do to satisfy this place.
I am no sooner in the garden and have read a while,
but by-and-by cometh there some or other knocking
at the gate. Anon cometh my man, and saith: Sir,

there is one at the gate would speak with you. When I come there, then it is some or other that desireth me that I will speak that his matter might be heard, that he hath lain thus long at a great cost and charges, and cannot once have his matter come to the hearing; but among all other, one especially moved me at this time to speak. This it is, Sir.

A gentlewoman came to me and told me, that a great man keeps certain lands of hers from her, and will be her tenant in the spite of her teeth. And that in a whole twelvemonth, she could get but one day for the hearing of her matter; and the same day when the matter should be heard, the great man brought on his side a great number of Lawyers for his counsel, the gentlewoman had but one man of Law: And the great man shakes him so, that he cannot tell what to do. So that when the matter came to the point, the judge was a mean to the gentlewoman, that she would let the great man have a quietnes in her land.

I beseech your Grace that ye will look to these matters. Hear them yourself. View your Judges, and hear poor mens causes. And you, proud Judges, hearken what God faith in his holy book: "Hear them, saith he, the small as well as the great, the poor as well as the rich." Regard no person, fear no man; why? Because "The Judgment is God's." Mark this saying, thou proud Judge. The devil will bring this sentence at the day of doom. Hell will be full of these Judges, if they repent not and amend. They are worse than the wicked Judge that Christ speaketh of, that neither feared God, nor the world.

There was a certain widow that was a suitor to a Judge, and she met him in every corner of the street, crying, I pray you hear me, I beseech you hear me, I ask nothing but right. When the Judge saw her so importunate, "though I fear neither God, saith he, nor the world, yet because of her importuneness,

"nateness, I will grant her request*." But our Judges are worse than this Judge was, for they will neither hear men for God's sake, nor fear of the world, nor importunateness, nor any thing else. Yea, some of them will command them to † ward, if they be importunate.

I heard say, that when a suitor came to one of them, he said, What fellow is it that giveth these folks counsel to be so importunate? He would be punished and committed to ward. Marry, Sir, punish me then; it is even I that gave them counsel, I would gladly be punished in such a cause. And if you amend not, I will cause them to cry out upon you still: even as long as I live. I will do it indeed: but I have troubled you long. As I began with this sentence: "All things that are written, &c." So I will end now with this text. "Blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it." There was another suitor, and I had almost forgotten it.

There is a poor woman that liveth in the Fleet, and cannot come, by any means that she can make, to her answer, and would fain be bailed, offering to put in sureties worth a thousand pounds; and yet she cannot be heard. Methinks this is a reasonable cause, it is great pity that such things should be so. I beseech God that he will grant, that all that is amiss may be amended, that we may hear his word and keep it; that we may come to the eternal bliss, to the which I beseech God to bring both you and me. *Amen.*

* Luke xviii.

† prison.



S E R M O N VII.

By the Reverend Father in Christ Master HUGH LATIMER Bishop of Worcester.

Being the third Sermon Preached before King Edward VI. March the twenty second.

R O M A N S xv. 4.

All things that are written, they are written to be our doctrine.

ALL things that be written in God's holy book, the Bible, are written to be our doctrine, long before our time, to serve from time to time, and so forth to the world's end.

Ye shall have in remembrance, most benign and gracious audience, that a Preacher hath two offices, and the one to be used orderly after another. The first is, "To teach true doctrine." He shall have likewise occasion oftentimes to use another; and that is, "To reprehend, to convince, to confute gainsayers, and spurners against the truth." Why? you will say, will any body gainsay true doctrine, and sound doctrine? Well, let a Preacher be sure that his doctrine be true, and it is not to be thought that any body will gainsay it. If St Paul had not foreseen that there should be gainsayers, he had not need to have appointed the confutation of gainsaying. Was there

there ever yet Preachers, but there were gainsayers that spurned, that winched, that whimpered against him, that blasphemed, that gainsayed it. When Moses came to Egypt with sound doctrine, he had Pharaoh to gainsay him. Jeremiah was the minister of the true word of God, he had gainsayers, the Priests and the false Prophets. Elias had all Baal's Priests supported by Jezebel, to speak against him. John the Baptist, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, had the Pharisees, the Scribes, and the Priests gainsayers to them. The Apostles had gainsayers also, for it was said to St Paul at Rome, "We know that every man doth gainsay this learning." After the Apostles time the truth was gainsayed with tyrants, as Nero, Maxentius, Domitian, and such like; and also by the doctrine of wicked heretics. In the popish mass-time, there was no gainsaying, all things seemed to be in peace, in concord, in quiet agreement. So long as we had in adoration, in admiration, the popish mass, we were then without gainsaying. What was that? The same that Christ speaketh of, "When Satan, the devil, hath the guiding of the house, he keepeth all in peace that is in his possession." When Satan ruleth, and beareth dominion in open religion, as he did with us when we preached pardon matters, purgatory matters, and pilgrimage matters, all was quiet. He is wary enough, he is wily, and circumspect for stirring up any sedition. When he keepeth his territory all is in peace. If there were any man that preached in England in times past, in the Pope's times, peradventure there was two or three, straitways he was taken and nipped in the head with the title of an heretic. When he hath their religion in possession, he stirreth up no sedition, I warrant you.

How many dissentions have we heard of in Turkey? but a few I warrant you. He busieth himself there with no dissention. For he hath there dominion

nion in the open religion, and needeth not to trouble himself any further. The Jews, like runagates, wheresoever they dwell (for they be dispersed, and be tributaries in all countries where they inhabit) look whether you hear of any heresies among them? But when one stronger than the devil cometh in place, which is our Saviour Jesus Christ, and revealeth his word, then the devil roareth, then he bestirreth him, then he raiseth diversity of opinions to slander God's word. And if ever concord should have been in religion, when should it have been but when Christ was here? Ye find fault with Preachers, and say, they cause sedition. We are noted to be rash, and indiscreet in our preaching. Yet as discreet as Christ was, there was diversity, yea, about what he was himself. For when he asked what men called him, his Apostles answered him: "Some say, you are John the Baptist, some say you are Elias, and some say, ye are one of the Prophets;" and these were they that spake best of him. For some said, he was a Samaritan, that he had a devil within him, a * glossier, a drinker, a pot-companion. There was never a Prophet to be compared to him, and yet there was never more dissension than when he was on earth, and preached himself. If it were contraried then, will ye think it shall not be contraried now, when charity is so cold and iniquity so strong? Thus the backbiters and slanderers must be convinced. St Paul said, there shall be such as are untoward, that will whimper and whine, there shall be also, vain-speakers. For the which St Paul appointeth the Preacher to stop their mouth, and it is a Preacher's office to be a mouth-stopper.

This day I must do somewhat in the second office, I must be a gainsayer, and I must stop their mouths, convince, refel and confute they that speak flandrously of me.

There

* One who interprets scripture to wrong purposes.

There be some gainsayers, for there be some slanderous people, vain-speakers, and untoward ones, which I must needs speak against. But first I will make a short rehearsal to put you in memory of that that I spake in my last Sermon. And that done, I will confute one that slandereth me. For one there is that I must needs answer unto, for he slandereth me for my preaching before the King's Majesty. There be some to blame, that when the Preacher is weary they will have him speak all at once.

Ye must tarry till ye hear more, ye must not be offended till ye hear the rest. Hear all, and then judge all. What, ye are very hasty, very quick with your Preachers. But before I enter further into this matter, I shall desire you to pray, &c.

First of all, as touching my first Sermon, I will run it over cursorily, ripping a little the matter. I brought in a history of the Bible, exciting my audience to beware of by-walkings, to walk ordinately, plainly, the King's highway, and agree to that which standeth with the order of a realm. I shewed you how we were under the blessing of God, for our King is noble. I shewed you we have a noble King, and a true inheritor to the crown without doubt. I shewed furthermore of his godly education. He hath such Schoolmasters, as cannot be gotten in all the realm again.

Wherefore we may be sure that God blessed this realm, although he cursed the realm whose Ruler is a child, under whom the officers be climbing, and gleaning, snatching and scraping, and voluptuously set on banqueting, and for the maintenance of their voluptuousness go by-walks. And although he be young, he hath as good, and as sage a Council as ever was in England; which we may well know by their godly proceedings, and setting forth the word of God. Therefore let us not be worse than the stiff-necked Jews. In Josiah's time, who being young,

did alter, change, and correct wonderfully the Religion ; it was never found in Jewry, that the people repined or said, The King is a child : this gear will not last long : It is but one or two mens doings : It will not tarry but for a time.. The King knoweth it not. Wo worth that ever such men were born. Take heed lest for your rebellion God take his blessing away from us. I entered into the place of the King's pastime, I told you how he must pass his time in reading the book of God, (for that is the King's pastime by God's appointment) in the which book he shall learn to fear God. O how careful God is to set in order all things that belong to a King, in his chamber, in his stable, and in his treasure-house!

These peevish people in this realm, have nothing but the King, the King, in their mouths, when it maketh for their purpose. As there was a Doctor that preached, the King's Majesty hath his holy water, he creepeth to the cross, and then they have nothing but the King, the King in their mouths. These be the good People that must have their mouths stopped : but if a man tell them of the King's proceedings, then they have their shifts and their put-offs, saying, We may not go before a law, we may break no order. .. These be the wicked Preachers and gainsayers, whose mouths must be stopped.

Another thing there is that I told you of, " The heart of a King must not be lifted up. The King must not be proud over his brethren." He must order his people with brotherly love and charity. Here I brought in examples of proud Kings. It is a great pride in Kings and Magistrates, when they will not hear, nor be conformable to the sound doctrine of God. It is another kind of pride in Kings, when they think themselves so high, and so lofty, that they disdain, and think it not for their honour, to hear poor mens causes themselves. They have clawbacks that say unto them, What, Sir? what need you to trouble

trouble yourself? Take your pleasure, hunt, hawk, dance, and dally; let us alone, we will govern and order the commonweal matters well enough. Wo worth such men, they have been the root of all mischief and destruction in the realm.

A King ought not only to read and study, but also to pray. Let him take an example of Solomon, who pleased God highly with his petition, desiring no worldly things but wisdom, which God did not only grant him, but because he asked wisdom, he gave him many more things; as riches, honour, and such like. O how it pleased God that he asked wisdom. And after he had given him this wisdom, he sent him also occasion to use the same by a couple of strumpets. Here I told an example of a meek King, who so continued, until he came into the company of strange women. He heard them not only by means, or by any other, but in his own person: and I think verily the natural mother had never had her own child, if he had not heard the cause himself. They were whores; although some excuse the matter, and say they were but tipplers, such as keep ale-houses. But it is but folly to excuse them, seeing the Jews were such, and not unlike, but they had their stews, and the maintenance of whoredom, as they had of other vices.

One thing I must here desire you to reform, my Lords; you have put down the * stews. But I pray you what is the matter amended? what availeth that?

ye

* These Stews were in number nineteen, and were all of them on the Bank-side in Southwark; and in those days, no Brothel or Bawdy-house was suffered to be kept in London. But these public Stews or Bawdy houses were suppressed by King Henry the Eighth, in the thirty seventh year of his reign; which was done by proclamation and sound of trumpet. The year following their suppression, the Pope's Legate preaching at Paul's Crofs before the Parliament, Lord Mayor and Citizens, told them in his Sermon, "Ye have taken away, said he, the Stews, and ye have made one great Stew of the city of London." Had he preach-

ye have but changed the place, and not taken the whoredom away. God should be honoured every where. For the scripture saith: "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof." What place then should be within a Christian realm left to dishonour God? I must needs shew you such news as I hear. For though I see it not myself, notwithstanding, it cometh faster to me than I would wish. I do as St Paul did to the Corinthians. "There is such whoredom among you as is not among the Gentiles." So likewise, I hear say that there is such whoredom in England as never was seen the like. He charged all the Corinthians for one man's offence, saying, "They were all guilty for one man's sin, if they would not correct and redress it, but wink at it." Lo, here may you see how that one man's sin, polluted all Corinth: "A little leaven, as St Paul saith, corrupteth a deal of dough." This is, "To be partaker of other mens sins." I advertise you in God's name look to it. I hear say, there is now more whoredom in London, than ever there was on the Bank. These be the news I have to tell you. I hear they be true. Ye ought to hear of it, and redress it. I hear of it, as St Paul saith. There is more open whoredom, more stewed whoredom than ever was before. For God's sake let it be looked upon, it is your office to see unto it. Now to my confutation.

There is a certain man, that shortly after my first Sermon, being asked if he had been at the Sermon that day, answered, Yea: I pray you, saith he, how liked you him? Marry, saith he, even as I liked him always; a seditious fellow. O Lord, he pinched me there indeed. Nay he had rather a full bite at me.

Yet

ed now, when Vice and Debauchery ride triumphant, when instead of nineteen Stews, they are become innumerable, how just would his exclamation be! Common fame says, there are in London above ten thousand street-walkers or common prostitutes.

Yet I comforted myself with this, that Christ himself was noted to be a stirrer up of the people against the Emperor, and was contented to be called seditious. It becometh me to take it in good worth; I am not better than he was. In the King's days that is dead, a many of us were called together before him to say our minds in certain matters. In the end one kneeled down, and accused me of sedition, that I had preached seditious doctrine. A heavy salutation, and a hard point of such a man's doing, as if I should name him, ye would not think it.

The King turned to me and said, What say you to that, Sir? Then I kneeled down, and turned me first to mine accuser *, and required him: Sir, What form of preaching would you appoint me to preach before a King? Would ye have me preach nothing as concerning a King, in the King's Sermon? Have you any commission to appoint me what I shall preach? Besides this, I asked him divers other questions, and he would make answer to none of them all: he had nothing to say. Then I turned me to the King, and submitted myself to his Grace, and said, I never thought myself worthy, nor I never sued to be a Preacher before your Grace, but I was called to it, and would be willing, if you mislike me, to give place to my betters; for I grant there be a great many more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your Grace's pleasure so to allow them for Preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them. But if your Grace allow me for a Preacher, I would desire your Grace to give me leave to discharge my conscience; give me leave to frame my doctrine according to my audience: I had been a very dolt † to have preached so, at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your Grace.

And

* This accuser of our Author was Dr Heath, Bishop of Worcester, whom Latimer often reproached with being an unpreaching Prelate. † or blockhead.

— And I thank Almighty God, which hath always been my remedy, that my sayings were well accepted of the King, for like a gracious Lord he turned into another communication : It is even as the scripture saith, “ The Lord directeth the King’s heart.” Certain of my friends came to me with tears in their eyes, and told me, they looked I should have been in the Tower the same night. Thus have I evermore been burdened with the word sedition.

I have offended God grievously, transgressing his law, and but for this remedy and his mercy, I would not look to be saved. As for sedition, for ought that I know, methinks, I should not need Christ, if I might so say. But if I be clear in any thing, I am clear in this. So far as I know mine own heart, there is no man further from sedition than I, which I have declared in all my doings, and yet it hath been ever laid to me.

Another time, when I gave over my * office, I should have received a certain duty, that they call a Pentecostal †, it came to the sum of fifty-five pounds: I set my ‡ Commissary to gather it, but he could not be suffered. For it was said a sedition should rise upon it.

Thus

* Resigned my Bishoprick of Worcester.

† This was an offering made at Whitsontide, by the churches or parishes in every diocese to the Cathedral or Mother-church ; and which was collected at this season by the Bishop’s Commissary. It succeeded the payment of Peter-pence to the Pope ; only with this difference, that every person was at his liberty to give what he pleased : whereas in the Peter-pence tax, so many persons as there were in a diocese, so many pence were collected by every Bishop, or his Commissary, and sent to Rome. By which political scheme, his Holiness knew how many men, women and children he had in every Bishoprick in England.

‡ A Commissary, is an officer that supplies the Bishop’s place in the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the out-parts of his diocese ; or else in such parishes as are peculiar to the Bishop, and exempted from the Archdeacon’s Visitation.

Thus they burdened me ever with sedition. So this gentleman cometh up now with sedition. And know ye that I chanced in my last Sermon to speak a merry word of the new shilling, to refresh my auditory, how I was like to put away my new shilling for an old groat. I was herein noted to speak seditiously. Yet I comfort myself in one thing, that I am not alone, but that I have a fellow. For it is the comfort of the wretched to have company.

When I was in trouble, it was objected and said unto me, that I was singular, that no man thought as I thought ; that I loved singularity in all I did : and that I took a way contrary to the King and the whole Parliament : and that I was travelled with them that had better wits than I, and that I was contrary to them all.

Marry, Sir, these were sore thunderbolts. I thought it an irksome thing to be alone, and to have no fellow. I thought it not possible to be true that they told me. In the seventh of John, the Priests sent out certain of the Jews, to bring Christ unto them violently. When they came into the temple and heard him preach, they were so moved with his preaching, that they returned home again, and said to them that sent them, “ There was never man spake like this man.” Then answered the Pharisees, “ Wherefore also ye are seduced !” what, ye brainsick fools, ye hoddy-peaks, ye doddy-pouls *, do ye believe him ? are ye seduced also ? Did ye see any great man, or any great officer take his part ? Do ye see any body follow him, but beggarly fishers, and such as have nothing to take to ? Do you see any holy man, any perfect man, any learned man, take his part ? They say these people are accursed, it is they that know not the law that take his part, and none else.

Lo

* Obsolete words, signifying persons of childish affections, and of weakly and tender constitutions.

Lo here the Pharisees had nothing to cloak the people withal but ignorance. They did as our Bishops of England, who upbraided the people always with ignorance, whenas they were the cause of it themselves. “ There were, saith St John, many “ of the chief men believed in him,” and that was contrary to the Pharisees saying : O then belike they belied him, he was not alone. So thought I, there be more of my opinion than I thought, I am not alone. I have now gotten one fellow more, a companion of sedition, and know you who is my fellow ? Isaiah the Prophet. I spake but of a little pretty shilling, but he speaketh to Jerusalem after another sort, and was so bold as to meddle with their coin. Thou proud, thou covetous, thou haughty City of Jerusalem : “ Thy Silver is turned into, what ? ” Into Testions * ? into drofs.

Ah, seditious wretch †, what had he to do with the Mint ? Why should he not have left that matter to some master of policy to reprove ? “ Thy silver is drofs ;” it is not fine, it is counterfeit, thy silver is turned, thou hadst good silver. What pertained that to Isaiah ? Marry he espied a piece of divinity in that policy, he threateneth them with God’s vengeance for it.

He went to the root of the matter, which was covetousness. He espied two points in it, that either it came of covetousness, which became him to reprove : or else that it tended to the hurt of poor people ; for the naughtiness of the silver, was the occasion of the dearth of all things in the realm. He imput-

* Read Testoon ; an old silver coin among the French, which bore the value of Eighteen-pence. But in the time of King Henry the Eighth, being made of brass, it was reduced to Twelve-pence ; under Edward the Sixth, to Nine-pence, and afterwards to Six-pence.

† Latimer here flings again at the Lord President, and the then Comptroller of the Mint, for the badness of the Testoon.

imputeth it to them as a great crime. He may be called a master of sedition indeed. Was not this a seditious fellow, to tell them this even to their faces?

This seditious man goeth also forth, saying, “Thy wine is mingled with water.” Here he meddleth with the Vintners: Belike there were Brewers in those days, as there be now. It had been good for our missal Priests to have dwelt in that country, for they might have been sure to have their wine well mingled with water. I remember how scrupulous I was in my time of blindnes and ignorance, when I should say mass, I have put in water twice or thrice for fear of lying; insomuch when I have been at my Memento, have had a grudge in my conscience for fear that I had not put in water enough. And that which is here spoken of wine, he means it of all arts in the city, of all kinds of faculties; for they have all their mixes and minglings. That he speaketh of one thing, he means generally of all. I must tell you more news yet.

I hear say, there is a certain cunning come up in mixing of wares. How say you, were it not a wonder to hear that Cloth-makers should become Apothecaries? yea, and as I hear say, in such a place, whereas they have professed the gospel and the word of God most earnestly of a long time? See how busy the devil is to slander the word of God: Thus the poor gospel goes to wrack.

If his cloth be seventeen yards long, he will set him on a rack and stretch him out with ropes, and rack him till the sinews shrink again, while he hath brought him to eighteen yards. When they have brought him to that perfection, they have a prettyfeat to thicken him again. He makes me a powder for it, and plays the Apothecary, they call it flock-powder; they do so incorporate it with the cloth, that it is wonderful to consider: truly a good invention. O that so goodly wits should be so ill applied; they may

well deceive the people, but they cannot deceive God. They were wont to make beds of flocks, and it was a good bed too. Now they have turned flocks into powder, to play the false thieves with it. O wicked devil; what can he not invent to blaspheme God's word? These mixtures come of covetousness. They are plain theft. Wo worth that these flocks should slander the word of God; as he said to the Jews, "Thy wine is mingled with water," so might he have said to us of this land, Thy cloth is mingled with flock-powder. He goes on yet.

This seditious man reproveth this honourable city, and faith, "Thou land of Jerusalem, thy Magistrates, thy Judges are unfaithful;" they keep no touch, they will talk of many gay things, they will pretend to this and that, but they will keep no promise. They be worse than unfaithful; he was not afraid to call the officers unfaithful, and the "Fellows of thieves:" for thieves, and thieves fellows be all of one sort. They were wont to say, Ask my fellow if I be a thief. He calleth Princes thieves? What? Princes thieves? What a seditious varlet was this? Was he worthy to live in a commonwealth, that would call Princes on this wise, fellows of thieves? Had they a standing at Shooters-hill, or Standgate-hole, to take a purse? Why? did they stand by the highway side? Did they rob, or break open any man's house or door? No, no; that is a gross kind of thieving. They were Princes, they had a prince-like kind of thieving, "They all love bribes." Bribery is a princely kind of thieving. They will be swayed by the rich, either to give sentence against the poor: or to put off the poor man's cause. This is the noble theft of Princes and Magistrates. They are bribe-takers. Now-a-days they call them gentle rewards: let them leave their colouring, and call them by their Christian name, Bribes: "All the Princes, all the Judges, all the Priests, all the Rulers,

“ Rulers, are Bribers.” What? were all the Magistrates in Jerusalem, all Bribe-takers? None good? No doubt there were some good.

This word All, often signifieth the most part, and so there be some good I doubt not in England. But yet we be far worse than those stiff-necked Jews. For we read of none of them that winched nor kicked against Isaiah’s preaching, or said that he was a seditious fellow. It behoveth the Magistrates to be in credit, and therefore it might seem that Isaiah was to blame to speak openly against the Magistrates: It is very sure that they that be good, will bear, and not spurn at the Preachers: they that be faulty must amend, and neither spurn, nor wince, nor whine. He that findeth himself touched or galled, he declareth himself not to be upright. Wo worth these gifts, they subvert justice every where. “ They follow “ bribes.” Somewhat was given to them before, and they must needs give somewhat again: for * Giffe-gaffe was a good fellow, this Giffe-gaffe led them clean from justice. “ They followed gifts.”

A good fellow on a time bad another of his friends to a breakfast, and said, If you will come, you shall be welcome; but I tell you beforehand, you shall have but slender fare, one dish and that is all. What is that, said he? A pudding, and nothing else. Marry, said he, you cannot please me better; of all meats, this is for my tooth; you may draw me round about the town with a pudding. These bribing Magistrates and Judges follow gifts faster than the fellow would follow the pudding.

I am content to bear the title of sedition with Isaiah: thanks be to God, I am not alone, I am in no singularity. The same man that laid sedition thus to my charge was asked another time whether he were at the Sermon at Paul’s Cross, he answered that

* An obsolete word for a Hooker-in, or Briber of persons, by giving them presents, as is done in Electoneering, &c.

he was there: and being asked what news there; Marry, quoth he, wonderful news, we were there clean absolved, my mule and all had full absolution. Ye may see by this, that he was such a one as rode on a * mule, and that he was a Gentleman. Indeed his mule was wiser than he; for I dare say the mule never slandered the Preacher. O an unhappy chance had this mule, to carry such an ass upon her back. I was there at that Sermon myself: In the end of this Sermon he gave a general absolution, and as far as I remember, these or such other like words he spake; but at the least I am sure this was his meaning; “ As “ many as do acknowledge yourselves to be sinners, “ and do confess the same, and stand not in defence “ of it, but heartily abhor it; and will believe in “ the death of Christ, and will be conformable “ thereunto, I absolve you; quoth he:” Now saith this Gentleman, his mule was absolved. The Preacher absolved none but such as were sorry and did repent. Belike then she did repent her stumbling; his mule was wiser than he a great deal. I speak not of worldly wisdom, for therein he is too too wise, yea, he is so wise, that wise men marvel, how he came truly by the tenth part of that he hath: but in wisdom which consisteth in godly matters, and in things appertaining to our salvation, in this wisdom he is as blind as a beetle: “ Like horses and mules, that “ have no understanding.” If it were true that the mule repented her of her stumbling, I think she was better absolved than he: I pray God stop his mouth, or else to open it to speak better, and more to his glory.

Another man quickened with a word I spake, as he said, opprobriously against the Nobility, that their children did not set forth God’s word, but were unpreaching Prelates; was offended with me. I did not

* Another fling at the Lord President. It was at this time usual for great personages to ride upon mules finely caparisoned.

not mean so ; but that some Noblemens children had set forth God's word, howbeit poor mens sons have done it always for the most part. John *Alasco was here, a greatly learned man, and as they say, a Nobleman in his own country, and is gone his way again : if it be for lack of entertainment, more the pity.

I would wish such men as he to be in the realm, for the realm should prosper in receiving of them : “ whoso receiveth you, receiveth me,” saith Christ ; and it should be for the King's honour to receive them and keep them. I heard say Master † Melancthon, that great Clerk, should come hither.—I would wish him, and such as he is, to have two hundred pounds a year : the King should never want it in his coffers at the year's end. There is yet among us two great learned men, ‡ Peter Martyr, and Bernard Ochinus, which have a hundred marks apiece : I would the King would bestow a thousand pounds on that sort.

Now I will to my place again. In the latter end of my Sermon, I exhorted Judges to hear the small as well as the great ; “ You must not only do justice, “ but do it justly :” You must observe all circumstances : you must give justice, and minister just judgment

* He was a Scotchman, a Reformer, of considerable credit in his own country, and so much in favour with Lord Cromwell, that he consulted him in divers matters relating to Religion ; and once on a time brought him with him into the Convocation-house, where he spoke largely against the Sacraments of the Roman church, and proved that only two were of gospel institution.

† Melancthon came into England with other Germans, as Sturmius, Draco and Bucer, in order to confer with Henry and his Divines concerning the divorce of Queen Catharine, and other religious matters.

‡ Peter Martyr was invited over in the King's name by Cranmer. He was born in Florence. He had a pension of forty marks a year ; as had also Bernard Ochinus, who was made a Canon of Canterbury, with a dispensation of Residence. Fagius, another German Reformer, was made Hebrew Professor at Cambridge, and had a pension of one hundred pounds. Peter Martyr had the Divinity-chair at Oxford, and Bucer that of Cambridge, with

judgment in time. For the delaying of matters of the poor folk, is as sinful before the face of God, as wrong judgment.

I rehearsed here a parable of a wicked judge, which for importunity's sake, heard the poor woman's cause, &c.

Here is a comfortable place, for all you that cry out, and are opprefed. For you have not a wicked Judge, but a merciful Judge to call unto. I am not now so full of foolish pity, but I can consider well enough, that some of you complain without a cause.

They weep, they wail, they mourn, I am sure some not without a cause : I did not here reprove all Judges, and find fault with all. I think we have some as painful Magistrates as ever was in England ; but I will not swear that they be all so : and they that be not of the best, must be content to be taught, and not disdain to be reprehended. David saith, I refer it to your conscience. “ Ye that be Judges on the earth,” whether ye have heard poor mens causes with expedition or no : If ye have not, then be content to be touched, to be told. You widows, you orphans, you poor people, here is a comfortable place for you. Though these Judges of the world will not hear you, there is one will be content with your importunity, he will remedy you, if you come after a right sort unto him. Ye say the Judge doth blame you for your importunity, it is irksome unto him. He entered into this parable to teach you to be importunate in your petition. “ Not to be weary.”

Here

with each a salary of one hundred pounds. Their busines was to assist Cranmer in the Reformation of the Church of England. *Rymers Fædere*, Tom. xv. p. 170, 192, 193. — Fagius and Bucer being dead and buried, were in the reign of Queen Mary taken out of their graves, their bodies put into coffins, tied to stakes, and burnt in the Market-place at Cambridge. Peter Martyr, and a thousand other Protestants, were forced to fly beyond sea from their bloody persecutors, where they underwent great hardships.

Here he teacheth you to know how to come in adversity, and by what means, which is by prayer. I do not speak of the merit of Christ, for he saith, "I am the way. Whoso believeth in me hath everlasting life." But when we are come to Christ, what is our way to remedy adversity, in anguish, in tribulation, in our necessities, in our injuries? The way is prayer, we are taught by the commandment of God. "Call on me in the day of tribulation, and I will deliver thee." Thou widow, thou orphan, thou fatherless child, I speak to thee; thou hast no friends to help thee, call upon me in the day of thy tribulation, call upon me, I will pluck thee away, I will deliver thee, I will take thee away, I will relieve thee, thou shalt have thy heart's desire.

Here is the promise, here is the comfort: "Thou shalt glorify me." Thank me, accept me for the Author of it, and thank not this creature or that for it. Here is the Judge of all Judges; come unto me, and I will hear you. For he saith, "Whatsoever ye ask my Father in my name, shall be given you through my merits." You miserable people, that are wronged in the world, ask of my father in your distresses; but put me afore, look you come not with brags of your own merit, but come in my name, and by my merit. He hath not the property of this stout Judge, he will bear your importunateness, he will not be angry at your crying and calling. The Prophet saith, "Thou God, our fathers did cry unto thee, and thou hearest them." Art not thou our God as well as theirs? There is nothing more pleasant to God, than to put him in remembrance of his godliness shewed unto our forefathers. It is a pleasant thing to tell God of the benefits that he hath done before our time. Go to Moses, who had the guiding of God's people, see how he useth prayer as an instrument to be delivered out of adversity, when he had great rough mountains on every side of him, and

and before him the Red Sea, Pharaoh's host behind him, peril of death round about him. What did he? despaired he? No. Whither went he? He repaired to God with his prayer, and said nothing. Yet with a great ardency of spirit, he pierced God's ears. "Now help, or never, good Lord; no help but in thy hands," quoth he.

Though he never moved his lips, yet the scripture faith he cried out, and the Lord heard him, and said, "Why criest thou out so loud?" The people heard him say nothing, and yet God said: why criest thou out? Straightway he struck the water with his rod, and divided it, and it stood like two walls one on either side, between the which God's people passed, and the persecutors were drowned.

Joshua was in anguish and like distres at Jericho, that true Captain, and faithful Judge; no follower of retributions, no bribe-taker, he was no money man: who made his petition to almighty God, to shew him the cause of his wrath toward him, when his army was plagued after the taking of Jericho. So he obtained his prayer, and learned that for one man's fault all the rest were punished. For Achan's covetousness, many a thousand were in agony, and fear of death, who hid his money as he thought from God. But God saw it well enough, and brought it to light. This Achan was a by-walker. Well, it came to pass when Joshua knew it, straightways he purged his army and took away "the evil thing out of Israel;" that is, wickedness from the people. For Joshua called him before the people, and said, "Give praise to God," tell truth, man: and forthwith he told it: and then he and all his house suffered death. A godly ensample of all Magistrates to follow. He was the pattern of a true Judge, he was no gift-taker, he was no winker, he was no by-walker. Also when the Assyrians with an innumerable power of men in Jehosaphat's time overwhelmed.

whelmed the land of Israel. Jehoshaphat that good King, goeth straight to God, and made his prayer, “ It is not, faith he, in our strength, O Lord, to resist this people.” And after his prayer God delivered him, and at the same time ten thousand were destroyed. So, ye miserable people; you must go to God in your anguish, and make your prayer to him.

Arm yourselves with prayer in your adversities. Many begin to pray, and suddenly cast away prayer; the devil putteth such fancies in their heads, as though God would not attend to them, or had somewhat else to do.

But you must be importunate, and not weary, nor cast away prayer: Nay you must cast away sin, God will hear your prayer, albeit ye be sinners. I send you to a Judge that will be glad to hear you: you that are oppressed, I speak to you. Christ in this parable doth paint God’s good-will toward you: O miserable people, he that is not received, let him not despair, nor think that God hath forsaken him. For God tarrieth till he seeth a time, and better can do all things for us, than we ourselves can wish.

“ There was a wicked Judge, &c.” What meaneth it that God borroweth this parable rather of a wicked Judge, than of a good? Belike good Judges were rare at that time, and think ye that the devil hath been a sleep ever since? No, no: He is as busy as ever he was. The common manner of a wicked Judge is, neither to fear God nor man: He considered what a man he is, and therefore he careth not for man, because of his pride. He looketh high over the poor; he will be had in admiration: he seemeth to be in a protection. Well, shall he escape? No, “ There is a God in heaven, he accepteth no persons, he will punish them.” There was a poor woman came to the Judge, and said: “ Avenge me on my adversary.” He would not hear her,

but put her off. She had no money to bribe either him or them that were about him. Did this woman well to be avenged on her adversary? may Christian people seek vengeance? The Lord saith: "Vengeance belongeth to me, and I will repay it." When ye revenge, ye take mine office upon you. This is to be understood of private vengeance. It is lawful for God's flock to use means to put away wrongs, to resort to Judges, to require to have sentence given of right. St Paul sent to Lysias the Tribune*; to have this ordinary remedy: and Christ also said, "If I have spoken evil, rebuke me †." Christ here answered for himself. Note here, my Lords and Masters, what case poor widows and orphans be in; I will tell you, my Lord Judges, if ye consider this matter well, ye shall be more afraid of the poor widow, than of a Nobleman, with all his friends and power that he can make.

But now-a-days, the Judges be afraid to hear a poor man against the rich, insomuch that they will either pronounce against him, or so drive off the poor man's suit, that he shall not be able to go through with it. The greatest man in a realm, cannot so hurt a Judge as the poor widow; such a shrewd turn can she do him. And with what armour I pray you? She can bring the Judge's skin over his ears, and never lay hands upon him.

And how is that? "The tears of the poor fall down from their cheeks, and go up to heaven," and cry for vengeance, before God, the Judge of widows, the father of widows and orphans. Poor people be oppressed even by laws. Wo worth to them that make evil laws against the poor: what shall he be to them that hinder and mar good laws? "What will ye do in the day of God's vengeance, when God shall visit you?" He saith, he will hear the tears of poor women when he goeth on visitation. For their sake

* Act. xxii.

† Matt. xxvi.

sake he will hurt the Judge, be he never so high. God gives kingdoms to whom he pleases. He will for widows sakes change realms, bring them into troubles, and pluck the Judges skins over their ears.

Cambyses * was a great King, such another as our master is, he had many Lord Deputies, Lord Presidents, and Lieutenants under him. It is a great while ago since I read the history. It chanced he had under him in one of his dominions, a briber, a gift-taker, a gratifier of rich men, he followed gifts as fast as he that followed the pudding, a hand-maker in his office, to make his son a great man; as the old saying is, Happy is the child, whose father goes to the devil. The cry of the poor widow came to the Emperor's ear, and caused him to flee the Judge quick, and laid his skin in his chair of judgment, that all Judges that should give judgment afterward, should sit in the same skin: Surely it was a goodly sign, a goodly monument, the sign of the Judge's skin: I pray God we may once see the sign of the skin in England.

Ye will say peradventure, that this is cruelly and uncharitably spoken: No, no; I do it charitably, for a love I bear to my country. God saith "I will visit." God hath two visitations: the first is, when he revealeth his word by Preachers, and where the first is accepted, the second cometh not. The second visitation is vengeance.

Noah preached God's word a hundred years, and was laughed to scorn, and called an old doting fool: but because they would not accept this first visitation, God visited them the second time, he poured down showers of rain, till all the world was drowned. Lot

* Cambyses was the son of Cyrus, and monarch of all Persia. He conquered Egypt, pillaged and destroyed all their Temples; saying, that the gods ought to be worshipped in the open air.—He in vain attempted to discover the source of the river Nile.

was a visitor of Sodom and Gomorrah *, but because they regarded not his preaching, God visited them the second time, and burnt them all up with brimstone, saving Lot. Moses came first a visiting into Egypt with God's word †, and because they would not hear him, God visited them again, and drowned them in the Red sea: God likewise in his first visitation, visited the Israelites by his Prophets, but because they would not hear his Prophets, he visited them the second time, and dispersed them into Assyria and Babylon. John Baptist likewise, and our Saviour Christ visited them afterward, declaring to them God's will; and because they despised these visitors, he destroyed Jerusalem by ‡ Titus and Vespasian. Germany was visited twenty years with God's word, but they did not earnestly embrace it, nor in life follow it, but made a mangle, and a hotchpotch of it. I cannot tell what, partly popery, partly true religion, mingled together. They say in my country, when they call their hogs to the swine-trough; Come to thy mingle-mangle, come pur, come pur: even so they made a || mingle-mangle of it. They could clatter and prate of the gospel, but when all cometh to all, they joined popery with it, that they marr'd altogether: they scratched and scraped all the livings of the Church, and under a colour of religion, turned it to their own proper gain and lucre. God seeing that they would not come by his word, hath now visited them the second time of his visitation, with his wrath: for the taking away God's word, is a manifest token of his wrath.

We

* Gen xix. † Exod. xiv.

‡ Read by Titus Vespasianus, the Roman General, who came against Jerusalem, took the city, put the inhabitants to the sword, destroyed the Temple, and levelled all the buildings with the ground; and is said even to have razed it, by ploughing it up.

|| This is Latimer's description of Lutheranism, the professed religion of a great part of Germany.

We have now a first visitation here in England, let us beware of the second. We have the ministration of his word ; we are yet well : but the house is not clean swept yet. God hath sent us a noble King in this his visitation ; let us not provoke him against us ; let us beware, let us not displease him, let us not be unthankful and unkind, let us beware of by-walking and contemning of God's word, let us pray diligently for our King, let us receive the word with all obedience and prayer.

A word or two more, and I commit you to God : I will admonish you of a matter ; I hear say you walk inordinately, ye talk unseemly, otherwise than it becometh good subjects : ye take upon you to judge the judgments of the Judges.

I will not make the King a Pope ; for the Pope will have all things that he doth taken for an article of our faith. I will not say but that the King and his Council may err ; the Parliament-houses, both the high and low, may err : I pray daily that they may not err.

It becometh us, whatsoever they decree, to stand unto it, and receive it obediently, as far forth as it is not manifestly wicked, and directly against the word of God. It pertaineth unto us to think the best, though we cannot render a cause for the doing of every thing ; for “ Charity doth believe and “ trust all things.” We ought to expound all things for the best, although we cannot yield a reason.

Therefore I exhort you, good people, pronounce in good part all the facts and deeds of the Magistrates and Judges. “ Charity judgeth the best of “ all men,” especially of Magistrates. Saint Paul faith, “ Judge not before the time of the Lord’s “ coming.” Man’s heart is unsearchable ; it is a rugged piece of work, no man knoweth his own heart : and therefore David prayeth, and faith, “ De-“ liver

" liver me from my unknown faults * :" I am a farther offender than I can see. A man shall be blinded in love of himself, and cannot see so much in himself as in other men. Let us not therefore judge the Judges ; we are accountable to God, and so be they : let them alone, they have their accounts to make. If we have charity in us, we shall do this ; for " Charity worketh," what worketh it ? marry, to " accept all things in good part."

" Judge not before the Lord's coming." In this we learn to know Antichrist, which doth elevate himself in the church, and judgeth at his pleasure before the time. His † canonizations, and judging of men before the Lord's judgment, are a manifest token of Antichrist's doings. How can he know Saints ? He knoweth not his own heart. And he cannot know them by miracles ; for some miracle-workers shall go to the devil.

I will tell you what I remembered yester-night in my bed ; a marvellous tale to perceive how inscrutable a man's heart is. I was once at Oxford, for I had occasion to come that way when I was in my office ‡ ; they told me, it was a nearer way and a fairer way, and that occasioned me to lie there that night. Being there, I heard of an execution that was done upon one that suffered for treason : It was, as you know, a dangerous world, for it might soon

cost

* Psalm xix.

† Master Latimer calls Canonization, a prejudging of men before the judgment of the last day. It was an artifice contrived in the early ages of the church by the Bishops of Rome, to fill the coffers of the holy See ; to found Churches, and endow them ; to erect Monasteries, Cathedrals, Colleges, Chantries, Parishes and Parish Churches, to make provision for the Clergy ; and to establish the doctrines of Transubstantiation, Penance, the Absolution of Sins, and that of future Rewards, and eternal Blessedness in Heaven. By all which means the Papal See, together with its adherents, have well nigh possessed themselves of one half of the wealth of christendom.

‡ Latimer means, when he was Bishop of Worcester ; for he had now refused to return to his See again, some time.

cost a man his life for a word speaking. I cannot tell what the matter was, but the Judge so set it out that the man was condemned, and twelve men came in and said, Guilty ; and upon that he was judged to be hanged, drawn and quartered. When the rope was about his neck, no man could persuade him that he was in any fault ; and stood there a great while in the protestation of his innocence : They hanged him, and cut him down somewhat too soon, before he was quite dead ; then they drew him to the fire, and he revived ; and coming again to his remembrance, he confessed his fault, and said he was guilty.

O wonderful example ; it may well be said, “ A “ crabbed piece of work, and unsearchable.”

I will leave here, for I think you know what I mean well enough : I shall not need to apply this example any further. As I began ever with this saying, “ Whatsoever things are written,” &c. so a common place to end, if my memory fail me, “ Blessed are they that hear the word of God, and “ keep it.” It must be kept in memory, in living, and in our conversation : and thus if we do, we shall undoubtedly come to that blessedness which God hath prepared for us through his Son Jesus Christ, to which may he in his mercy bring us all. Amen.



S E R M O N VIII.

*By the Reverend Father in Christ Master HUGH
LATIMER Bishop of Worcester.*

Being the fourth Sermon Preached before King Edward VI. March the twenty ninth.

R O M A N S xv. 4.

All things that are written, they are written to be our doctrine.

THE parable that I took to begin with, most honourable audience, is written in the eighteenth chapter of St Luke; and there is a certain remnant of it behind yet: the parable is this, “ There was a certain Judge in a city that feared neither God nor man: And in the same city there was a widow, that required justice at his hands; “ but he would not hear her, but put her off, and delayed the matter. In process the Judge, seeing her importunity, said, Though I fear neither God nor man, yet for the importunity of the woman I will hear her, lest she rail upon me, and molest me with exclamations and outcries, I will hear her matter, I will make an end of it.” — Our Saviour Christ added more unto this, and said, “ Hear you what the wicked Judge saith? And shall not God avenge his elect, which cry unto him day and night?” Although he tarry, and defer

defer them, I say unto you, he will avenge them, and that shortly. "But when the Son of man shall come, shall he find faith in the earth?"

That I may have grace so to open the remnant of this parable, that it may be to the glory of God, and the edifying of your souls, I shall desire you to pray, in which prayer, &c.

I shewed you the last day, most honourable audience, the cause why our Saviour Christ, rather used the example of a wicked Judge, than of a good one. And the cause was, that in those days there was great plenty of wicked Judges, so that he might borrow an example among them well enough; but there was much scarcity of good Judges. I did excuse the widow also, for coming to the Judge against her adversary; because she did it not of malice, she did it not for appetite of vengeance. Also I told you it was good and lawful for honest virtuous folk, for God's people, to use the laws of the realm, as an ordinary help against their adversaries, and ought to take them as God's holy ordinances, for the remedies of their injuries and wrongs, when they are distressed. So that they do it charitably, lovingly, not of malice or revenge, not covetously. I should have told you here of a certain sect of hereticks that speak against this order and doctrine, they will have no Magistrates nor Judges on the earth.

Here I have to tell you what I heard of late by the relation of a credible person, and a worshipful man of a town in this realm of England, that hath above five hereticks of this erroneous opinion in it, as he said.

O so busy the devil is now to hinder the word coming out, and to slander the gospel. A sure argument, and an evident demonstration, that the light of God's word is abroad, and that this is a true doctrine that we are taught now: else he would not roar and bestir about as he doth. When he

has the upper hand, he will keep his possession quietly, as he did in the popish days, when he bore a rule of supremacy in peaceable possession. If he reigned now in open religion, in open doctrine, as he did then, he would not stir up erroneous opinions, he would have kept us without contention, without dissention. There is no such diversity of opinions among the Turks, nor among the Jews. And why? for there he reigneth peaceably in the whole religion. Christ saith, "When the strong armed man keepeth his house," those that he hath in possession are in quietness, he doth enjoy them peaceably; "but when a stronger than he cometh upon him," when the light of God's word is once revealed, then he is busy, then he roars, then he fisks abroad, and stirreth up erroneous opinions to slander God's word. And this is an argument that we have the true doctrine: I beseech God continue us, and keep us in it. The devil knoweth the same, and therefore he roarcth thus, and goeth about to stir up these wanton heads and busy brains.

And will you know where this town is? I will not tell you directly; I will put you to muse a little; I will utter the matter by circumlocution. Where is it? where the Bishop of the diocese is an unpreaching Prelate*. Who is that? If there be but one such in England it is easy to guess: and if there were no more but one, yet it were too many by one; and if there be more, they have the more to answer for, that they suffer in the realm an unpreaching Prelate unreformed. I remember well what St Paul saith to a Bishop, and though he spake it to Timothy, being a Bishop, yet I may say it now to the Magistrates, for all is one case, all is one matter.

* He means the diocese of Dr Heath, Bishop of Worcester, the Lord President. For the Bishop left the care of his flock to others, while he minded only state-affairs. It is likely his Lordship was one of Latimer's auditory at this time.

matter. "Thou shalt not be partaker of other mens faults *," Lay not thy hands rashly upon any, be not hasty in making of Curates, in receiving men to have cure of souls that are not worthy of the office, that either cannot or will not do their duty. Do it not, "thou shalt not be partaker of other mens sins." Now methinks it needs not that we be partakers of other mens sins; for we shall find enough of our own. And what is "to be partaker of other mens evils," if this be not, to make unpreaching Prelates, and to suffer them to continue still in their unpreaching Prelacy.

If the King and his Council, should suffer evil Judges of this realm to take bribes, to defeat justice, and suffer the great to overgo the poor, and should look through his fingers, and wink at it, should not the King be partaker of his naughtiness? And why? Is he not supreme head of the Church? What? is the supreme a dignity, and nothing else? Is it not accountable? I think it will be a chargeable dignity when an account shall be asked of it.

O! What an advantage hath the devil? what entry hath the wolf when the shepherd tendeth not his flock, and leads them not to good pasture? St Paul saith, "Neglect not the gift that is in thee †." It is as much as to say, take the charge and cure of souls. We say, He is set over the flock. He hath taken the charge upon him: And ought to discharge the cure well, to rule well, to feed the flock with pure food, and good example of life. Well then, "They that discharge their cure well, are worthy of double honour." What is this double honour? The first is, to be reverenced, to be had in estimation and reputation with the people, and to be regarded as good pastors. Another honour is, to have all things necessary for their estate ministred unto them:

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This

* 1 Tim v.

† 1 Tim. iv.

This is the double honour they ought to have, that discharge the cure, if they do it well.

There was a merry Monk in Cambridge in the College that I was in, and it chanced many of us were together intending to make good chear, and to be merry, as scholars will be merry when they are dispos'd; one of the company spake this sentence: *Nil melius quam lætari, & facere bene.* "There is nothing better than to be merry, and to do well." A vengeance of *bene*, says the Monk, I would that *bene* were banished beyond the sea, and that *bene* were out, it were well, for I could be merry, and I could do, but I love not to do well: that *bene* mars all together, I would *bene* were out, quoth the merry Monk, for it importeth many things, to live well, to discharge the cure. Indeed it were better for them that it were out, and it were as good to be out as to be ordered as it is; it will be a heavy *bene* to some of them, when they shall come to their account. But peradventure you will say, What if they preach not all? yet * *præsunt?* are they not worthy double honour? Is it not an honourable order they be in? Nay an horrible misorder, it is an horror rather than an honour, and horrible rather than honourable, if the Preacher be naught and do not his duty. And thus go these Prelates about to wrestle for honour, that it may be reported abroad, that we breed heresies against ourselves. It is to be thought that some of them would have it so, to bring in popery again.

This I fear is the intent, and it should be blown abroad to our holy father of Rome's ears, and he shall send forth his thunderbolts upon these brutes; and all this comes to pass thorough their unpreaching prelacy.

Are they not worthy double honour? Nay rather double dishonour, not to be regarded, nor to be esteemed among the people, and to have no living

at

† They hold their livings, though they do not preach.

at their hands? For as good Preachers be worthy double honour, so unpreaching Prelates be worthy double dishonour. They must be at their * doublets. But now these two dishonours, what be they? Our Saviour Christ doth shew, “ If the salt be unsavoury, it is good for nothing, but to be cast out, and trodden under feet of men.” By this salt is understood Preachers, and such as have cure of souls. What be they worthy then? Wherefore serve they? For nothing else but to be cast out.

Make them † quondams, out with them, cast them out of their office, what should they do with cure that will not look to it? Another dishonour is this, “ To be trodden under mens feet;” not to be regarded, not to be esteemed: They be at their doublets still. St Paul in his Epistle qualifieth a Bishop, and saith that he must be, “ Apt to teach, and to confute all manner of doctrine.” But what shall a man do with aptness if he do not use it? It were as good for him to be without it.

A Bishop came to me the last day, and was angry with me for a certain Sermon that I made in this place: His Chaplain had complained against me, because I had spoken against unpreaching Prelates ‡. Nay, quoth the Bishop, he made so indifferent a Sermon the first day, that I thought he would mar all the second day: he would have every man a quondam, as he is. As for my || quondamship, I thank God that he gave me grace to come by it by so honest means as I did, I thank him for my own

* As their Pluralities. They love to hold many benefices and dignities, and receive the profits, but not discharge the duty.

† That it may be said, they were some time Bishops, Deans, Prebends, &c.

‡ Our Preacher took all opportunities to reprove unpreaching Prelates. I wish the vice had not descended down to the present reformed Clergy.

|| The time when our author was Bishop of Worcester.

own quondamship: and as for them, I would not have them made quondams, if they discharge their office; I would have them do their duty, I would have no more quondams; as God help me, I owe them no more malice than this, and that is none at all.

This Bishop thus answered his Chaplain: Well, says he, did I wisely to day? for as I was going to his Sermon, I remembered that I had neither said Mass nor Mattins, and homeward I got as fast as I could, and I thank God I have said both, and let his unfruitful Sermon alone. Unfruitful, saith one; seditious, saith another. Well, unfruitful is the best, and whether it be unfruitful or no, I cannot tell, it lieth not in me to make it fruitful; and if God work not in your hearts, my preaching can do but little good. I am God's instrument but for a time, it is he that must give the increase, and yet preaching is necessary: for take away preaching, and take away salvation. I told you of the ladder of heaven, and I made it a preaching matter, not a massing matter: Christ is the Preacher of Preachers, the pattern and example that all Preachers ought to follow. For it was he of whom the Father of heaven said, "This is my beloved Son, hear him." Even he, when he was on earth, as wise, as learnedly, as circumspectly as he preached, yet his seed fell in three parts, so that the fourth part only was fruitful. And if he had no better luck than was the Preacher of all Preachers, what shall we look for? Yet was there no lack in him, but in the ground: and so now there is no fault in preaching, the lack is in the people, that have stony and thorny hearts; I beseech God to amend them. And as for these folks that speak against me, I never look to have their good words as long as ever I live: yet will I speak of their wickedness, as long as I shall be permitted to speak: as long as I live I will be an enemy to it. No Preachers

ers can pass it over with silence, it is the original root of all mischief. As for me, I owe them no other ill will, but I pray God amend them, when it pleaseth him.

Now to the parable. What did the wicked Judge in the end of the tale? The love of God moved him not; the law of God was this, and it is written in the first of Deuteronomy, “Hear them.” These two words, will be heavy words to wicked Judges another day. But some of them peradventure will say, I will hear such as will give bribes, and those that will do me good turns. Nay, ye be hedged out of that liberty. He saith, “The small as well as “the great:” ye must deal justly, minister justice, and that to all men, and you must do it justly, in time convenient, without any delays or driving off, with expedition. Well, I say, neither this law, nor the word and commandment of God moved this wicked Judge, nor the misery of this widow, nor the uprightness of her cause, nor the wrong which she took, moved him; but, to avoid importunity, and clamour, and exclamation, he gave her the hearing, he gave her final sentence, and so she had her request.

This place of judgment, it hath been ever imperfect, it was never seen that all Judges did their duty, that they would hear the small as well as the great. I will not prove this by the witness of any private Magistrate, but by the wisest King’s saying that ever was: “I have seen, saith Solomon, under the sun,” that is to say, over all in every place, where right judgment should have been, “wickedness;” as who would say, bribe-taking, defeating of justice, oppressing the poor: men sent away with weeping eyes, without hearing of their causes: and “in the place of “equity, saith he, I have seen iniquity.” No equity, no justice, a sore word for Solomon to pronounce universally, generally. And if Solomon said it,
there

there is a matter in it, I suppose he said it not only for his own time, but he saw it both in them that went before him, and in them also that came after him. Now cometh Isaiah, and he affirmeth the same. He speaketh of the judgments done in his time in the common place, as it might be in Westmister-hall, the Guild-hall, the Judges-hall, the Pretor-house, call it what ye will, in the open place. For Judges at that time, according to the manner, sat in the gates of the City, in the highway. A good and godly order, to sit so that the poor people might easily come to them. But what faith Isaiah, that seditious fellow? He saith of his country thus, " In the place of justice, impiety ; and in the place of equity, iniquity. I looked the Judges should do their duty; and I saw them work iniquity :" There was bribes walking, money-making, making of hands, quoth the Prophet, or rather almighty God speaking by the mouth of the Prophet, such is their partiality, affection, and bribes. They be such money-makers, * enhancers, and promoters of themselves. Isaiah knew this by the crying of the people, " Behold the crying of my people," saith he. And though some of them were unreasonable people, as many be now a-days, yet doubtless some cried not without a cause. And why? Their matters are not heard, they are fain to go home with weeping tears, that fall down their cheeks and ascend up to heaven, and cry for vengeance. Let Judges look about them, for " God will surely avenge his elect one day."

And surely methinks, if a Judge would follow but a worldly reason, and weigh the matter publicly, without these examples of scripture, he would fear more the hurt that may be done him by a poor widow, or miserable

* Lord Paget had schemed, that twenty thousand pounds weight of bullion should be made so much baser, that the King might gain thereby one hundred and forty thousand pounds.

miserable man, than by the greatest gentleman of them all. God hath pulled the Judges skins over their ears for the poor widows sake. Yea the poor widow may do him more hurt with her poor Pater-noster in her mouth than any other weapon : and with two or three words she shall bring him down to the ground, and destroy his jollity, and cause him to lose more in one day, than he got in seven years. For God will revenge these miserable folks that cannot help themselves. He saith, “ In the day of visitation I will “ avenge them : Shall not my Soul be avenged ?” As who should say, I must needs take their part : yes, though I tarry, and though I seem to linger never so long, yet I will come at the length, and that shortly. And if God spake this, he will perform his promise. He hath for their sakes, as I told you, pulled the skin over the Judge’s ears ere this : King David trusted some in his old age that did him not very good service. Now if among the people of God, there were some folks fell to bribing, then what was there among the heathen ? Absalom, David’s son, was a by-walker, and made disturbance among the people in his father’s time : and though he were a wicked man, and a by-walker, yet some there were in that time that were good, and walked uprightly. I speak not this against the Judges seat ; I speak not as though all Judges were naught, and as though I did not hold with Judges, Magistrates and Officers, as divers hereticks do : But I judge them honourable, necessary, and God’s ordinance. I speak it as the scripture speaketh, to give warning to all Magistrates, to cause them to look to their Offices. For the devil, the great Magistrate, is very busy now, he is ever doing, he never ceaseth to go about to make them like himself. The proverb is, “ Like “ would have like.” If the Judge be good and upright, he will assay to deceive him, either by the subtle suggestion of crafty Lawyers, or by false wit-

ness, and subtle uttering of a wrong matter: He goeth about as much as he can to corrupt the men of law, to make them fall to bribery, to lay burdens on poor mens backs, and to make them fall to perjury, and to bring into the place of judgment, all corruption, iniquity and impiety.

I have spoken thus much, to occasion all Judges and Magistrates to look to their offices: They had need to look about them. This cause moved St Chrysostom to speak this sentence; “ I marvel, said “ this Doctor, if any of these Rulers or great Mas-“ ters can be saved.” He spake it not for the impos-
sibility of the thing, (God forbid that all the Magis-
trates and Judges should be condemned) but for the difficulty.

O that a man might have the contemplation of hell, that the devil would allow a man to look into hell, to see the estate of it, as he shewed all the world when he tempted Christ in the wilderness; “ he shewed him all the kingdoms of the world, and all their jollity, and told him that he would give him all, if he would kneel down and worship him.” But he lied like a false varlet, he could not give them, he was not able to give so much as a goose wing, for they were none of his to give: Our Saviour, that he promised them unto, had more right to them than he. But I say, if one were admitted to view hell thus, and beholding it thoroughly, the devil should say; On yonder side are punished unpreaching Prelates, I think a man should see as far as a kenning, and perceive nothing but unpreaching Prelates; he might look as far as *Calice, I warrant you. And then if he would go on the other side, and shew him where bribing Judges were, I think he should see so many, that there were scarce room for any other. Our Lord God amend it.

Well,

* Calais a sea-port town of France, on the other side of the Streight of Dover, formerly in the possession of the Crown of England,

Well, to our matter : This Judge I speak of, said ; “ Though I fear neither God, nor man,” &c. And did he think thus ? Is it the manner of wicked Judges to confess their faults ? Nay, he thought not so. If a man had come to him, and called him wicked, he would forthwith have commanded him to ward, he would have defended himself stoutly. It was God that spake in his conscience, God putteth him to utter such things as he saw in his heart, and were hid to himself. And there be like things in the scripture, as, “ The unwise man said in his heart, “ There is no God : ” and yet, if he should have been asked the question, he would have denied it.

Isaiah the Prophet saith also : “ We are defended with lies ; we have put our trust in lies.” And in another place he saith, “ I will walk in the wickedness of my heart.” He uttereth what lieth in his heart, not known to himself, but to God. It was not for nought that Jeremiah describeth man’s heart in its colours : “ The heart of man is naughty, and crooked, and a foward piece of work.” Let every man humble himself, and acknowledge his fault, as St Paul did, when the people to whom he had preached had said many things in his commendation, yet he durst not justify himself : Paul would not praise himself, to his own justification, and therefore, when they had spoken those things by him, “ I pass not at all, saith he, what ye say by me,” I will not stand to your report : and yet he was not so foward, that when he had heard the truth reported of him, he would say it was false ; but he said, I will neither stand to your report, though it be just, neither will I say it is untrue. He was a good shepherd, and one of them that discharged his cure, and yet he thought that there might be more in himself, than he thought in himself : and therefore he said, “ The Lord shall judge me.” I will stand only to the judgment of the Lord. For look, whom he judgeth to be good, he is sure, he is safe, he is

happy. I spake of this matter the last day, and of some I had little thanks for my labour, I heard some folks were grieved with me, because I spake against temerarious judgment. What hath he to do with judgment (say they?) I went about to keep you from arrogant judgment.

This is no good argument my friends. A man seemeth not to fear death, therefore his cause is good. This is a deceivable argument. He went to his death boldly, therefore, he standeth in a just and honest quarrel.

The * Anabaptists that were burnt here in many towns in England, as I heard of credible men, I saw them not myself, went to their death, as we will say, without any fear in the world, chearfully. Well, let them go. There were in the old Doctors times another kind of poisoned hereticks, that were called Donatists †; and these hereticks went to their execution,

* Many of these poor and otherwise harmless people, were brought before the Archbishop of Canterbury, with other Bishops, &c. and accused of saying, “ That a man regenerate could not “ sin ; that though the outward man sinned, the inward man sinned not ; that there was no Trinity of Persons ; that Christ “ was only a holy Prophet, and not at all God ; that all we had “ by Christ, was, that he taught us the way to heaven ; that he “ took no flesh of the Virgin ; and that the baptism of infants “ was not profitable.” One Joan Bocher was burnt in Smithfield for saying, “ She denied that Christ was truly incarnate of “ the Virgin ; whose flesh being sinful, he could take none of it ; “ but the Word, by the consent of the inward man in the Virgin, “ took flesh of her.” A Dutchman, whose name was George van Par, was burnt also in Smithfield for maintaining, “ that God “ the Father was only God, and that Christ was not very God.” All which, Bishop Burnet says, was done by the procurement of Archbishop Cranmer, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, in the year 1549. *Reformat: Vol. II. Book I. p. 106, 107.*

† Latimer likens these heretical Anabaptists to the ancient Donatists, a religious sect which sprung from Donatus Bishop of Carthage, who flourished in the year of Christ 358. He held the Son of God to be less than the Father, and the Holy Ghost to be inferior to the Son. They were condemned by several General Councils, anathematized, imprisoned, and put to death, till the appearance of them was quite obliterated ; though at one time they cut a great figure in the church.

execution, as though they should have gone to some jolly recreation or banquet, to some belly chear, or to a play. And will you argue then, He goeth to his death boldly and chearfully, therefore, he dieth in a just cause ? Nay, that sequel followeth no more than this : A man seems to be afraid of death, therefore, he dieth evil. And yet our Saviour Christ was afraid of death himself. I warn you therefore, and charge you, not to judge them that be in authority, but to pray for them.

It becometh us not to judge great Magistrates nor to condemn their doings, unless their deeds be openly and apparently wicked. Charity requireth the same, for “ Charity judgeth no man, but thinketh well “ of every one.” And thus we may try whether we have charity or no ; and if we have not charity, we are not God’s disciples, for they are known by that badge. He that is his disciple, hath the work of charity in his breast. It is a worthy saying of a father, “ If there be charity, it worketh to believe all things, “ to hope all things ;” to say the best of Magistrates, and not to defend a wicked matter.

I will go further with you, I have travelled in the Tower myself, by the King’s commandment and the Council, and there was Sir Robert Constable, the Lord Huffy, and the Lord Darcy * ; and the Lord Darcy was telling me of the faithful service that he had done the King’s Majesty that is dead : If I had seen my Sovereign Lord in the field, saith he, and seeing his Grace coming against us, I would have lighted from my horse, and taken my sword by the point, and yielded it into his Grace’s hands. Marry, quoth I, but in the mean season ye played not the part of a faithful subject, in holding with the people in a commotion and disturbance. It hath been the
cast

* He was one of those who stood up for the supremacy of the Pope, raised a rebellion, and was beheaded on Tower-hill for high treason.. He died, says Mr Stow, much lamented ; every one thinking he had hard measure.

cast of all Traitors to pretend nothing against the King's person; they never pretend the matter to the King, but to others. Subjects may not resist any Magistrates, nor ought to do any thing contrary to the King's laws; and therefore these words, The King, and so forth, are of small effect.

I heard once a tale of a thing that was done at Oxford twenty years ago, and the like hath been since in this realm, as I was informed by creditable persons, and some of them that saw it be alive yet. There was a Priest that was robbed of a great sum of money, and there were two or three attached for the said robbery, and to be brief were condemned, and brought to the place of execution. The first man, when he was upon the ladder, denied the matter utterly, taking his death upon it, that he never consented to the robbery of the Priest, nor never knew of it. When he was dead, the second fellow cometh, and maketh his protestation, and acknowledged the fault; saying, that among other grievous offences that he had done, he was accessory to this robbery; and, quoth he, I had my part of it, I cry God mercy for it; so had this fellow that died before me his part. Now who can judge whether this fellow died well or no? Who can judge a man's heart? The one denied the matter, and the other confessed it: there is no judging of such matters.

When I was with the Bishop of Chichester in ward *, I was not so with him but my friends might come to me, and talk with me; I was desirous to hear of an execution done, as there was every week some, in one place of the City or other, for there

was

* On the publication of the Six Bloody Articles, Master Latimer resigned the See of Worcester; and was soon after, as being a favourer of the Reformation, sent to the Tower, where he remained during the last six years of Henry the Eighth's reign. But on the accession of King Edward the Sixth he was immediately released, his See offered him, which he refused; and thereupon he became a popular Preacher, having no particular cure; representing in his life and preaching the great Apostle of the Gentiles.

was three weeks Sessions at Newgate *, and fortnight Sessions at the Marshalsea, and so forth: I was desirous, I say, to hear of an execution, because I looked that my part should have been that therein, I looked every day to be called to it myself. And among all other, I heard of a wanton, naughty, and vain woman, a whore, who being led from Newgate to the place of execution, for a robbery that she had done, had a wicked communication by the way. Wherefore I beseech your Grace, that such people as shall be put to death, may have learned men to give them instruction. For the reverence of God, when they be put to execution, let them have instructors; for many of them are cast away for lack of instruction, and die in misery for lack of good preaching. This woman, I say, as she went by the way, had wanton and foolish talk, as this, That if good fellows had kept touch with her, she had not been at this time in that case. Christ saith, “Remember Lot’s wife.” She was a woman that would not be content with her good estate, but wrestled with God’s calling, and she was for that cause turned into a salt stone, and therefore the scripture doth name her as an example for us to take heed by. Ye shall see also in the second chapter how that God almighty spared not a number of his Angels, which had sinned against him, to make them examples to us to beware by. He drowned the whole world in the time of Noah, and destroyed for sin the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah.

And

* The Sessions of Oyer and Terminer, and Goal Delivery for the City of London and County of Middlesex, was at this time held in the Prison of Newgate, where the Chapel now is, and not at the Sessions-house in the Old Bailey. Latimer, while in the Tower, expected daily to be tried: every third week was then Sessions-time, by reason of the great number of Prisoners. It is enough to make a considerate man shudder at the exorbitant power of the Clergy at this time, when he reflects on the number of executions which happened through the prevalence of two parties, who murdered and burnt each other, in support of doctrines which were purely the inventions of their own brains.

And why? "He made them an example to them
"that would do wickedly in time to come." If God
would not spare them, think ye he will favour us?

I will go on a word or two, in the application of the parable, and then I will make an end. To what end and what purpose brought Christ this parable of the wicked Judge? The end is, that we should be continually in prayer. Prayer is never interrupted but by wickedness. We must therefore walk orderly, and uprightly, calling upon God in all our troubles and adversities, and for this purpose there is not a more comfortable lesson in all the scripture, than is here in the wrapping up of the matter: Therefore I will open it unto you. You miserable people, if there be any here among you, that are oppressed by great men, and can get no help, I speak for your comfort, I will open unto you whither ye shall resort, when ye be in any distress. His good will is ready, always at hand, whensoever we shall call for it; and therefore he calls us to himself. We shall not doubt if we come to him. Mark what he saith, to cause us to believe that our prayers shall be heard: he reasons after this fashion; "Will not God, saith he, avenge his elect, and hear them;" seeing the wicked Judge heard the widow? He seemeth to go plainly to work, he willeth us to pray to God, and to none but God. We have a manner of reasoning in the schools, and it is called, *à minore ad majus*. "From the less to the more," and that may be used here. The Judge was a tyrant, a wicked man. God is patron and defender, a father unto us. If the Judge then, being a tyrant, would hear the poor widow, much more God will hear us in all distresses he being a father unto us, he will hear us, sooner than the other being no father, having no fatherly affection. Moreover, God is naturally merciful. The Judge was cruel; and yet he helped the widow: much more then God will help us at our

our need. He saith of the oppressed, “ I am with him in his trouble :” His tribulation is mine ; I am touched with his trouble. If the Judge then, being a cruel man, heard the widow ; much more will God bless us, being touched with our affliction.

Furthermore, this Judge gave the widow no commandment to come unto him : We have a commandment to resort to God ; for he saith, “ Call upon me in the day of thy tribulations.” Which is as much a commandment as, “ Thou shalt not steal.” He that spake the one, spake the other ; and who-soever he be that is in trouble, and calleth not upon God, breaketh his commandment. Take heed, therefore, the Judge did not promise the widow help ; God promises us help, and will he not perform it ? He will, he will. The Judge, I say, did not promise the widow help ; God will give us both hearing and helping : he hath promised it us with a double oath, “ Verily, verily,” saith he ; he doubles it, “ whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, “ ye shall have it.” And though he puts off a sinner for a time, and suffers him to bite on the bridle to prove him, (for there be many beginners, but few continuers in prayer;) yet we may not think he hath forgotten us, and will not help us : “ When the help is most needful, then he will come, and not tarry.” He knoweth when it shall be best for us to have help : though he tarry, he will come at last.

I will trouble you but half a quarter of an hour in the application of the parable, and so I will commit you to God.

What should it mean, that God would have us so diligent and earnest in prayer ? Hath he such pleasure in our works ? Many talk of prayer, and make it a lip-labour. Praying is not babbling ; nor is it monkery. It is, to miserable folk that are oppressed, a comfort, solace and remedy. But what mak-

eth our prayer to be acceptable to God ? It lieth not in our power ; we must have it by another mean. Remember what God said of his Son ; " This is " my dear Son, in whom I delight." He hath pleasure in nothing but in him. How cometh it to pass that our prayers please God ? Our prayers please God, because Christ pleases God. When we pray, we come unto him in the confidence of Christ's merits, and thus offering up our prayers, they shall be heard for Christ's sake : yea, Christ will offer them up for us, that offered up once his sacrifice to God, which was acceptable. And he that cometh with any other mean than this, God knoweth him not.

This is not the missalsacrifice, the popish sacrifice, to stand at the altar, and offer up Christ again. — Out upon it that it ever was used. I will not say nay, but that ye shall find in the old Doctors the word *sacrificium*, but there is one general solution for all the Doctors that St Augustine sheweth us : The sign of a thing, hath oftentimes the name of the thing that it signifies. As the supper of the Lord, is the sacrament of another thing, it is a commemoration of his death, who suffered once for us ; and because it is a sign of Christ's offering up, therefore it bears the name thereof. And this sacrifice a woman can offer as well as a man ; yea, a poor woman in the belfry hath as good authority to offer up this sacrifice, as the Bishop in his pontificalibus, with his mitre on his head, his rings on his fingers, and his sandals on his feet. And whosoever cometh asking the Father remedy in his necessity, for Christ's sake, he offers up as acceptable a sacrifice as any Bishop can do.

And so, to make an end : This must be done with a constant faith, and a sure confidence in Christ. Faith, faith, faith. We are undone for lack of faith. Christ nameth faith here, Faith is all together.

ther. “ When the Son of man shall come, shall he find faith on the earth ? ” Why speaketh he so much of faith ? Because it is hard to find true faith. He speaketh not of a politic faith, a faith set up for a time ; but a constant, a permanent, a durable faith, as durable as God’s word.

He came many times : First in the time of Noah when he preached, but he found little faith. He came also when Lot preached, when he destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, but he found no faith. And to be short, he shall come at the latter day, when he shall find little faith. And I think the day is not far off. When he was here carnally, did he find any faith ? Many speak of faith but few there be that have it. Christ mourneth the lack of it. He complains, that when he came, he found no faith.

This Faith is a great State, a Lady, a Dutchesse, a great woman ; and she hath ever a great company and train about her, as a noble estate ought to have. First, she has a Gentleman-usher who goes before her : this Gentleman-usher is called Knowledge of sin ; when we enter into our heart, and acknowledge our faults, and stand not about to defend them. He is none of these winchers, he kicks not when he hears his fault. Now as the Gentleman-usher goes before her, so she has a train that come behind her ; and yet, though they come behind, they be all of Faith’s company, they are all with her. As Christ, when he counterfeited state in going to Jerusalem, some went before him, and some after, yet all were of his company. So all these wait upon Faith ; she hath a great train after her, besides her Gentleman-usher, her whole household ; and these be the works of our vocation, when every man considereth what vocation he is in, what calling he is in, and doth the works of the same ; as, to be good to his neighbour, to obey God, &c. This is the train that followeth Lady Faith : As for example ; A faithful Judge

hath first an heavy reckoning for his fault, repenteth himself of his wickedness, and then forsakes his iniquity and impiety, fearing no man, walking uprightly. And he that doth not thus, has not Lady Faith, but rather a boldnes of sin, and abusing of Christ's passion. Lady Faith is never without her Gentleman-usher, nor without her train; she is no Anchoretess *, she dwells not alone, she is never a private woman or alone. And yet many there be that boast themselves that they have Faith, and that when Christ shall come they shall do well enough. Nay, nay, those that be faithful shall be so few, that Christ shall scarce see them. "Many there be "that run, saith St Paul, but there is but one that "receiveth the reward."

It shall be with the multitude, when Christ shall come, as it was in the time of Noah, and as it was in the time of Lot. In the time of Noah, "they were eating and drinking, building and planting, and suddenly the water came upon them, and drowned them." In the time of Lot also, "they were eating and drinking, &c. and suddenly the fire came upon them, and devoured them." — And now we are eating and drinking. There was never such building then as now, planting, nor marrying. And thus it shall be, even when Christ shall come to judgment.

Is eating, and drinking, and marrying, reproved in scripture? Is it not? Nay, he reproveth not all kind of eating and drinking, he must be otherwise understood. If the scripture be not truly expounded, what is more erroneous? And though there be complainings of some eating and drinking in scripture, yet he speaketh not as though all were naught. They may be well ordered, they are God's allowance

* Or Anachoretess, a woman or nun who lives a recluse life in a wood, unrequited place or desert, free from the society of men, and under a religious vow.

nce. But to eat and drink as they did in Noah's time, and as they did in Lot's time; this eating, and drinking, and marrying, is spoken against. To eat and drink in the forgetfulness of God's commandments, voluptuously, in excess and gluttony, this kind of eating and drinking is naught; when it is not done moderately, soberly, and with all circumspection; and likewise to marry for fleshly lust, and for their own fansy.

There never was before such marrying in England as is now. I hear tell of stealing wards to marry their children to. This is a strange kind of stealing; but it is not the ward, it is the lands that they steal. And some there be that knit up marriages together, not for any love or godliness in the parties, but to get friendship, and make them strong in the realm, to increase their possessions, and to join land to land. And others there be that inveigle mens daughters, in the contempt of their fathers, and go about to marry them without their consent: this marrying is ungodly. And many parents constrain their sons and daughters to marry where they love not, and some are beaten and compelled. And they that marry thus, marry in forgetfulness and obliviousness of God's commandments.

But as in the time of Noah suddenly a clap fell in their bosoms; so shall it be with us in the latter day, when Christ shall come. We have as little conscience as may be; and when he shall come, we shall lack Lady Faith. Well for them that shall be of that little flock, that shall be set on the right hand, &c.

I have troubled you long, partly being out of my matter, partly being in; but now I will make an end. I began with this text, " Whatsoever things are written," &c. so will I end now for my own ease, as an old truant, with this sentence; " Bless ed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it."

“ it.” I told you in the beginning of this parable, of bene: *Nil melius quam lætari & facere.* If I had ceased there, all had been well, quoth the merry Monk; so, “ Blessed are they that hear the word, “ of God ;” but what followeth ? “ and keep it.” Our blessedness cometh of the keeping. It hangs all on the end of the tale, in crediting and assenting to the word, and following of it. And thus we shall begin our blessedness here, and at length we shall come to the blessing that never shall have an end; which God grant both you and me. Amen.

S E R M O N IX.

*By the Reverend Father in Christ Master HUGH
LATIMER Bishop of Worcester.*

Being the fifth Sermon Preached before King Edward VI. April the sixth.

R O M A N S xv. 4.

All things that are written, they are written to be our doctrine.

WHAT doctrine is written for us in the parable of the Judge and the widow, I have opened it to you, most honourable audience ; something as concerning the Judge, I would wish and pray that it might be a little better kept in memory, that in the seat of justice no more iniquity and unrighteousness might reign. Better a little well kept, than a great deal forgotten. I would

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the Judges would take forth this lesson, that there might be no more iniquity used, nor bribe-taking ; for if there shall be bribe-taking, they know the peril of it, they know what shall follow. I would also they should take example of this Judge, that did say, not that he thought himself, but our Saviour Christ puts him to say that thing that was hid unto himself. Wherefore I would ye should keep in memory, how unsearchable a man's heart is : I would ye should remember the fall of the Angels, and beware thereby ; the fall of Lot's wife, and beware thereby.

I would not that miserable folk should forget the argument of the wicked Judge, to induce them to prayer ; which argument is this : If the Judge, being a tyrant, a cruel man, a wicked man, which did not call the widow to him, made her no promise, nor in hearing or helping of her cause, yet in the end of the matter, for the importunity's sake, did help her ; much more almighty God, who is a Father, and beareth a fatherly affection, as the father doth to the child, and is naturally merciful, and calleth us to him, with promise that he will hear them that call upon him, that be in distress, and burdened with adversity. Remember this. You know where to have your remedy. You by your prayer can work great efficacy, and your prayer with tears is an instrument of great efficacy : it can bring many things to pass.

But what thing is that which maketh our prayers acceptable to God ? Is it our babbling ? No, no ; it is not our babbling, nor our long prayers ; there is another thing than that. The dignity and worthiness of our words is of no such virtue. For whosoever resorteth unto God, not trusting in the confidence of his own merits, but in trust of the deserving of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and in his passion ; whosoever doth invoke the Father of heaven,

ven, in the trust of Christ's merits, which offering is the most comfortable and acceptable offering to the Father ; whosoever, I say, offereth up Christ, which is a perfect offering, he cannot be denied the thing he desireth, if it be expedient for him to have it. It is not the babbling of our lips, nor dignity of our words, but the prayer of the heart, is the offering that pleases, through the only means of his Son. For our prayer profiteth us, because we offer Christ to his Father.

Whosoever resorteth to God without Christ, he resorts in vain. Our prayers please God because of Jesus Christ, whom we offer. So that it is faith, faith is the matter. It is no prayer that is without faith, it is but a lip-labour and mockery, without faith : it is but a little babbling.

I spake also of lack of faith ; and upon that also I said, The end of the world is near at hand : for there is lack of faith now. Also the defection is come, and swerving from the faith. Antichrist, the man of sin, the son of iniquity, is revealed ; the latter days are at hand. Let us not think his coming is far off. But whensoever he cometh, he shall find iniquity enough, let him come when he will.

What is now behind ? We be eating and drinking, as they were in Noah's time ; and marrying, I think as wickedly as ever then was. We be building, purchasing, planting, in the contempt of God's word. He may come shortly, when he will, for there is so much mischief, and swerving from the faith reigning now in our days, as never was in any age. It is a good warning to us all, to make ready against his coming.

This little rehearsal I have made of the things I spake in my last Sermon : I will now for this day return to my question, and resolve it, Whether God's people may be governed by a Governor that bears the name of a King, or no ? The Jews had a law, that

that when they should have a King, they should have him according to the election of God : he would not leave the election of a King to their own brains. There be some busy brains, wanton wits, that say, the name of a King is an odious name, and wrest this text of the scripture: where God seemed to be angry and displeased with the Israelites for asking a King, expounding it very evil and odiously. As who should say, a King were an odious thing. I coming riding in my way, and calling to remembrance wherefore I was sent, that I must preach, and preach before the King's Majesty : I thought it meet to frame my preaching according to a King. Musing of this, I remembered a book that came from Cardinal Pole *, Master Pole the King's Traitor, which

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* He was the son of Sir Richard Pole, a Welch Baronet. — King Henry the Eighth in 1536 gave him the Deanery of Exeter. He took the Pope's part against Henry, and was obliged to leave the kingdom ; whereupon his Holiness gave him a Cardinal's cap. In 1550 he was raised to the papal dignity, but lost it through the following nicety. Pope Paul the Third dying Nov. 13. 1549. the Cardinals, who entered the Conclave the twenty ninth of the same month, in a few days agreed to raise Pole to the papacy, and even came that night to his chamber to adore him as sovereign Christian Pontiff, according to custom. But he desired them to defer the ceremony till it was day, telling them, " It ought not to be a work of darkness." This scruple, unheard of till then, seemed to them so extraordinary, that some imputed it to stupidity, and others to a design which he might have conceived of reforming the holy College, which at this time abounded, as it does now, with the grossest abuses and corruptions. They soon determined to reject Pole ; and being divided into three factions, on the Februariy following they elected the Cardinal de Monte, who thereupon took the name of Julius the Third. Bishop Burnet says, Julius gave a strange omen of what advancements he intended to make, when he gave his own hat, (according to the custom of the Popes, who bestow their hats before they go out of the Conclave) on a mean servant of his, who had the charge of his monkey : And being asked, what he saw in his servant, to make him a Cardinal ? His Holiness answered, " As much as the Cardinals had seen in him, to make him Pope." But it was commonly said, that the secret of this promotion was an unnatural affection, which his

he sent to the King: I never remember that man, methinks, but with a heavy heart: a witty man, a learned man, a man of a noble house, and in favour; that if he had tarried in the realm, and would have conformed himself to the King's proceedings, I heard say, and I believe it verily, that he had been Archbishop of York at this day. To conclude, he would have done much good in that part of the realm: for those quarters have always had great need of learned men, and a preaching Prelate. A thing to be much lamented, that such a man should take such a way. I hear say, he readeth much of St * Jerom's works, and is well seen in them; but I would he would follow St Jerom, where he expoundeth this place of scripture: "Come out from "her, my people." Almighty God saith: Get you from it, get you from Rome; he calleth to the purple whore of Babylon. It had been more commendable to go from it, than to come to it. What his sayings be in his book, I do not well remember, it is in the farthest end of my memory. He declareth himself in it, to have a corrupt judgment. I have not a glimmering of it, yet generally I remember the scope of it. He goeth about to dissuade the King from his supremacy. In his persuasions he is very homely, very quick, and sharp with the King, as those Cardinals will take upon them. He saith, that a King is an odious word, and toucheth the place

his Holiness had to his servant. *Tom. II. p. 147.* The Italian, and indeed all the Roman Clergy, are too much abandoned to this monstrous vice, by reason, as some imagine, of their being forbidden marriage. Pole, in 1556, on the martyrdom of Cranmer at Oxford, in the reign of Queen Mary, succeeded him in the Archbischoprick of Canterbury, and died about two years after, within sixteen hours after the death of the Queen, and was buried at Canterbury. He was a great and learned man, but an enemy to the Reformation.

* A reverend father of the Latin Church. He first translated the Bible into the Latin language; for which, and some other acts of piety, he was canonized.

place how God was offended with the Israelites for calling for a King. Very lightly he seemeth to set forth the title of a King. As though he should mean : What ? a King ? what should a King take upon him to redress matters of religion ? It pertaineth to our holy father of Rome. A King, is a name : and a title rather suffered of God as an evil thing, than allowed as a good thing. Calling this to remembrance, it was an occasion that I spake altogether before. Now I will answer to this. For the answer I must somewhat rip up the eighth chapter of the first book of Kings. And that I may have grace, &c.

To come to the opening of this matter, I must begin at the chapter : that the unlearned, although I am sure, here be a great many well learned, may the better come to the understanding of the matter : “ It came to pass when Samuel was stricken in age, “ he made his sons Judges over Israel.” Of Samuel, I might fetch a proces afar off, of the story of Elkanah, who was his father, and who was his mother ; Elkanah his father had two wives, Hannah and Pheninnah, and did not put them away as men do now a-days *. There was debate between these two wives. Pheninnah, in the doing of sacrifice, upbraided Hannah because she was barren and not fruitful. I might take here occasion to entreat of the duty between man and wife, which is a holy religion, but not religiously kept. But I will not enter into the matter at this time. Well, in proces of time God made Hannah fruitful through her devout prayer : She brought forth Samuel, who by the ordinance of God was made high Priest : father Samuel, a good man, a singular example, and few such men as father Samuel was. To be short, he was now come to age, he was an old man, an impotent man, not able to go from place to place to minister justice ;

* The Bishop hints here at the divorce of Queen Catharine, &c.

he chose two suffragans, two coadjutors, two co-helpers, I mean not hallowers of bells *, not christeners of bells, that is a Popish suffraganship. He made them to help him to discharge his office, he chose his two sons rather than other, because he knew them to be well brought up in virtue and learning. It was not for any careful affection, he cared not for renown, but he appointed them for the ease of the people, the one to supply his place in Beersheba, and the other in Bethlehem. As we have now in England, for the good of the realm, we have two Lords Presidents. Surely it is a goodly order. I would there were a third in another place, for the ease of the people. Good father Samuel, then, to discharge his office in places where he could not come himself, set his two sons, as his suffragans and coadjutors. Here I might take occasion to treat, what old and impotent Bishops should do, what old Preachers should do, when they come to impotency, to join with them Preachers, not bell-hallowers, and to depart of their living with them. I might have dilated this matter at large, but I am honestly prevented of this common place, and I am very glad of it. It was very well handled the last Sunday. They that will not for the office sake receive other, regard more the fleece than the flock. Father Samuel regarded not his revenues. Our Lord give them grace to be affected as he was, and to follow him, &c. Amen.

Tho' I say that I would wish more Lord Presidents, I mean not, that I would have Prelates Lord Presidents,

* Bells were in the days of Monckery and gross superstition, and when implicit faith and blind devotion governed the Christian world, solemnly christened by the Bishops, and the names of the Apostles, Saints and Martyrs given to them. They taught the people, that the sound of bells had great power over evil spirits; and that being rung, it was affirmed the air, which they told the people was their habitation, was thereby purged of them. Which had this effect, that it made the use of bells universal, and the bell-founders reaped the advantage.

dents, nor that Lord Bishops should be Lord Presidents.

As touching that, I said my mind and conscience the last year. And although it is said, *præsunt*, it is not meant that they should be Lord Presidents : the office of a Presidentship is a civil office, and it cannot be, that one man shall discharge both well. It followeth in the text, “ His sons walked not in his “ ways : ” Here is the matter, here you see the goodness of Samuel, how when he was not able to take the pains himself, for their own ease, he appointed them Judges near unto them, as it were in the farthest parts of the realm, to have justice rightly administered. But what followed ? Though Samuel were good, and his children well brought up, look what the world can do. Ah crafty world, whom shall not this world corrupt, and deceive at one time or other ? Samuel thought his sons should have proved well, but yet Samuel’s sons walked not in his ways ? Why ? What then ? Is the son always bound to walk in his father’s way ? No, ye must not take it for a general rule. All sons are not to be blamed for not walking in their fathers ways. Hezekiah did not follow the steps of his father Ahaz, and was well allowed in it. Josiah, the best King that ever was in Jewry, reformed his father’s ways, who walked in worldly policy. In his youth he took away all idolatry, and purged his realm of it, and set a good order in all his dominions, and wrestled with idolatry. And although his father, and his grandfather Manasses, it makes no better whether, repented him in the end, he had no time to reform things, he left it to his son to be done. Josiah began, and made an alteration in his childhood, he turned all upsidedown, he would suffer no idolatry to stand. Therefore you must not take it for a general rule, that the son must ever walk in the father’s ways. Here I will renew that which I said before of the stiff-necked Jews, the rebellious people,

people, that is their title; they never spake so rebelliously, as to say they would not receive any alteration, till their King came to age: Much less we Englishmen, if there be any such in England, may be ashamed. I wonder with what conscience folk can hear such things, and allow it.

This Josiah made a notable alteration, and therefore take it not for a general rule, that the son shall always walk in his father's ways. Think not because he was slain in battle, that God was displeased with him: for herein God shewed his goodness to him wonderfully, who would not suffer him to see the captivity that he would bring upon the Israelites. He would not have him to have the sight, the feeling, and the beholding of his plague; he suffered him to be taken away before, and to be slain of the King of Egypt. Wherefore a just man must be glad when he is taken from misery. “ If a just man be prevented with death, it shall be to his relief.” He must think that he is one of those, whom the world is not worthy to have; it came of a singular goodness of God, that he was by death delivered from the sight of the captivity. Therefore take it not for a general rule, that the sons be always bound to walk in the father's ways: “ Walk not in the commandments of your father;” for so it is said in another place of scripture.

It is spoken to the reproach of Samuel's sons, that they walked not in his way, for he was a good man. A wonderful thing that these children being so well brought up, should so fall and be corrupt. If the devil can prevail and hath power against them, that had so godly education, what advantage hath he of them that be brought up in iniquity and covetousness? It is a Proverb, that, “ Office and authority sheweth what a man is.” A man knows not himself till he be tried. Many there be that being without office can rebuke Magistrates, and find fault with them that be

be in office, and preeminence. After, when it cometh to their chance to come to office themselves, then they have taken out a new lesson. “ When I was a child I savoured as a child.” They will not do then as other men do ; they are come to have experience, to be practitioners. The Maid’s child is ever best taught : for he that standeth upright in office, he is the fellow. Samuel would never have thought that his sons should have been so corrupted. It is a perilous thing, a dangerous state to be a Judge.

They felt the smack of this world, a perilous thing : and therefore Chrysostom saith, “ I marvel, that any ruler can be saved.” If the peril were well considered, men would not be so desirous as they be : the world hath many subtle flights, it is a crafty thing, and very deceitful, a corrupter, and who is it whom the world doth not corrupt and blind at one time or other ? What was the way they walked ? They stooped after gains, they turned aside after lucre. What followed ? They took rewards, gifts, I should call them, for that is their right name. They turned justice upsidedown. Either they would give wrong judgment, or else put off and delay poor mens matters. These were their ways, here is the devil’s genealogy. A gradation of the devil’s making. This is the ladder of hell.

I told you before of the ladder of heaven ; I would you should not forget it. The steps whereof are set forth in the tenth of the Romans. The first is preaching, then hearing, then believing, and last of all salvation. The ladder of heaven is a preaching matter, I tell you, and not a massing matter. God’s instrument of salvation is preaching. Here I move you, my Lords, not to be greedy and outrageous in enhancing, and raising of your rents, to the diminishing of the office of salvation. It would pity a man’s heart to hear what I hear of the state of Cambridge ; what it is in Oxford I cannot tell. There be few

few that study divinity, but so many as of necessity must furnish the Colleges, for their livings be so small, and victuals so dear, that they tarry not there, but go every where to seek livings; and so they go about. Now there be a few Gentlemen, and they study a little divinity. Alas! what is that? It will come to pass that we shall have nothing but a little English divinity, that will bring the realm into a very barbarousness, and utter decay of learning. It is not that, I devise, that will keep out the supremacy of the Pope of Rome.

Here I will make a supplication, that ye would bestow so much to the finding of scholars, of poor mens sons, to exercise the office of salvation, in relieving of scholars, as ye were wont to bestow in pilgrimage-matters, in * trencralls, in masses, in pardons, in purgatory-matters. Ye bestowed that liberally, bountifully, but this was not well spent. You had "a zeal, but not according to knowledge." You may be sure, if you bestow your goods on this wise, you shall bestow it well, to support and uphold God's word, wherein you shall please God. I ask no more, but that ye bestow so much godly, as ye were wont to bestow ungodly. It is a reasonable petition, for God's sake look upon it, I say no more. There be none now but great mens sons in Colleges, and their fathers look not to have them Preachers, so every way this office of preaching is pinched at. I will speak no more of the ladder of heaven. But I am sure this is the right way to hell, to be covetous, to take bribes, and pervert justice. If a Judge should ask me the way to hell, I would shew him this way: First, let him be a covetous man, let his heart be poisoned with covetousness. Then let him go

* Or Trentals: Offices for the dead, which in the times of popery here in England, and now in the catholic countries, continued thirty days; or, as others, that they consisted of thirty masses each.

go a little further and take bribes, and at last pervert judgment. Lo, here is the mother and the daughter, and the daughter's daughter ; Avarice is the mother, she brings forth bribe-taking, and bribe-taking, perverting of judgment. There lacks a fourth thing to make up the mess, which, so God help me, if I were Judge, should be *hangum tuum*, a Tyburn tippet to take with him, if it were the Judge of the King's Bench, my Lord Chief Judge of England : yea, if it were my Lord Chancellor himself, to Tyburn with him. There was within these thirty years a certain widow which suddenly was attached, had to prison, indicted, condemned, and there were certain learned men that visited her in prison. O, I would ye would resort to prisons. A commendable thing in a Christian realm, I would wish that there were Curates for prisons, that we might say, the Curate of Newgate *, the Curate of the Fleet, and I would have them waged for their labour. It is a holiday work to visit the prisoners, for they be kept from Sermons. There was that resorted to this woman, who when she came to prison, was all on her beads, and nothing else, a popish woman, and savoured not of Jesus Christ. In procesf she was so applied, that she tasted that the Lord was sweet ; she had such a favour, such a sweetness and feeling, that she thought it long to the day of execution. She was with Christ already, as touching faith ; she had such a desire that she said with St Paul, “ I desire to be rid, and to be with Christ.” The word of God had so wrought in her. When she was brought to punishment, she desired to confess her fault ; she took of her death, that she was guiltless in that thing she suffered for, and her neighbours would have born her witness in the same. She was always an honest civil woman, her neighbours would have gone on

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* At this time, there was neither an Ordinary of Newgate, nor a Chaplain in the prison of the Fleet.

her purgation a great way. They would needs have her confess; then, said she, I am not guilty, would you have me to make myself guilty where I am not? Yet for all this she was a trespasser, she had done a great offence. But before I go forward with this, I must first tell you a tale. I heard a great while ago, a tale of one, I saw the man that told me the tale not long ago in this auditory; he hath travelled in more countries than one. He told me, that there was once a Pretor of Rome, or Lord Mayor in Rome, a rich man, one of the richest Merchants in all the city, and suddenly he was cast into the Castle of St Angelo. It was heard of, and every man whispered in one another's ear; What hath he done? Hath he killed any man? No. Hath he meddled with * Alam, our holy Father's Merchandise? No. Hath he counterfeited our holy Father's Bulls? No. For these were high treason. One rounded another in the ear, and said: He was a rich man, a great fault. Here was a goodly prey for that holy Father. It was in Pope Julius's time, he was a great warrior. This prey would help him to maintain his wars; a jolly prey for our holy Father. So this woman was rich: she was a rich woman, she held her lands by the Sheriff's nose. He was a Gentleman of a long nose: such a cup, such a cover. She would not depart from her own. The Sheriff was a covetous man, a worldly man. The Judge, at the impanneling of the quest, had his grave looks, and charged them with this. It was the King's matter, look well upon it. When it makes for their purpose, they have the King, the King, in their mouths. Well, somewhat there was, there was walking of † Angels between

* A word signifying S: Peter's Patrimony, with the immunities, rights, privileges and emoluments appertaining to the same.

† A sort of gold coin, current in Latimer's time, which bore the figure of an Angel stamped on it, and was worth about ten shillings.

between them. I would wish that of such a Judge in England now we might have the skin hanged up. It were a goodly sign, the sign of a Judge's skin. It should be Lot's wife, to all Judges that should follow after.

Ye see here, that Lady Covetousness is a fruitful woman, ever childing, and ever bringing forth her fruits. It is a true saying, "Covetousness is the root of all wickedness." One will say, peradventure, you speak unseemly, and inconveniently, so to be against the officers, for taking of rewards in doing pleasures. Ye consider not the matter to the bottom.

Their offices be bought for great sums; now how should they receive their money again, but by bribing? ye would have them undone. Some of them gave two hundred pounds, some five hundred pounds, some two thousand pounds. And how shall they gather up this money again, but by helping themselves in their office? And is it so, think ye? are civil offices bought for money? Lord God, who should have thought that? Let us not be so hasty to credit it. For then we have the old Proverb, "All things are sold for money at Rome;" and Rome is come home to our own doors *. If they buy, they must needs sell; for it is wittily spoken: "He may lawfully sell it, he bought it before." God defend, that ever any such enormity should be in England, that civil offices should be bought and sold; whereas men should have them given for their worthiness. I would the King's Majesty should seek through his

* The device and iniquity of selling public places, was first invented at Rome. His Holiness the Pope, in his Consistory-court, which Latimer calls the devil's Consistory court, used (as he does now in some other countries) to sell provisional grants and Commendams of most of the Bishopricks, Dignities and rich Benefices in England. By which means this nation was greatly drained of its wealth, and Italians made English Bishops, Deans, Prebends, &c. It would have been well if Protestants had never initiated the scarlet whore in this point.

realm for meet men, and able men, worthy to be in office, yea, and give them liberally for their pains ; and rather give them money to take the office in hand, than they to give money for it. This buying of offices is a making of bribery, it is an inducing and inforcing, and compelling of men to bribery. Holy scripture qualifieth the officers, and sheweth what manner of men they should be, and of what qualities, "strong men;" some translations have, "wise men;" the English translation hath it very well, "men of "activity," that have stomachs to do their office, they must not be milk-sops, nor white-livered Knights; they must be wise, hardy, hearty; men of a good stomach. Secondly, he qualifieth them with the fear of God. He saith they must be "fearing God." For if he fear God, he shall be no briber, nor perverter of judgment, but faithful : Thirdly, they must be chosen officers, "in whom is truth," if he say it, it shall be done. Fourthly, having covetousness far from him. He will not come near it that hateth it. It is not he that will give five hundred pounds for an office. With these qualities, God's wisdom would have Magistrates to be qualified.

This cometh from the devil's Consistory, to pay : If they pay so much it must needs follow that they take bribes, and they be bribe-takers. Such as be meet to bear office, seek them out, hire them, give them competently and liberally, and they shall not need to take any bribes. And if ye sell offices, ye are as they which sell their benefices, and so we shall have all things bought for money. I marvel the ground gapes not to devour us ; howbeit, we ought not to marvel, surely it is the great lenity of God that suffers it. O Lord, in what case are we : If the men in Turkey, should use in their religion of * Mahomet

* In Turkey, and all the countries which have received the Mahometan faith, (which is the bigg r half of the world) there is no such

homet to sell, as our Patrons commonly sell benefices here, the office of preaching, the office of salvation, it would be taken as an intolerable thing; the Turk would not suffer it in his commonwealth. Patrons be charged to see the office done, and not to seek lucre and gain by their patronship. There was a Patron in England, when it was, that had a benefice fallen into his hand, and a good brother of mine came unto him, and brought him thirty apples in a dish, and gave them to his man to carry them to his master; and it is like he gave one to his man for his labour, to make up the game, and so there was thirty one. This man cometh to his master and presenteth him with a dish of apples; saying, Sir, such a man hath sent you a dish of fruit, and desireth you to be good unto him for such a benefice. Tush, tush, quoth he, this is no apple matter; I will have none of his apples, I have as good as these, or as any he hath, in my own Orchard. The man came to the Priest again, and told him what his master said. Then, quoth the Priest, desire him yet to prove one of them for my sake, he shall find them much better than they look for. He cut one of them, and found ten pieces of gold in it. Marry quoth he, this is a good apple. The Priest standing not far off; hearing what the gentleman said, cried out and answered, They are all one fruit, I warrant you Sir; they grew all on one tree, and have all one taste*. Well, he is a good fellow,

such thing as selling of Aadvowsons, no simony, no fraud of that sort in the disposal of ecclesiastical benefices and dignities — Ricaut says, the Turks have a great regard to truth in all their dealing; and that they detest lying and deceit. The Musti of Constantinople keeps no office for the sale of Dispensations, Pardons, Indulgences, the purchase of Livings in proviso, the praying of souls out of Purgatory, and the Canonization of saints.

* Thirty one apples, each filled with ten pieces of gold, each of the value of twenty shillings. This gold coin was then called a Sovereign; so that the Clergyman offered the Patron for his living

fellow, let him have it, said the Patron, &c. Get you a graft of this tree, and I warrant you it will stand you in better stead than all St Paul's learning. Well, let Patrons take heed, for they shall answer for all the souls that perish through their default. There is a saying, that there be a great many in England, that say their is no soul, that believe not the immortality of man's soul, that think it is not eternal *, but like a dog's soul, that think there is neither heaven nor hell. O Lord, what a weighty matter is this? what a lamentable thing in a christian commonwealth? I cannot tell what they say, but I perceive by these words that they think so, or else they would never do as they do. These sellers of offices shew, that they believe that there is neither hell nor heaven: it is taken for a laughing matter.

Well, I must go on: Now to the chapter. The children of Israel came to Samuel, and said, "Thou art grown into age, give us a King; thy sons walk not in thy ways." What a grief was this to father Samuel's heart, to hear that his sons, whom he had so brought up, should swerve from his ways that he had walked in? Father Samuel goes to God, to know his will and pleasure in this matter. God answered, "Let them have a King; they have not cast away thee, but me, that I should not reign over them." This is their ground, that say a King is an odious thing, and not acceptable before the face of God. Thus they force and violate this place, to make it for their purpose; where no such thing is meant. Shew the Israelites, saith God, and testify

ing three hundred and ten Pounds. A great sum at that time, and equal, at least, now to twelve hundred pounds. The living therefore must have been a good one. It cannot be said, that Bishopricks, Deancies, Canonries, Rectories, &c. have not been sold since Master Latimer's time.

* Master Latimer is not to be understood so much to mean, that men did not believe the existence of the soul, as that they acted as though they did not believe it.

testify to them a King's authority, and what a King is, and what a King will do: If that will not perswade them, I will not hear them hereafter, when they cry unto me.

I must needs confess, that the Jews trespassed against God in asking a King; but here is the matter, in what thing their offence stood, whether absolutely in asking a King, or in any other circumstance. It was in a circumstance; they said not, ask a King of God; but make us a King to judge us, as other nations have. They would have a King of their own swing, and of their own election, as though they cared not for God. In another point there was pride; they would be like the heathen, and have Judges under Kings, as they had. Thirdly, they offended God, because they asked a King, to the injury and wrong of good father Samuel, to depose him; so this was a wrong toward Samuel. It was not with Samuel and his children, Joel and Abiah, like as with Eli and his children, which were Hophni and Phineas. They were cruel, who with hooks taking the flesh out of the pots, when the sacrifice was offered to God, brought the people into a contempt of God's word*. They were letchers; their sin was manifestly and notoriously known: and their father Eli knowing and hearing of it, did blame them, but nothing to the purpose; he did not earnestly, and substantially chastise them, and therefore he was justly deposed of God. The sins of Samuel's sons were not known, they were not so notorious, wherefore it was not with father Samuel as it was with Eli; his sons faults were taking of bribes, and perverting

† 1 Sam. ii. 12—17. “The sons of Eli were sons of Eelai, “they knew not the Lord. Their custom was, that when any man “offered sacrifice, the priest's servant came, while the flesh was “in seething, with a flesh hook of three teeth in his hand, and “struck it into the cauldron; and all that the flesh hook brought “up, the priests took for themselves.”—This arbitrary proceeding of the priests, is said greatly to have offended the Lord.

vertin : of judgment. Ye know that bribery is a secret fault, and therefore it was not known : it was done under a colour and pretence of justice, hiddenly, and covertly done : therefore because it stood in bribes, it was not like in Samuel as in Eli. It is a dangerous thing to be in office ; for he that meddleth with pitch is like to be spotted with it. Bribes may be resembled to pitch, for even as pitch doth pollute their hands that meddle with it, so bribes will bring you to perverting of justice. Beware of pitch, you Judges of the world, bribes will make you pervert justice.

Why, you will say we touch none. No marry, but my * mistress your wife hath a fine finger, she toucheth it for you ; or else you have a servant, and he will say, If you will come to my master and offer him a yoke of oxen, you shall speed never the worse ; but I think my master will take none. When he hath offered them to the master, then comes another servant and says, If you will bring them to the Clerk of the kitchen, you shall be remembered the better. This is a Friarly fashion, that will receive no money in their hands, but will have it put into their sleeves ; a goodly rag of Popish religion. They be like Observant Friars that will not be seen to receive bribes themselves, but have others to receive it for them.

Though Samuel's sons were privy bribers, and kept the thing very close, yet the cry of the people brought it to Samuel. It was a hid kind of sin : for men in this point would face it, and brace it, and make a shew of upright dealing, when they be most guilty. Nevertheless, this gear came out. O wicked sons, that brought forth their father to deposition ; and themselves to shame. When Samuel heard of their fault

* We see here, that in the time of Master Latimer, the modern method of bribing Judges, and procuring ecclesiastical preferments and places at Court, by making presents to Wives, Ladies or Mistresses, was then also the height of the mode.

fault, he went not about to excuse it; he would not bear with his sons, he would not excuse their receiving gifts or bribes, or be partaker in his sons offences; but said, “I am grown old, and behold ‘ my sons are with you.’” As soon as he heard of it, he delivered his sons to the people to be punished.

He went not about to excuse them, nor said this is the first time, bear with them; but presented them by and by to the people, saying, “Lo here ‘ they be, take them, do with them according to ‘ their deserts.’” O would there were no more bearers of other mens sins, than this good father Samuel was.

I heard of late of a notable bloodshed: “I hear,” saith St Paul; and so do I: I know it not, but I heard of it. There was a Searcher * in London, who executing his office, displeased a Merchantman, insomuch that when he was doing his office they were at words: the Merchantman threatned him; the Searcher said, the King should not lose his custom. The Merchant goes home, and sharpens his wood-knife, and comes again and knocks him on the head, and kills him. They that told me the tale, say it is winked at; they look through their fingers and will not see it. Whether it be taken up with a pardon, or no, I cannot tell; but of this I am sure, that if you bear with such matters, the devil shall bear you away to hell.

Bloodshed and murder should have no bearing; bloodshedding is an heinous thing, and especially

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* He was a public sworn Officer, appointed by the crown to look to the assize of woollen cloth, made throughout the realm, and to the seals affixed for that purpose. He took an account of the number of yards or ells of every kind of cloth, and marked the qualities of it. He had the power of entering the house of the Clothier and all persons dealing in Cloth, at all times, and making his search. He was formerly called Aulneger, from his carrying the measure of a yard or ell.

voluntary premeditated murder. For in Numbers God saith, it pollutes the whole realm ; " the land cannot be purified nor cleansed again, till his blood be shed that shed another man's." It is the office of a King to see such murders punished with death, for " he is not to bear the sword in vain." What will you make of a King ? he beareth a sword before him, not a peacock's feather. I go not about to stir you now to cruelty ; but I speak against the bearing of bloodshed : this bearing must be looked upon. In certain cases of murder, such great circumstances may be, that the King may pardon a murderer. But if I were worthy to be of counsel, or if I were asked my advice, I would not have the King to pardon a voluntary murder, a pre-meditated murder.

I can tell where one man slew another in a township, and was attached upon the same : twelve men were impannelled. That man had friends : the Sheriff had laboured the bench. The twelve men stuck at it, and said, Except he would disburse twelve crowns, they would find him guilty. Means were found that the twelve crowns were paid. The Inquest came in, and said, Not guilty. Here was Not guilty for twelve crowns.

This is a bearing, and if some of the bench were hanged, they were well served. This makes men bold to murder and slaughter. We should reserve murdering till we come to our enemies, and the King bids us fight : he that would bestir him then, were a good fellow indeed. Crowns, quoth he, if their crowns were shaven to their shoulders, they were served well enough.

I know where a woman was got with child, and was ashamed at the matter, and went into a secret place, where she had no woman at her travail, and was delivered of three children at a birth. She wrung their necks, and cast them into a water, and

so killed her children : suddenly she was lean again, and her neighbours suspecting the matter, caused her to be examined, and she confessed all: Afterward she was arraigned at the bar for it, and dispatched and found Not guilty, through making of friends, and bribing of the Judge: where, at the same Sessions, another poor woman was hanged for stealing a few rags off a hedge, that were not worth a crown.

There was a certain Gentleman, a professor of the word of God, (he sped never the better for that, ye may be sure) who was accused for murdering a man, whereupon he was cast into prison; and by chance, as he was in prison, one of his friends came to him to visit him; and he declared unto his friend that he was not guilty of murdering the man: so he went his ways. The Gentleman was arraigned and condemned; and as he went to his execution, he saw his friend's servant, and said unto him, Commend me to thy master, and I pray thee tell him, I am still the same man I was when he was with me: and if thou tarry awhile, thou shalt see me die. There was suit made for this man's pardon, but it could not be gotten; belike the Sheriffs or some other, bare him no good will, but he died for it. Afterward, I being in the Tower, having leave to come to the Lieutenant's table, I heard him say, that there was a man hanged afterward that killed the same man for whom this Gentleman was executed. O Lord, what manner of hearing, and bolstering of naughty matters is this in a christian commonwealth? I desire your Majesty to remedy the matter, and God grant you to see the redress in this realm in your own person. Although my Lord Protector, I doubt not, and the rest of the Privy Council do, in the mean while, all that lieth in them to redress things. I would such as be Rulers, Noblemen, and Masters, would be at this point with their servants, to certify them on this sort: If

any man go about to do you wrong, I will do my best to help you in your right: but if you break the law, you shall have justice. If you will be man-slayers, murderers, and transgressors, look for no favour at my hands. A strange thing. What need we to burden ourselves with other mens sins, have we not sins enough of our own? What need have I to burden myself with other mens sins? I have two burdens and heaps of sins, one heap of known sins, another of unknown sins. I had need to say, "O Lord deliver me from my hidden and unknown sins." Then if I bear with other mens, I must say: Deliver me from my other mens sins. A strange saying; from other mens sins. He that beareth with other folks offences, he communicates with other mens sins. Men have sins enough of their own, although they bear not nor bolster up other men in their naughtiness. This bearing, bolstering, and looking through their fingers, is naught. Why should I, or any man else, increase his burden? My other mens sins forgive me, O Lord, a very strange language; every man hath sins enough of his own.

Old father Samuel would not bear his own sons sins, he offered them to be punished, and said, even at the first time, he said: Lo here they be. I discharge myself; take them unto you: and as for my part, "I am here ready to answer for myself before the Lord, and his anointed. Behold, here I am, witness of me before the Lord, whether I have taken any man's ox, any man's ass, or whether I have done any man wrong, or hurt any man, or taken any bribes at any man's hand?" I cannot but commend the English translation, that doth interpret *munera*, bribes, not gifts. They answered, Nay, forsooth, we know no such things in you. "God is my witness," saith he, "that ye have found nought in my hands." Few such Samuels

are here in England, nor in the world. Why did Samuel this? Marry to purge himself, he was enforced to it, for he was wrongly deposed.

Then by this ye may perceive the fault of the Jews, for they offended not God in asking of a King, but in asking for a King to the wronging and deposing of good father Samuel. If after Samuel's death the people had asked of God a King, they had not been faulty: but it is no small fault to put an innocent person out of his office.

King David likewise commanded his people to be numbered, and thereby offended God grievously. Why? might he not know the number of his people? Yes, it was not the numbering of the people that offended God, for a King may number his people; but he did it of pride, of an elevation of mind, not according to God's ordinance, but as having a trust in the number of his men; this offended God. Likewise the Jews asked a King, and therewith they offended not God, but they asked him with such circumstances, that God was offended with them. It is no small fault to put a just man out of his office, and to depose him unworthily. To choose a King contrary to the ordinance of God, is a casting away of God, and not of a King. Therefore doubt not but the title of a King is a lawful thing, it is a lawful title, as of other Magistrates. Only let the Kings take heed that they do as it becometh Kings to do, that they do their office well. It is a great and weighty charge. Let them beware that they bear not with other mens faults, for they shall give a strict account for all that perisheth through their negligence. We perceive now what this text meaneth; It is written in the last of Judges: "In those days there was no King in Israel, every man did that which seemed right in his own eyes." Men were then allowed to do what they would. When men

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may be allowed to do what they will, then it is good to have no King at all. Here is a wonderful matter, that unpreaching Prelates should be suffered so long. They can alledge for them seven hundred years, this while the realm had been as good to have no King. Likewise these bribing Judges have been suffered of a long time: To suffer this, is as much as to say, there is no King in England. It is the duty of a King to have all estates set in order to do their office.

I have troubled you too long, I will make an end. “Blessed be they that hear the word of God,” but so that they follow it, and keep it in credit, and memory, not to deprave it and slander it, and bring the Preacher out of credit, but that follow it in their life and conversation. He that made both you and me, grant you all that blessing for his mercy sake in Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*



S E R M O N X.

By the Reverend Father in Christ Master HUGH
LATIMER Bishop of Worcester.

Being the sixth Sermon Preached before King
Edward VI. April the twelfth.

R O M A N S xv. 4.

*All things that are written, they are written to be our
doctrine.*

WHAT doctrine is written for us in the eighth chapter of the first book of Kings, I did partly shew unto you, most honourable audience, this day seven-night, of that good man, father Samuel, that good Judge, how good a man he was, what helpers and coadjutors he took unto him, to have his office well discharged. I told you also of the wickedness of his sons, how they took bribes, and lived wickedly, and by that means brought both their father and themselves to deposition: and how the people did offend God, in asking a King in father Samuel's time: and how father Samuel was put from his office, who deserved it not. I opened unto you also, how father Samuel cleared himself, that he knew not the faults of his sons; he was no bearer with them, he was sorry for it,

it, when he heard it, but he would not bear with them in their wickedness, "My sons are with you," saith he, "do with them according to their deserts. " I will not maintain them, nor bear with them." After that, he clears himself at the King's feet, that the people had nothing to burden him withal, neither their money, nor money's worth. In treating of that part, I chanced to shew you, what I heard of a man that was slain, and I hear say it was not well taken. Truly I intended not to impair any man's estimation or honesty, and they that enforce it to that, enforce it not to my meaning. I said I heard but of such a thing, and took occasion by that that I heard, to speak against the thing that I knew to be naught, that no man should bear with any man to the maintenance of voluntary, and pre-meditated murder. And I hear say since, the man is counted an honest man, and they that spake for him, are honest men: I am inclinable enough to credit it, I spake not because I would have any man's honesty impaired. Only I did, as St Paul did, who hearing of the Corinthians, that there should be contentions and disorder among them, did write unto them what he heard, and thereupon by occasion of hearing, he sets forth the very wholesome doctrine of the Supper of the Lord. We might not have lacked that doctrine, I can tell you. Be it so, that the Corinthians had no such contentions among them, as Paul wrote of; be it so, that they had not misordered themselves, it was neither off, nor on, to that that Paul said: the matter lay in this, that upon hearing he would take occasion to set out the good and true doctrine. So, I did not affirm it to be true that I heard, I spake it to advertise you, to beware of bearing with wilful and premeditated murder. I would have nothing enforced against any man: this was mine intent and meaning, I do not know what

what ye call * chance-medly in the law, it is not for my study, I am a scholar in God's book, I study that, I know what voluntary murder is before God: if I should fall out with a man, he being angry with me, and I with him, and lacking opportunity and place, we shall put it off for that time, in the mean season I prepare my weapon, and sharp it against another time, I swell and boil in this passion towards him, I seek him, and we meddle together, it is my chance by reason my weapon is better than his, and so forth, to kill him, I give him his death stroke in my vengeance and anger: this call I voluntary murder in scripture, what it is in the law, I cannot tell. It is a great sin, and therefore I call it voluntary. Also, I now very well remember me what a learned Clerk writeth of this: " Every sin, faith he, is so " voluntary, that if it be not voluntary, it cannot " be called sin." Sin is not actual sin if it be not voluntary. I wish we would all know our faults and repent; what is done, is done; it cannot be called back again. God is merciful, the King is merciful, here we may repent, this is the place of repentance; when we are gone hence, it is then too late to repent. And let us be content with such order as the Magistrates shall take, but sure it is a perilous thing to bear with any such matter. I told you what I heard say; I would have no man's honesty impaired by my telling.

I heard say since of another murder, that a Spaniard should kill an Englishman, and run him through with his sword; they say he was a tall man, but I hear it not that the Spaniard was hanged for his labour, for if I had, I would have told you

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* Chance-medley, in law, is the accidental killing of a man, not altogether without the killer's fault, but without an evil intent. It is also called Man-slaughter by misadventure, for which the offender shall have his pardon of course, in case he was doing a lawful act, but if the act were unlawful, it is felony.

it too : they fell out, as the tale goeth, about a whore. O Lord, what * whoredom is now a-days, as I hear by the relation of honest men, which tell it not after a worldly sort, as though they rejoiced at it, but heavily, with heavy hearts, how God is dishonoured in this city of London ; yea, the Bank when it stood, was never so common : if it be true that is told, it is marvel that it doth not sink, and that the earth gapeth not, and swalloweth it up.

It is wonderful that the city of London doth suffer such whoredom unpunished. God hath suffered long of his great lenity, mercy, and benignity, but he will punish harshly, if we do not repent. There is some place in London, as they say, of immunity, impunity, what should I call it ? a † privileged place for whoredom : The Lord Mayor hath nothing to do there, the Sheriffs they may not meddle with it ; and the Inquest they do not inquire of it : and there men do bring their whores, yea, other mens wives, and there is no reformation of it.

There is such dicing houses also, they say, as hath not been wont to be, where young Gentlemen dice away their thirst ; and where dicing is, there are other follies also. For the love of Almighty God let remedy be had, let us wrestle and strive against sin.

* Henry the Eighth, as has been already observed, in the year 1546, suppressed the Stews, or common Bawdy-houses on the Bank-side in Southwark : But what might give occasion to Latimer to complain thus of the great and shameful increase of Whores and Street-walkers, and of whoredom and debauchery, was the turning of upwards of nine thousand Nuns, devoted to celibacy, absolving them from their vow, into the wide world, with only a secular gown to cover their nakedness, and the small sum of one shilling. All which Henry cruelly did, when he dissolved the Nunneries in this kingdom.

† St Martins le Grand, which at this time, as Mr Stow says, was exempt from the jurisdiction of the Mayor of London ; and was a receptacle for whores, thieves, and civil minded people of all sorts. At this time also there was in this Liberty a Playhouse, which was in part of the old dissolved Monastery of St Martin.

sin. Men of England, in times past, when they would exercise themselves, (for we must needs have some recreation, our bodies cannot endure without some exercise) they were wont to go abroad into the fields a shooting; but now it is turned into gulling *, drinking, and whoring within the house. The game of shooting hath been in times past much esteemed in this realm, it is a gift that God hath given us to excel all other nations withal, it hath been God's instrument, whereby he hath given us many victories against our enemies; but now we have taken up whoring in towns †, instead of shooting

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* Cozening, chousing and cheating.

† Of this degeneracy in manners of the youth of this time; Mr Stow saith, 4to Edit. p. 96. “ The youth of this city have used on holidays, after Evening Prayer, at their masters doors to exercise their bucklers, and the maidens one of them playing on a timbrel, in the sight of their masters and mistresses, to dance for garlands hung across the streets. Which open pastimes in my youth, being suppressed, worser practices within doors are to be feared.” And which did follow; for the reformed Germans, and others, coming into England soon after, being invited hither by the King and Archbishop Cranmer, brought with them the horrid vice of Drunkenness, which they, by the invention of strong beer, &c. established in this nation; and which produced the crimes Master Latimer calls Gulling and Whoring: and he might have added many others, which now are so common and obvious, that there is no need of reciting them. But that the reader may see how the youth spent their time in innocent diversions and exercises, hear a little what Mr Stow says: “ After dinner they used to go into the fields, and play at the ball. Every Friday in Lent, the young men, with disarmed lances and shields, used to practise feats of war. In Easter holidays, they used to fight battles on the water; a shield was hanged upon a pole, fixed in the midst of the stream, a boat was prepared without oars, to be carried by the violence of the water, and in the forepart thereof standeth a young man, ready to give charge with his lance: if so be he breaketh his lance against the shield, he is thought to have performed a worthy deed; but if he chances to be flung into the water, then he loses his honour, and it occasioneth the spectators to laugh. In the summer season they exercised themselves in leaping, shooting, wrestling, cast-

ing in fields. A wondrous thing, that so excellent a gift of God should be so little esteemed : I desire you, my Lords, even as you love the honour and glory of God, and intend to remove his indignation, let there be sent forth some proclamation, some sharp proclamation to the Justices of peace, that they may do their duty : for Justices now are no Justices ; there be many good acts made for this matter already. Charge them upon their allegiance, that this singular benefit of God may be better practised, and that it be not turned into bowling, drinking and whoring within the towns, for they be negligent in executing these laws of shooting. In my time, my poor father was as diligent to teach me to shoot, as to learn me any other thing ; and so I think other men did their children : he taught me how to draw, how to lay my body in my bow, and not to draw with strength of arms, as divers other nations do, but with strength of the body : I had my bows bought me, according to my age and strength, as I increased in them, so my bows were made bigger and bigger, for men shall never shoot well, except they be brought up in it ; it is a worthy game, a wholesome kind of exercise, and much commended in physic.

Marcilius Phisinus, in his book *De triplici vita*, it is a great while since I read him now, but I remember he commendeth this kind of exercise, and saith, that it wrestleth against many kind of diseases. In the reverence of God let it be continued, let a proclamation go forth, charging the Justices of peace, that they see such acts and statutes kept, as were made for this purpose.

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“ ing the stone, and practising their shields, with many other
 “ such like feats of activity. In the winter, they never omitted the
 “ wholesome exercises of sliding, and skating on the great fen or
 “ moor, which was where Moorfields now are.”

I will to my matter, I intend this day to intreat of a piece of scripture written in the beginning of the fifth chapter of Luke. I am occasioned to take this place by a book sent to the King's Majesty that is dead, by Master Pole: It is a text that he doth greatly abuse, for the Supremacy. He racks it, and violates it, to serve for the maintenance of the Bishop of Rome. And as he did enforce the other place, that I intreated last, so did he enforce this also, to serve his matter. The story is this.

" Our Saviour Christ was come now to the bank
" of the water of Genezareth. The people were
" come to him, and flocked about him, to have
" him preach. And Jesus took a boat that was
" standing at the pool, it was Simon's boat, and
" went into it. And sitting in the boat, he preach-
" ed to them that were on the bank. And when he
" had preached and taught them, he spake to Simon,
" and bad him launch out further into the deep,
" and let loose his nets to catch fish. And Simon
" made answer and said, Master, we have laboured
" all night, but we caught nothing; howbeit, at
" thy commandment, because thou biddest us, we
" will go to it again. And so they did, and caught
" a great draught, a miraculous draught, so much
" that the net brake; and they called to their fel-
" lows that were by, for they had two boats, to
" come to help them, and they came, and filled
" both their boats so full, that they were near
" drowned."

This is the story; and that I may declare this text so, that it may be to the honour of God, and edification both of your souls and mine, I shall desire you to help me with your prayer, in the which, &c.

St Luke tells the story, " And it came to pass,
" when the people pressed upon him, so that he
" was in peril to be cast into the pond, they
" rushed

"rushed so fast upon him, and made such throng
"to him." A wondrous thing, what a desire the
people had in those days to hear our Saviour Christ
preach, and the cause may be gathered, from the
latter end of the fourth chapter of St Luke.

Our Saviour Christ had preached unto them, and healed the sick folks of such diseases and maladies as they had, and therefore the people would willingly have retained him still: But he made them answer, and said: "I must preach the kingdom of God to other cities also: I must shew them my father's will, for I came for that purpose." I was sent to preach the word of God. Our Saviour Christ said, that he must not tarry in one place. For he was sent to the world, to preach every where. Is it not a marvellous thing, that our unpreaching Prelates can read this place, and yet preach no more than they do? I marvel how they can go quietly to bed, and see how he allureth them with his example to be diligent in their office. Here is a godly lesson also? how our Saviour Christ fled from glory: If these ambitious persons, that climb to honour by by-walks inordinately, would consider this example of Jesus Christ, they should come to more honour than they do, for when they seek honour by such by-walks they come to confusion; honour followeth them that flee from it. Our Saviour Christ got him away early in the morning, and went into the wilderness: I wish they would follow this example of Christ, and not seek honour by such by-walks as they do. But what did the people when he had hid himself, they smelled him out in the wilderness, and came unto him by flocks, and in great numbers. But where read you that a great number of Scribes and Pharisees, and Bishops followed him? There is a Doctor that writeth of this place, his name is Doctor Goreham, Nicholas Goreham, I knew him to be a School-doctor a great while ago, but I never knew him

him to be an interpreter of the scriptures, till now of late; he saith thus: “ There is more devotion, “ in lay-folk, and old wives, and in these simple “ folk, and vulgar people, than in the great Clerks: “ they be better affected to the word of God, than “ these that be of the Clergy.” I marvel not at the sentence, but I marvel at such a sentence in such a Doctor. If I should say so much, it would be said to me, It is an evil bird that defiles her own nest; and, “ there is no man hurt, but of his ownself.” There was verified this saying of our Saviour Christ, which he spake in another place; “ Wheresoever “ the dead carcase is, thither will the eagles resort.” Our Saviour Christ compares himself to dead carrion, for where the carrion is, there will the eagles be; and though it be an evil smell and favour to us, and stinks in a man’s nose, yet is it a sweet smell to the eagles, they would seek it out. So the people sought out Christ, they smelt his favour, he was a sweet smell unto them. He is the smell of life, to life. They flocked about him like eagles; they had no pleasure to hear the Scribes and the Pharisees, they stunk in their nose, their doctrine was unsavoury, it was of onions, of decimation, of aniseed and cummin, and such gear. There was no comfort in it for afflicted consciences, there was no consolation for wounded souls, there was no remedy for sins, as was in Christ’s doctrine; which eased the burden of the soul, it was most sweet to the common people, and sour to the Scribes; it was such comfort and pleasure to them, that they came flocking about him. Wherefore came they? that they might hear the word of God; it was a good coming. They came to hear the word of God.

It was not to be thought that they came all of one mind to hear the word of God; it is likely, that in so great a multitude, some came of curiosity, to hear some novels, and some came smelling a sweet favour,

to have consolation of God's word, for we cannot be saved without hearing of the word. It is a necessary way to salvation, "we cannot be saved without faith, " and faith cometh by hearing of the word. And how "shall they hear without a Preacher?" I tell you, it is the footstep of the ladder of heaven for our salvation: there must be Preachers, if we look to be saved. I told you of this gradation before, in the tenth of the Romans: Consider it well, I had rather ye should come with a naughty mind to hear the word of God for novelty, or for curiosity to hear some pastime, than be away. I had rather you should come as the tale is by the Gentlewoman of London; one of her neighbours met her in the street, and said, Mistress, whither go ye? Marry, said she, I am going now to * St Thomas of Acres to the Sermon; I could not sleep all the last night, and I am going now thither; I never failed of a good nap there. And so I had rather ye would go a napping to the Sermons, than not to go at all. For with what mind soever ye come, though ye come for an evil purpose, yet peradventure ye may chance to be caught ere ye go, the Preacher may chance to catch you on his hook. Rather than ye should not come at all, I would have you come of curiosity, as † St Augustine came to hear ‡ St Ambrose. When St Augustine came to Milan, (he tells the story himself,

* It was an Hospital in Cheapside so called, situate nigh the ground whereon since has been built Mercers Hall and Chapel. It had a Master and Brethren, and was sold and surrendered by Henry the Eighth to the Company of Mercers. It is called in old records St Thomas of Acon.

† He was Bishop of Hippo in Africa, and flourished about the year of Christ 399. He received his name from his great industry in propagating the christian faith, whereby he is said to have increased the church.

‡ He lived also about the same time, and was Bishop of Milan, a city of Italy, under the reign of Theodosius the Great. He was a great preacher of the immortality of the soul, and received his name from thence.

self, in the end of his book of Confessions) he was very desirous to hear St Ambrose, not for any love he had to the doctrine that he taught, but to hear his eloquence, whether it was so great as the speech was, and as the report went. Well, before he departed, St Ambrose caught him on his hook, and converted him so, that he became of a Manichee*, and of a *Platonist, a good Christian, a defender of Christ's religion, and of the faith afterward: so I would have you come to Sermons. It is declared in many places of the scripture, how necessary preaching is, as this: "The preaching of the gospel is "the power of God to every man that doth believe." He meaneth God's word opened, it is the instrument, and the means whereby we are saved.

Beware, beware, ye diminish not this office, for if ye do, ye decay God's power to all that do believe. Christ saith, consonant to the same, "Except a man be born again from above, he cannot see the kingdom of God." He must have a regeneration: and what is this regeneration? It is not to be christened in water, as these firebrands expound it, and nothing else. How is it to be expounded then? St Peter sheweth that one place of scripture declareth another. It is the circumstance, and collation of places, that maketh scripture plain. St Peter saith, "and we be born again:" How? "not by mortal seed, but by immortal." What is this immortal seed? By the word of the living God, by the word of God preached and opened. Thus cometh in our new birth.

Here you may see how necessary this office is to salvation: this is the thing that the devil wrestleth

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* An heretical sect, who held, there was a fatal necessity to sin; which tenet was first broached by one Manes, a Persian.

+ Plato taught the immortality of the soul, and its revolution in human bodies for an infinite space of time.

most against, it hath been all his study to decay this office. He worketh against it as much as possibly he can, he hath prevailed too much, too much in it. He hath set up a state of * unpreaching Prelacy in this realm this seven hundred years, a stately unpreaching Prelacy : he hath made unpreaching Prelates, and stirred them up by heaps to persecute this office under the title of heresy. He hath stirred up the Magistrates to persecute it, under the title of sedition, and he hath stirred up the people to persecute it with exprobrious and slanderous words, as by the name of new learning, strange preaching ; and with impropriations he hath turned preaching into private masses. If a Priest shou'd have left mass undone on a Sunday within these ten years, all England would have wondred at it; but they might have left off the Sermon twenty Sundays, and never have been blamed. And thus by these impropriations private masses were set up, and preaching of God's word trodden under foot : but what doth he now ? he stirs men up to outrageous raising of rents, that poor men shall not be able to keep their children at school to be Divines.

What an unreasonable devil is this ? He provides a great while beforehand for the time that is to come : he hath brought up now of late, the most monstrous kind

* We have in this note from Bishop Burnet given the reader a short account of the manner of preaching used before the Reformation. The popish Clergy seldom preached in their cures on a Sunday more than three or four times in a year, except in Lent, and on Holidays, and then their discourses were chiefly panegyrics on the Saints, and they magnified the relics, which they ardently exhorted the people to visit; never failing to acquaint them where they were deposited. Others preached on the power of the church, the infallibility of the Pope, implicit faith, passive obedience and non-resistance to all spiritual Pastors and Rulers ; on abstinence, confession, the pious and profitable uses of indulgences, pilgrimages, prayers for the dead ; and on all other subjects that had been contrived to blind the people and enrich the Clergy. This method of preaching, Latimer says, lasted seven hundred years.

kind of covetousness that ever was heard of: he hath invented a fee-farming of benefices *, and all to delay the office of preaching; insomuch that, when any man hereafter shall have a benefice, he may go where he will, for any house he shall have to dwell upon, or any glebe land to keep hospitality withal; but he must take up a chamber in an alehouse, and there sit to play at tables all day. A goodly Curate.

He hath caused also, through this monstrous kind of covetousness, Patrons to sell their benefices: yea more, he gets him to the University; and causeth great men and Esquires, to send their sons thither, and put out poor scholars that should be Divines, for their parents intend not that they should be Preachers, but that they may have a shew of learning: but it were too long to declare unto you, what deceit and means the devil hath found to decay the office of salvation, the office of regeneration.

But to return to my matter: The people came to hear the word of God, they heard him with silence. I remember now a saying of St Chrysostom †, and peradventure it might come hereafter in better place: but yet I will take it while it cometh to mind, the saying is this, “They heard him in silence, not interrupting the order of his preaching.” He means, they heard him quietly, without any shoveling feet, or walking up and down. Truly it is an ill mis-order that folk shall be walking up and down in the Sermon time, as I have seen in this ‡ place this Lent: and

* Land held of another in fee, that is, for ever, to himself and his heirs, for a certain yearly rent, more or less; as to an half, third, or fourth of the value.

† A father of the Greek church, born at Antioch, and made Bishop of Constantinople in 401. He was banished by Arcadius, for talking against the Empress Eudoxia; where, after three years banishment he died in 411, in the fifty ninth year of his age. He taught, that tithes were of divine institution.

‡ A pulpit Crofs, like that on the south side of St Paul’s, was occasionally

and there shall be such buzzing and huzzing in the Preacher's ear, that it maketh him oftentimes to forget his matter.

O let us consider the King's Majesty's goodness. This place was prepared for banqueting of the body; and his Majesty hath made it for the comfort of the soul, and to have the word of God preached in it, shewing hereby that he would have all his subjects at it, if it might be possible. Consider what the King's Majesty hath done for you, he alloweth you all to hear with him. Consider where ye be. First, ye ought to reverence God's word; and though it be preached by poor men, yet it is the same word that our Saviour spake. Consider also the presence of the King's Majesty; God's high Vicar * on earth, having a respect to his personage, ye ought to have reverence to it, and consider that he is God's high Minister, and yet alloweth you all to be partakers with him of the hearing of God's word. This benefit of his should be thankfully taken, and it should be highly esteemed. Hear in silence, as Chrysostom faith. It may chance that some in the company may fall sick or be diseased. If there be any such, let them go away with silence, let them leave their salutations till they come to the Court, let them depart with silence. I took occasion of Chrysostom's words to admonish you of this thing.

What

occasionally erected in the inward garden in the New Palace at Westminster, which on such occasions was called the Preaching Place. It appears, by what Master Latimer says of the walking to and fro, and the buzzing of the people, that it was a place of common resort. And the King, when present at such Sermons, heard from a window, which opened fronting the Preacher.

* We may learn from this expression, that the Clergy of the reformed Church of England, complimented his Majesty King Edward the Sixth with that very title they had taken from his Holiness the Pope.

What should be the cause, that our Saviour Christ went into the boat? The scripture calleth it a ship, a little ship. But it was no ship, it was a fisher's boat; they were not able to have a ship *. What should be the cause, why he would not stand on the bank and preach there, but he desired Peter to draw the boat somewhat from the shore into the midst of the water, what should be the cause? One cause was, for that he might sit there more commodiously, than on the bank: another cause was, for that he was like to be thrust in by the crowd of people that came unto him. Why? our Saviour Christ might have withstood them, he was strong enough to have kept himself from thrusting into the water. He was stronger than they all, and if he would he might have stood on the water, as well as he walked on the water. Truth it is, so he might have done indeed. But as it was sometimes his pleasure to shew the power of his Godhead, so he declared now the infirmity and imbecility of his manhood.

Here he giveth us an example what we shall do: we must not tempt God by any miracles; so long as we can walk by ordinary ways. As our Saviour Christ, when the devil had him on the top of the Temple, and would have had him cast himself down, he made him this answer: "Thou shalt not tempt thy Lord God :" as if he should have said, we may not tempt God at all. It is no time now to shew any miracles: there is another way to go down by greeplings †. Thus he did shew us an example, that

* Our Author means, that men had not then proceeded so far in the art of Boat-building as to have produced that noble and grand vehicle we call the Ship. The largest vessels of this time were long boats, called gallies, without sails, and only rowed.—Sailing and the art of navigation was then very young, or scarce known, especially in these parts. For the Jews were never either the inventors or improvers of arts or sciences.

† An old word, signifying slow and artful, descending by steps and stairs.

that we must not tempt God, except it be in extreme necessity, and when we cannot otherwise remedy the matter, to leave it all to God, else we may not tempt the Majesty of his deity: Beware of tempting God. Well, he comes to Simon's boat, and why rather to Simon's boat than another? I will answer, as I find by experience in myself. I came hither to day from Lambeth in a wherry; and when I came to take boat, the watermen came about me, as the manner is, and he would have me, and he would have me: I took one of them. Now ye will ask me why I came in that boat, rather than in another? Because I would go into that that I saw stand next me, it stood more commodiously for me. And so did Christ by Simon's boat: It stood nearer for him, he saw a better seat in it. A good natural reason.

Now come the Papists, and they will make a mystery of it: they will pick out the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome in Peter's boat. We may make allegories enough of every place in scripture: but surely it must needs be a simple matter that stands on so weak a ground. But ye shall see further: He desired Peter to thrust out his boat from the shore. He desired him. Here was a good lesson: for the Bishop of Rome, and all his college of Cardinals, to learn humility and gentleness. He desired him, it was gently done of him, not with any austerity, but with all urbanity, mildness, softness, and humility. What an example is this that he giveth them here? But they spy it not, they can see nothing but the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. A wondrous thing what sight they have: They see nothing but the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. "Ye have
"ruled my sheep, saith Ezekiel, and commanded
"them with great lordliness, austerity, and power:
"and thus ye have dispersed my sheep abroad:"
And why? There was no shepherd, they had wanted
one a great while. Rome hath been many a hundred
years

years without a good shepherd. They would not learn to rule them gently; they had rule over them, but it, was with cursings, excommunications, with great austerity and thunderbolts, and the devil and all, to maintain their unpreaching Prelacy. I beseech God open their eyes, that they may see the truth; and not be blinded with those things that no man may see but they. It followeth in the text, “He taught sitting in the boat.” Preachers belike, were sitting in those days, as it is written in another place, “They sit in the chair of Moses.”

I wish our Preachers would preach sitting or standing, one way or the other. It was a goodly pulpit that our Saviour Christ had gotten him here. An old rotten boat, and yet he preached his father’s will, his father’s message out of this pulpit. He cared not for the pulpit, so he might do the people good. Indeed it is to be commended for the Preacher to stand or sit, as the place is; but I would not have it so superstitiously esteemed, but * that a good Preacher may declare the word of God sitting on a horse, or preaching in a tree. And yet if this should be done, the unpreaching Prelates would laugh it to scorn. And though it be good to have the pulpit set up in Churches, that the people might resort thither, yet I would not have it so superstitiously used, but that in a profane place the word of God might be preached sometimes; and I would not have the people offended withal, no more than they be offended with our Saviour Christ’s preaching out of a boat. And yet to have pulpits in Churches, it is very well done to have them; but they should be occupied,

* Master Latimer was of opinion, that Sermons might, with great propriety and usefulness, be preached in fields, in streets, in markets, and in any other public, open place, to which people frequently resorted. And this, it must be allowed, was the known and usual custom of Christ and his Apostles, and of their Successors, the Bishops and Clergy of the three first centuries of Christianity.

occupied, for it is a vain thing to have them as they stand in many Churches.

I heard of a Bishop of England that went on visitation, and as it was the custom, when the Bishop should come, to be rung into the town, the great bell's clapper was fallen down, the tyall was broken, so that the Bishop could not be rung into the town. There was a great matter made of this, and the chief of the parish was much blamed for it, in the visitation: The Bishop was somewhat quick with them, and signified that he was much offended. They made their answers, and excused themselves, as well as they could: it was a chance said they, that the clapper brake, and we could not get it mended by and by, we must tarry till we can have it done. It shall be mended as shortly as may be.

Among the other, there was one wiser than the rest, and he came to the Bishop. Why, my Lord, saith he, doth your Lordship make so great a matter of the bell that lacketh his clapper? Here is a bell, saith he, and pointed to the pulpit, that hath lacked a clapper this twenty years. We have a Parson that fetcheth out of his benefice fifty pounds every year, but we never see him.

I warrant you the Bishop was an unpreaching Prelate. He could find fault with the bell that wanted a clapper to ring him into the town, but he could not find any fault with the Parson that preached not at his benefice. Ever this office of preaching hath been least regarded, it hath scarce had the name of God's service. They must sing their God save the holiday, about the Church, that no man was the better for it, but to shew their gay coats and garments.

I came once myself to a place, riding on a journey homeward from London, and I sent word over night into the town that I would preach there in the morning, because it was holiday, and methought it was

was an holiday's work : the Church stood in my way, and I took my horse and my company, and went thither, I thought I should have found a great company in the Church, and when I came there, the Church door was fast locked. I tarried there half an hour and more ; at last the key was found, and one of the parish comes to me and said : Sir, this is a busy day with us, we cannot hear you ; it is Robin Hood's day. The parish are gone abroad to gather for Robin Hood : I pray you hinder them not. I was fain there to give place to Robin Hood : I thought my rochet should have been regarded, though I was not : but it would not serve, it was fain to give place to Robin Hood's men.

It is no laughing matter, my friends, it is a weeping matter, a heavy matter ; under the pretence of gathering for Robin Hood, a traitor, and a thief, to put out a Preacher, to have his office less esteemed ; to prefer Robin Hood before the ministration of God's word : and all this hath come of unpreaching Prelates. This realm hath been ill provided for, that it hath had such corrupt judgments in it, to prefer Robin Hood to God's word. If the Bishops had been Preachers, there should never have been any such thing ; but we have a good hope of better. We have had a good beginning, I beseech God to continue it. But I tell you, it is far wide that the people have such judgments ; the Bishops they could laugh at it. What was that to them ? They would have them to continue in their ignorance still, and themselves in unpreaching Prelacy.

Well, sitting, sitting : " He sat down and taught." The text doth tell us that he taught, but it doth not tell us what he taught. If I were a Papist, I could tell what he said ; I would in the Pope's judgment shew what he taught. For the Bishop of Rome hath in the cabinet of his own breast, the true understanding of the scriptures : if he call a Council, the College of Cardinals, he hath authority to deter-

mine the Supper of the Lord, as he did at the council of Florence †. And Pope Nicolas *, and Bishop Lanfrank, shall come and expound this place, and say, that our Saviour Christ said thus. “ Peter, I do “ mean this by sitting in thy boat, that thou shalt go “ to Roine, and be Bishop there, five and twenty “ years after mine ascension ; and all thy successors “ shall be rulers of the universal Church after “ thee.”

Here would I also place holy water, and holy bread, and all unwritten verities, if I were a Papist ; and, that scripture is not to be expounded by any private interpretation, but by our holy Father, and his College of Cardinals. This is a great deal better place than “ launch into the deep,” But what was Christ’s Sermon ? it may soon be gathered what it was. He is always like himself. His first Sermon was “ Do penance ; your living is naught ; repent.” Again, at Nazareth, when he read in the Temple, and preached remission of sins, and healing of wounded consciences ; and in the long Sermon on the mount, he was always like himself, he never dissented from himself.

O there is a writer hath a jolly text here ; and his name is Dionysius : I chanced to meet with his book in my Lord of Canterbury’s Library ; he was a Monk of the Charterhouse. I marvel to find such a sentence in that author. What taught Christ in this Sermon ? Marry, faith he, it is not written. And he addeth more unto it ; it is true, it is not written. All his miracles were not written, so neither were all his sermons written : yet for all that the Evangelists did write so much as was necessary.

They,

† The Council of Florence was held in 1431, under the Emperor Albertus, by Pope Eugenius IV. in which it was determined to use unleavened bread in the Sacrament.

* Master Latimer here asserts, that Pope Nicolas and Bishop Lanfrank, were the authors of the following simple and ridiculous story concerning St Peter’s boat.

They wrote so much of the miracles and sermons of Christ, as they knew by God's inspiration to be sufficient for the edifying of the Church, the confirmation of our faith, and the health of our souls. If this be true, as it is indeed, where be unwritten verities? I marvel not at the sentence, but to find it in such an author. Jesus! What authority he gives to God's word. But God would that such men should be witnesses with the authority of his book, will they, nill they. Now to draw towards an end.

It followeth in the text, "launch into the deep;" Here cometh in the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. When our Saviour Christ had ended his Sermon, and fed their souls, he provided for their bodies. First he began with the soul, Christ's word is the food of it. Now he goeth to the body; he hath charge of them both: we must commit the feeding of the body and of the soul to him. Well, he saith to Peter, "launch into the depth, put forth thy boat further into the deep of the water; loose your nets; now fish." As who should say, your souls are now fed, I have taught you my doctrine, now I will confirm it with a miracle. Lo, Sir, here is, launch into the deep;" here Peter was made a great man, say the Papists, and all his Successors after him. And this is derived of these few words, "launch into the deep." And their argument is this: he spake to Peter only, and he spake to him in the singular number; therefore he gave him such a preeminence above the rest. A good argument, I think it to be a syllogism; I will make a like argument.

Our Saviour Christ said to Judas when he was about to betray him, "what thou doest, do quickly." Now when he spake to Peter, there was none of his disciples by, but James and John, but when he spake to Judas they were all present. Well, he said unto him, speed thy business that thou hast in head, do it. He gave him a secret motion, that he knew

what he intended, if Judas had had grace to have taken it, and repented. He spake it in the singular number to him; therefore he gave him some preeminence. Belike he made him a Cardinal; and it might full well be, for they have followed Judas ever since.

Here is a good ground for the College of Cardinals, as the other is for the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. Our Saviour Christ, say they, spake only to Peter for preeminence, because he was chief of the Apostles, and you can shew no other cause; therefore this is the cause why he spake to him in the singular number. I dare say there is never a Wherriman at Westminster-bridge, but he can answer to this, and give a natural reason of it. He knoweth that one man is able to shewe the boat, but one man was not able to cast out the nets, and therefore he said in the plural number, "Loose your nets;" and he said in the singular number to Peter, "launch out the boat;" why? because he was able to do it. But he spake to the other in the plural number, because he was not able to convey the boat, and cast out the nets too. One man could not do it. This would the Wherriman say, and that with better reason, than to make such a mystery of it, as no man can spy but they. And the cause why he spake to all, was to shew, that he will have all christian men to work for their living. It is he that sends food for the body and soul, but he will not send it without labour. He will have all christian people to labour for it; he will use our labour as a means whereby he sendeth our food.

This was a wondrous miracle of our Saviour Christ, who did it not only to allure them to his discipleship, but also for our commodity. It was a seal, to seal his doctrine withal. Now ye know that such as be the keepers of seals, as my Lord Chancellor, and such other, whatsoever they be, they do not always seal, they have a sealing time. For I have heard poor

poor men complain, that they have been put off from time to time of sealing, till all their moneys were spent: and as they have a time to seal in, so our Saviour Christ had his time of sealing. When he was here on earth with his Apostles, and in the time of the primitive Church, Christ's doctrine was sufficiently sealed already with seals of his own making; what should our seals do? What need we to seal his seal? it is a confirmed doctrine already.

O Luther, when he came into the world first, and disputed against the Decretals *, the Clementines †, Alexandrines ‡, Extravagantines ||, what ado had he? But ye will say, peradventure he was deceived in some things. I will not take upon me to defend him in all points. I will not stand to it, that all that he wrote was true; I think he would not do so himself. For there is no man but he may err. He came to further and further knowledge; but surely he was a goodly instrument: well, I say, when he preached first, they called upon him to do miracles. Indeed when the Popish Prelates preached first, they had need of miracles, and the devil wrought some in the preaching of Purgatory. But what kind of miracles these were, all England doth know, but it will not know. A wonderful thing, that the people will continue in their blindness and ignorance still. We have great utility of the miracles of our Saviour Jesus Christ. He doth signify

* The whole body of the Canon law, containing the Decrees of the Popes, from time to time, for the better government of the church.

† The Constitutions and Decretals made by Pope Clement the Fifth, and enacted in the Council of Vienna, are so called.

‡ Those Constitutions that were made by Pope Alexander.

|| Certain Constitutions or Ordinances of Princes; so called, because they are not contained in the body of the Civil law.—Also particular Decrees of Pope John the Twenty second, and some other Popes, added in like manner to the Canon law.

signify unto us by wonderful works, that he is Lord as well of the water as of the land. A good comfort for those that be on the water, when they be in any tempest, or danger, to call upon him.

The fish here came at his commandment. Here we may learn that all things in the water are subject to Christ. Peter said, "Sir, we have laboured all night, and have not caught one fish, howbeit, at your word we will to it afresh." By this it appears that the gain, the lucre, the revenues we get, must not be imputed to our labour? we may not say, gramecy labour; it is not our labour, it is our Saviour Christ that sendeth us living: yet must we labour, for he that said to Peter labour, and he that bad the fishers labour, bids all men to labour in their business. There be some people that ascribe their gains, their increase gotten by faculty, to the devil. Is there any think ye in England would say so? Now if a man should come to another, and say he got his living by the devil, he would fall out with him. There is not a man in England that so faith, yet is there some that think it. For all that get it with false buying and selling, with circumvention, with usury, impostures, mixt wares, false weights, deceiving their lords and masters, all those that get their goods on this fashion, what do they think, but that the devil sendeth them gains and riches? For they be his, being unlawfully gotten: what is this but to say, that the devil is author of their gains, when they be so gotten? for God inhibiteth them not. "God wills no iniquity." These folks are greatly deceived.

There be some again impute all to their labours and work. Yea, on the holidays, they cannot find in their hearts to come to the Temple to the blessed Communion, they must be working at home. These are wide again on the other side. And some there be that think, if they work nothing at all, they shall have

have enough : they will have no good exercise, but gape, and think God will send meat into their mouths ; and these are far wide : they must work : he bad the fishers work. Our Saviour Christ bid Peter work ; and he that said so to them, saith the same to us, every man in his art. “ The blessing of God makes a man rich. He lets his sun shine upon the wicked as well as the good ; he sends riches both to good and bad.” But this blessing turneth to them into malediction, and a curse, it increaseth their damnation. St Paul, writing to the Thessalonians, did put an order how every man should work in his vocation, as though he had said, “ When I was among you, I made this ordinance, that whosoever would not do the work of his vocation, should have no meat.” It was a good ordinance in a commonwealth, that every man should be set to work, every man in his vocation. “ Let him have no meat :” Now he saith furthermore. “ I hear say, there be some among you that live inordinately.” What is that word inordinately ? Idly, giving themselves to no occupation for their living. Curious men, given to curiosity, to searching what other men do. St Paul saith, “ he heard say ;” he could not tell whether it were so or no. But he took occasion of hearing say, to set out a good and wholesome doctrine ; “ We command, and desire you for the reverence of God, if there be any such, that they will do the works of their vocation, and go quickly to their occupation, and so eat their own bread :” else it is not their own, it is other mens meat. Our Saviour Christ, before he began his preaching, lived of his occupation, he was a Carpenter, and got his living with great labour.

Therefore let no man disdain, or think scorn to follow him, in a mean living, a mean vocation, or a common calling and occupation. For as he blessed our nature with taking upon him the shape

of man, so in his doing he blessed all occupations and arts. This is a notable example to signify, that he abhors all idleness. When he was a Carpenter, then he went and did the work of his calling ; and when he was a Preacher, he did the work of that calling. He was no unpreaching Prelate. The Bishop of Rome should have learned that of him. And these gainers with false arts, what be they ? They are never content with that they have, though it be never so much. And they that are true dealers, are satisfied with what God sends, though it be never so little. “ Godliness is great gain, it is lucre enough to be content with that, that God sendeth.” The faithful cannot lack, the unfaithful is ever lacking, though he have never so much.

I will now make an end. Let us all labour. Christ teacheth us to labour, yea, the Bishop of Rome himself, he teacheth him to labour, rather than to be head of the Church. Let us put our trust in God, “ Cast thy care upon the Lord, and he will nourish thee and feed thee.” Again, the Prophet David saith, “ I never saw the righteous man forsaken, nor his seed to seek his bread.” It is infidelity, that mars all together.

Well, to my text : “ Because thou eatest the labours of thy hands, that God sendeth thee of thy labour.” Every man must labour, yea, though he be a King, yet he must labour : for I know no man hath a greater labour than a King. What is his labour ? to study God’s book, to see that there be no unpreaching Prelates in his realm, nor bribing Judges ; to see to all his estates ; to provide for the poor ; to see victuals be good and cheap. Is not this a labour think ye ? Thus if thou dost labour, exercising the works of thy vocation, thou eatest the meat that God sends thee ; and then follows, “ Thou art a blessed man in God’s favour,” and it shall go well

well with thee in this world, both in body and soul, for God provideth for both. How shall thou provide for thy soul? Go hear Sermons. How for the body? Labour in thy vocation, and then shall it be well with thee, both here and in the world to come, through the faith and merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ: to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be praised for ever and ever, world without end. *Amen.*



S E R M O N XI.

By the Reverend Father in Christ Master HUGH LATIMER Bishop of Worcester.

Being the seventh Sermon Preached before King Edward VI. April the nineteenth.

R O M A N S xv. 4.

All things that are written, they are written to be our doctrine.

BY occasion of this text, most honourable audience, I have walked this * Lent in the broad field of scripture, and used my liberty, and intreated of such matters as I thought meet for this auditory. I have had to do with many estates, even with the highest of all. I have intreated of the duty of Kings, of the duty of Magistrates and Judges, of the duty of Prelates ; and allowing that that is good, and disallowing the contrary. I have taught

* Pope Evaristus, towards the conclusion of the second century after the birth of Christ, first instituted this solemn season, in commemoration of Christ's temptation in the wilderness, where our Lord fasted forty days and forty nights, Matt. iv. 1, 2. Wherefore the christian church doth observe it as a set time of fasting and abstinence for forty days before Easter. It did not obtain in England till the time of Ercombert, the seventh King of Kent, in the year 662.

taught, that we are all sinners: I think there is none of us all, neither preacher nor hearer; but we may be amended, and redress our lives: We may all say, all the pack of us, "We have offended and sinned "with our forefathers," there is none of us all, but have in sundry things grievously offended almighty God. I here intreated of many faults, and rebuked many kinds of sins. I intend to day by God's grace to shew you the remedy of sin. We be in the place of repentance, now is the time to call for mercy, whilst we be in this world: we be all sinners, even the best of us all. Therefore it is good to hear the remedy of sin.

This day is commonly called Good-friday, although every day ought to be with us Good-friday, yet this day we are accustomed especially to have a commemoration and remembrance of the passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ. This day we have in memory his bitter passion and death, the remedy of our sin. Therefore I intend to intreat of a piece of the story of his passion, I am not able to intreat of all. That I may do this the better, and that it may be to the honour of God, and the edification of your souls, and mine both, I shall desire you to pray, &c. In this prayer I will desire you to remember the * souls departed, with lauds and praise to almighty God, that he did vouchsafe to assist them at the hour of their death: In so doing you shall be put in remembrance to pray for yourselves, that it may please God to assist and comfort you in the agonies and pains of death.

The place that I will intreat of, is the twenty sixth chapter of St Matthew. Howbeit, as I intreat of it, I will borrow part of St Mark, and St Luke: for

D d 2 they

* Master Latimer here conforms as near as possible to the old Romish superstition, of praying for and to departed souls.

they have somewhat, that St Matthew hath not : and especially Luke. The text is, " Then when Jesus came into the village, which is called Gethsemanei," some have IN VILLAM, in the village, some IN AGRUM, in the field, and some IN PRÆDIUM, in the manor. But it is all one ; whether Christ came into a grange, into a piece of land, into a field, it makes no matter ; call it what ye will. At what time he had come into an honest man's house, and there eaten his paschal lamb, and instituted and celebrated the Lord's supper, and set forth the blessed communion ; then when this was done, he took his way to the place, where he knew Judas would come. It was a solitary place, and thither he went with his eleven Apostles. For Judas, the twelfth, was about his business, he was occupied about his merchandise, and was providing among the Bishops and Priests, to come with an ambushment of Jews, to take our Saviour Jesus Christ.

And when he was come into the field or grange*, this village, or farm-place which was called Gethsemane, there was a garden, saith Luke, into the which he goes, and leaves eight of his disciples without, howbeit he appointed them what they should do. He saith, " Sit you here, whilst I go yonder and pray." He told them, that he went to pray, to admonish them what they should do, to fall to prayer as he did. He left them there, and took no more with him but three, Peter, James, and John, to teach us that a solitary place is fittest for prayer : Then when he was come into this garden, " he began to tremble," insomuch that he said, " My soul is heavy and pensive even unto death."

This is a notable place, and one of the most especial and chiefest of all that be in the story of the passion of Christ. Here is our remedy : Here we must have in consideration all his doings and sayings, for

* A building that has granaries, barns, stables, stalls, and other places necessary for the carrying on of Farming.

for our learning, for our edification, for our comfort and consolation.

First of all, he set his three disciples that he took with him in an order, and told them what they should do, saying : “ Sit here, and pray that ye * enter not into temptation.” But of that I will intreat afterward. Now when he was in the garden, he began to be heavy, pensive, heavy-hearted. I like not Origen’s playing with this word *cæpit*; it was a perfect heaviness : it was such a one as there never was seen a greater.

These Doctors, we have great cause to thank God for them, but yet I would not have them always to be allowed. They have handled many points of our faith very godly ; and we may have a great stay in them in many things ; we might not well lack them : but yet I would not have men to be sworn to them ; and so addicted, as to take hand over head whatsoever they say : it were a great inconvenience so to do.

Well, let us go forward. He took Peter, James, and John, into this garden. And why did he take them with him, rather than other ? Marry, those that he had taken before, to whom he had revealed in the hill the transfiguration, and declaration of his Deity, to see the revelation of the Majesty of his godhead, now in the garden he revealed to the same the infirmity of his manhood : because they had tasted of the sweet, he would they should taste also of the sour. He took these with him both times : for two or three is enough to bear witness ; and he began to be heavy in his mind. He was greatly vexed within himself, he was sore afflicted, it was a great heaviness : he had been heavy many times before ; and

* A learned churchman of Alexandria, a vast writer. St Augustine hath recounted many errors into which he fell ; particularly, that he castrated himself in order to obtain the kingdom of heaven.

and he had suffered great affliction in his soul, as for the blindness of the Jews, and he was like to suffer more pangs of pain in his body. But this pang was greater than any that he ever suffered: yea, it was a greater torment unto him, I think a greater pain than when he was hanged on the cross, than when the four nails were knocked and driven through his hands and feet, than when the sharp crown of thorns was thrust on his head. This was the heaviness and pensiveness of his heart, the agony of the spirit. And as the soul is more precious than the body, even so are the pains of the soul more grievous than the pains of the body: Therefore there is another which writeth, "The horror and "ugliness of death, is sorer than death itself." This is the most grievous pain that ever Christ suffered, even this pang that he suffered in the garden. It is the most noble place, one of them in the whole story of the passion, when he said, "My soul is "heavy to death. And when he began to quiver "and shake." The grievousness of it is declared by this prayer that he made, "Father, if it be pos- "sible, away with this cup: rid me of it." He understood by this cup the pains of death. For he knew well enough, that his passion was at hand, that Judas was coming upon him with the Jews to take him.

There was offered unto him now the image of death, the image, the sense, the feeling of hell; for death and hell go both together. I will intreat of this image of hell, which is death. Truly no man can shew it perfectly, yet I will do the best I can, to make you understand the grievous pains that our Saviour Christ was in, when he was in the garden.

As man's power is not able to bear it, so no man's tongue is able to express it. Painters paint death like a man without a skin, and a body having nothing but

but bones. And hell they paint with horrible flames of burning fire : they bungle somewhat at it, they come nothing near it. But this is no true painting. No Painter can paint hell, unless he could paint the torment and condemnation both of the body and soul ; the possession and having of all infelicity. This is hell, this is the image of death, this is hell : such an ill-favoured face, such an ugly countenance, such an horrible visage our Saviour Christ saw of death and hell in the garden. There is no pleasure in beholding of it, but more and more pain than any tongue can tell. Death and hell took unto them this evil favoured face of sin, and through sin. This sin is so highly hated of God, that he doth pronounce it worthy to be punished with lack of felicity, with the feeling of infelicity. Death and hell is not only the wages, the reward, the stipend of sin : but they are brought into the world by sin. St Paul saith, “through sin death hath entred into the world.” Moses shews the first coming of it into the world : whereas our first father Adam was set at liberty to live for ever, yet God inhibiting him from eating of the apple, told him : “If thou meddle with this fruit, thou and thy posterity shall fall into necessity of death, from ever living ;” thou and all thy posterity shall be subject to death. Here came in Death and Hell, Sin was their mother. Therefore they must have such an image as their mother Sin would give them.

An ugly thing and an horrible image, must it needs be that is brought in by such a thing so hated of God ; yea, this face of Death and Hell is so terrible, that such as have been wicked men, had rather be hanged than abide it. As Achitophel, that traitor to King David, like an ambitious wretch, thought to have come to higher promotion : and therefore conspired with Absalom against his master David. He, when he saw his counsel took no place,

goes

goes and hangs himself, in contemplation of this evil favoured face of death. Judas also, when he came with ambushments to take his master Christ, in beholding this horrible face, hangs himself. Yea the elect people of God, the faithful, having the beholding of his face, though God hath always preserved them, such a good God he is to them that believe in him, that “ he will not suffer them to be “ tempted above that that they are able to bear ;” yet for all that, there is nothing that they complain of more sore than this horror of Death. Go to Job, what saith he ? “ Wo worth the day that I was “ born in, my soul would be hanged,” saying in his pangs almost he wist not what. This was when with the eye of his conscience, and the inward man, he beheld the horror of Death and Hell ; not for any bodily pain he suffered : for when he had biles, blotches, blains, and scabs, he suffered them patiently : he could say then, “ If we have received “ good things of God, why should we not suffer “ likewise evil ? ”

It was not for any such thing, that he was so vexed : but the sight of this face of Death and Hell was offered to him so lively, that he would have been out of the world. It was this ill favoured face of Death that so troubled him. King David also said, in contemplation of this ugly face, “ I have “ been sore vexed with sighing and mourning. “ Mine eye hath been greatly troubled in my rage.” A strange thing ; when he had to fight with Goliah, that monstrous giant, who was able to have eaten him, he could abide him, and was nothing afraid. And now what a work ? What exclamations maketh he at the sight of Death ? Jonas likewise was bold enough to bid the ship-men cast him into the sea, he had not seen that face and visage : but when he was in the whale’s belly, and had there the beholding of it, what terror and distress abode he ? Hezekiah,

when

when he saw Sennacherib besieging his city on every side, most violently, was nothing afraid of the great host, and mighty army that was like to destroy him out of hand ; yet he was afraid of Death. When the Prophet came unto him, and said : “ Set thy house in order, for thou shalt surely die, and not live.” It struck him so to the heart that he fell a weeping. O Lord, what horror was this ? There be some writers say, that Peter, James, and John, were in this feeling at the same time ; and that Peter, when he said, “ Depart from me, O Lord, for I am a sinful man,” did taste some part of it : he was so astonished, he wist not what to say. It was not long that they were in this anguish ; some say longer, some shorter : but Christ was ready to comfort them, and said to Peter, “ Be not afraid.” A friend of mine told me of a certain woman, that was eighteen years together in it. I knew a man myself, Bilney *, little Bilney, that blessed Martyr of God, what time he bore his faggot, and was come again to Cambridge, had such a conflict within himself, beholding this image of death, that his friends were afraid to let him be alone : They were fain to be with him day and night, and comforted him as they could, but no comforts would serve. As for the comfortable places of scripture, to bring them unto him, it was as though a man would run him through the heart with a sword : yet afterward, for all this, he was revived, and took his death patiently, and died well against the tyrannical see of Rome. Wo will be to that Bishop, that had the examination of him, if he repent not.

Here is a goodly lesson for you, my friends: If ever you come in danger, in durance, in prison for

Nº 9.

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God’s

* He was a Bachelor of both laws ; and was burnt for holding the Protestant principles, which were by the Clergy of that time deemed heretical. He suffered on the nineteenth day of August, in the year 1531.

God's quarrel, and his sake (as he did for purgatory-matters, and put to bear a faggot for preaching the true word of God against pilgrimages, and such like matters.) I will advise you first, and above all things, to abjure all your friends, all your friendships, leave not one unabjured : it is they that shall undo you, and not your enemies.

It was his very friends that brought Bilney to it. By this it may somewhat appear what our Saviour Christ suffered : he doth not dissemble it himself, when he saith ; " My soul is heavy unto death : he " was in so sore an agony, that there issued out of " him, as I shall intreat anon, drops of blood."

An ugly thing surely, that this fact and deed sheweth us, what horrible pains he was in for our sakes. But you will say, How can this be? Were it possible that I, and such other as be great sinners, should suffer such affliction? The Son of God, what our Saviour Christ? who never sinned, how can this stand, that he should be thus handled? He never deserved it.

Marry, I will tell you how; we must consider our Saviour Christ two ways, one way in his manhood, another in his godhead. Some places of scripture must be referred to his Deity, and some to his humanity. In his godhead he suffered nothing, but now he made himself void of his Deity ; as scripture saith, " Whereas he was in the form of God, " he emptied himself of it, he did hide it, and " used himself as though he had not had it ;" he would not help himself with his godhead ; " he " humbled himself with all obedience unto death, " even to the death of the cross : this was in that " he was man, he took upon him our sins ;" Not the work of sin, I mean not so, not to do it, not to commit it, but to purge it, to cleanse it, to bear the slipend of it : and that way he was the greatest sinner

of the whole world ; he bore all the sins of the world on his back ; he would become debtor for it.

Now to sustain and suffer the dolors of death, is not to sin : but he came into this world to purge with his passion our sins. Now this that he suffered in the garden was one of the bitterest pieces of all his passion : this fear of death, was the bitterest pain that ever he abode, due to sin which he never did, but became debtor for us. All this he suffered for us ; this he did to satisfy for our sins.

It is much like as if I owed another man twenty thousand pounds, and should pay it out of hand, or else go to the dungeon of Ludgate ; and when I am going to prison, one of my friends should come, and ask, Whither goes this man ? And after he had heard the matter, should say, Let me answer for him, I will be surety for him. Yea, I will pay all for him.

Such a part played our Saviour Christ with us. If he had not suffered this, I for my part should have suffered, according to the gravity and quantity of my sins, damnation. For the greater the sin is, the greater is the punishment in hell. He suffered for you and me, in such a degree as is due to all the sins of the whole world. It was as if ye should imagine, that one man had committed all the sins since Adam : you may be sure, he should be punished with the same horror of death, in such a sort as all men in the world should have suffered.

Feign, and put case our Saviour Christ, had committed all the sins of the world : all that I for my part have done, all that you for your parts have done, and that any man else hath done ; if he had done all this himself, this agony that he suffered should have been no greater nor grievouser, than it was. This that he suffered in the garden, was a portion I say of his passion, and one of the bitterest parts of it. And this he suffered for our Sins, and

not for any sins he committed himself: for all we should have suffered, every man according to his own deserts.

This he did of his goodness, partly to purge and cleanse our sins, partly because he would taste, and feel our miseries, " That he should the rather help " and relieve us ;" and partly he suffered to give us example to behave ourselves as he did. He did not suffer, to discharge us clean from death, to keep us clean from it, not to taste of it. Nay, nay, you must not take it so. We shall have the beholding of this ugly face every one of us, we shall feel it ourselves.

Yet our Saviour Christ did suffer, to the intent, to signify to us, that death is overcomeable. We shall indeed overcome it, if we repent, and acknowledge that our Saviour Jesus Christ pacified with his pangs and pains the wrath of the Father ; having a love to walk in the ways of God ; if we believe in Jesus Christ, we shall overcome death : I say, it shall not prevail against us.

Wherefore, whensoever it chanceth thee, my friend, to have the tasting of this death, that thou shalt be tempted with this horror of death, what is to be done then ? whensoever thou feelest thy soul heavy unto death, make haste and resort to this garden ; and with this faith thou shalt overcome that terror when it cometh.

O, it was a grievous thing that Christ suffered here. Of the greatness of this dolor that he suffered in the garden, partly to make amends for our sins, and partly to deliver us from death ; not so that we should not die bodily, but that this death should be a way to a better life, and to destroy and overcome hell. Our Saviour Christ had a garden, but he had very little pleasure in it. You have many goodly gardens, I wish you would in the midst of them consider what agony our Saviour Christ suffered in

the garden. A goodly meditation to have in your gardens. It shall occasion you to delight no further in vanities, but to remember what he suffered for you. It may draw you from sin : It is a good monument, a good sign, a good monition, to consider how he behaved himself in the garden.

Well ; he saith to his disciples, “ Sit here and pray with me.” He went a little way off, as it were a stone’s cast from them, and falleth to his prayer, and saith, “ Father, if it be possible, away with this bitter cup, this outrageous pain.” Yet afterward he correcteth himself, and saith, “ Not my will, but thy will be done, O Father.” Here is a good meditation for Christian men, at all times, and not upon Good-friday only : Let Good-friday be every day to a Christian man, to know how to use Christ’s passion to that end and purpose ; not only to read the story, but to take the fruit of it.

Some men, if they had been in this agony, would have run themselves through with their swords, as Saul did ; some would have hanged themselves, as Achitophel did. Let us not follow these men, they be no examples for us ; but let us follow Christ, who in his agony resorted to his Father with his prayer : This must be our pattern to work by.

Here I might dilate the matter as touching praying to Saints. Here we may learn not to pray unto Saints. Christ biddeth us, “ Pray to the Father that is in heaven,” to the Creator, and not to any creature. And therefore away with these advocates : Let God alone be our advocate ; what have we to do to run hither or thither, but only to the Father of heaven ? I will not tarry to speak of this matter.

Our Saviour Christ set his disciples in order, and commanded them to watch and pray, saying, “ Watch and pray :” whereto should they watch and pray ? he saith by and by, “ That ye enter not into temptation.” He biddeth them not pray that they be

be not tempted ; for that is as much as to say, to pray that we should be out of this world. There is no man in this world without temptation. In the time of our prosperity we are tempted to wantonness, pleasures, and all lightnes ; in time of adversity, to despair in God's goodness. Temptation never ceases. There is a difference between being tempted, and entring into temptation. He biddeth therefore not to pray that they be not tempted, but that they "enter not into temptation." To be tempted is no evil thing.

For what is it? no more than when the flesh, the devil and the world, doth solicit and move us against God.

To give place to these suggestions, and to yield ourselves, and suffer us to be overcome of them, this is to enter into temptation. Our Saviour Christ knew that they would be grievously tempted, and therefore he gave them warning, that they should not give place to temptation, nor despair at his death. And if they chanced to forsake him, or to run away, in case they tripped or swerved, yet to come again.

But our Saviour Christ did not only command his disciples to pray, but fell down upon his knees flat upon the ground, and prayed himself, saying, " Father, deliver me of this pang and pain that I am in, this outrageous pain." This word, Father, came even from the bowels of his heart, when he made his moan ; as who should say, Father, rid me ; I am in such pain that I can be in no greater ? Thou art my Father, I am thy Son. Can the Father forsake his Son in such anguish ? Thus he made his moan. Father, take away this horror of death from me, rid me of this pain, suffer me not to be taken when Judas cometh, suffer me not to be hanged on the crofs, suffer not my hands to be pierced with nails, nor my heart with the sharp spear. A wonderful

ful thing, that he should so oft tell his disciples of it before, and now, when he cometh to the point, to desire to be rid of it, as though he would have been disobedient to the will of his Father.

Before he said, he came to suffer, and now he saith, away with this cup. Who would have thought that ever this gear should have come out of Christ's mouth? What a case is this? What should a man say? You must understand, that Christ took upon him our infirmities, of the which this was one, to be sorry at death. Among the stipends of sin, this was one, to tremble at the cross, this is a punishment for our sin.

It goeth otherwise with us, than with Christ: if we were in like case, and in like agony we should almost curse God, or rather wish that there were no God. This that he said was not of that sort, it was referring the matter to the will of his Father: but we seek by all means, be it right, be it wrong, of our own nature to be rid out of pain; he desired it conditionally, as it might stand with his Father's will, adding a "nevertheless" to it. So his request was to shew the infirmity of man, here is now an example what we shall do when we are in like case. He never deserved it, we have. He had a nevertheless, a notwithstanding: let us have so to, we must have a "nevertheless, thy will be done, and not mine." Give me grace to be content, to submit my will unto thine. His fact teacheth us what to do. This is our chirurgery, our physic, when we be in agony; and reckon upon it, friends, we shall come to it, we shall feel it at one time or other.

What doth he now? what came to pass now? when he had heard no voice, his Father was dumb. He resorts to his friends, seeking some comfort at their hands, seeing he had none at his Father's hand; he cometh to his disciples, and findeth them asleep; he spake unto Peter, and said, Ah Peter, art thou asleep?

asleep? Peter before had bragged stoutly, as though he would have killed them all. God have mercy upon his soul; and now, when he should have comforted Christ, he was asleep; not once buff nor baff to him; not a word, he was fain to say to his disciples, "Watch and pray; the spirit is ready, but 'the flesh is weak;'" he had never a word of them again.

They might at the least have said, O Sir, remember yourself; are you not Christ? came not you into this world, to redeem sin? Be of good cheer, be of good comfort; this sorrow will not help you, comfort yourself by your own preaching: you have said, "It behoveth the son of man to suffer." You have not deserved any thing, it is not your fault. Indeed if they had done this with him, they had played a friendly part with him; but they gave him not so much as one comfortable word. We run to our friends in our distresses and agonies, as though we had all our trust and confidence in them: He did not so; he resorted to them, but trusted not in them, we will run to our friends, and come no more to God; he returned again. What? shall we not resort to our friends in time of need? and think ye we shall find them asleep? Yes, I warrant you; and when we need their help most, we shall not have it. But what shall we do, when we shall find lack in them? we will cry out upon them, upbraid them, chide, brawl, fume, chafe, and backbite them. But Christ did not so, he excused his friends, saying, "Watch and pray: I see well the spirit is ready, but the flesh is weak." What meaneth this? surely it is a comfortable place. For as long as we live in this world, when we be at the best, we have no more but "the readiness of the spirit with the infirmity of the flesh." The very saint of God said, "My will is good, but I am not able to perform it:" I have been with some, and fain they would, fain they would; there

there was readiness of spirit, but it would not be: It grieved them that they could not take things as they should do. The flesh resisteth the work of the holy Ghost in our hearts, and letteth it. We ought to pray ever to God: O prayer, prayer; that it might be used in this realm, as it ought to be of all men, and especially of Magistrates, of Counsellors, of great Rulers; to pray, to pray that it would please God to put godly policies in their hearts. Call for assistance.

I have heard say, when the good Queen that is gone had ordained in her house, daily prayer both before noon, and after noon, the * Admiral getteth him out of the way, like a mole digging in the earth. He shall be Lot's wife to me as long I live. He was, I heard say, a covetous man, a covetous man indeed; I would there were no more in England. He was, I heard say, an ambitious man, I would there were no more in England. He was, I heard say, a seditious man, a contemner of common prayer, I would there were no more in England: well he is gone. I would he had left none like him behind.

Nº X.

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Remember

* Thomas Seymour the King's uncle, and younger brother to the Earl of Hertford; and was appointed one of the Privy Council by King Henry the Eighth, to assist in the government of the kingdom during the minority of King Edward the Sixth. In the year 1547 he was created a Peer, by the style and title of Lord Sudley, and was made High Admiral of England, Ireland, Calais, Boulogne, and the Marches. Soon after which, he caballed against his brother the Earl of Hertford, then Lord Protector: but in this he failed. In 1548, he made his addresses to the Lady Elizabeth, but did not meet with that encouragement he expected from that Princess, and thereupon he turned his thoughts another way, and married Catharine Parr, the Queen Dowager, without the consent of his brother the Protector. He is charged by the Historians of this period with a suspicion of poisoning the Queen, that he might be at liberty to renew his addresses to the Princess Elizabeth. Which shews that he was a very wicked man. He had a boundless ambition, joined to a high conceit of himself. Hayward says, he was a hot, proud and haughty man.

Remember you, my Lords, that you pray in your houses to the better mortification of your flesh. Remember God must be honoured, I will you to pray, that God will continue his spirit in you. I do not put you in comfort, that if ye have once the spirit, ye cannot lose it. There be new spirits start up now of late, that say after we have received the spirit, we cannot sin. I will make but one argument: Saint Paul had brought the Galatians to the profession of the Faith, and left them in that state, they had received the spirit once, but they sinned again, as he testified of them himself: He saith, "Ye did run well;" ye were once in a right way; and again, "Ye did receive the spirit, not by the works of the law, but by the Righteousness of Faith." Once they had the spirit by Faith, but false Prophets came, (when he was gone from them,) and they fell from all that Paul had planted them in; and then said Paul, "O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you." If this be true, we may lose the spirit that we have once possessed. It is a fond thing: I will not tarry in it. But now to the passion again.

Christ had been with his Father, and felt no help: he had been with his friends, and had no comfort: he had prayed twice, and was not heard; what did he now? did he give prayer over? No, he goes again to his Father, and saith the same again; "Father, if it be possible, away with this cup." Here is an example for us, although we be not heard at the first time, shall we give over our prayer? Nay, we must to it again? we must be instant in prayer. He prayed thrice, and was not heard; let us pray three-score times: folk are very dull now a-days in prayer, to come to sermons, to resort to common prayer. Ye house-keepers, and especially great men, give example of prayer in your houses.

Well, did his Father look upon him this second time? No, he went to his friends again, thinking

to find some comfort there, but he finds them again, more deeper asleep than ever they were. Their eyes were heavy with sleep. There was no comfort at all, they wist not what to say to him. A wonderful thing; how he was tost from post to pillar, one while to his Father, and was destitute at his hand; another while to his friends, and found no comfort from them; his Father gave him looking on, and suffered him to bite upon the bridle a while.

Almighty God beheld this battle, that he might enjoy the honour and glory, “that at his name “all knees should bow, in heaven, earth, and “hell.” This, that the Father would not hear his own Son, was another punishment due to our sins. When we cry unto him, he will not hear us. The Prophet Jeremiah saith, “They shall cry unto me, and “I will not hear them.” These be Jeremiah’s words, here he threatneth to punish sin, with not hearing their prayers: the Prophet saith, “They have not “had the fear of God before their eyes, nor have “not regarded discipline and correction.” I never saw surely so little discipline as is now a-days: Men will be masters, they will be masters and disciples.

Alas, where is this discipline now in England? The people regard no discipline; they be without all order. Where they should give place, they will not stir one inch: yea, where Magistrates should determine matters, they will break into the place before they come, and at their coming not move a whit for them. Is this discipline? Is this good order? If a man say any thing unto them, they regard it not. They that be called to answer, will not answer directly, but scoff the matter out. Men, the more they know, the worse they be; it is truly said, knowledge makes us proud, and causes us to forget all, and set aside discipline. Surely in Popery they had a reverence, but now we have none at all; I never saw the like. This same lack of the fear of God and discipline in us, was one of the causes that the Father would not

hear his Son. This pain suffered our Saviour Christ for us, who never deserved it. O what it was that he suffered in this garden, till Judas came! The dolors, the terrors, the sorrows that he suffered were unspeakable. He suffered, partly, to make amends for our sins, and partly to give us example, what we should do in like case. What cometh of this gear in the end?

Well, now he prayeth again, he resorteth to his Father again. He was in sorer pains, in more anguish than ever he was; and therefore he prayeth longer, more ardently, more fervently, more vehemently, than ever he did before. O Lord, what a wonderful thing is this; this horror of death is worse than death itself, and is more ugly. He prayeth now the third time. He did it so instantly, so fervently, that it brought out a bloody sweat, and in such plenty, that it dropped down even to the ground. There issued out of his precious body drops of blood. What a pain was he in, when these bloody drops fell so abundantly from him? Yet for all that, how unthankfully do we shew ourselves toward him that died only for our sakes, and for the remedy of our sins. O what blasphemy do we commit day by day? What little regard have we to his blessed passion, thus to swear by God's blood, by Christ's passion? We have nothing in our pastime, but God's blood, God's wounds. We continually blaspheme his passion, in hawking, hunting, dicing, and carding. Who would think he should have such enemies among those that profess his name? What became of his blood that fell down think ye? was the blood of Hales * of it? wo worth it. What ado was there

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* This was a famous relic at Hales in Gloucestershire, and pretended to be the blood of our Saviour brought from Jerusalem, and there preserved for many ages past. If any man was in mortal sin, and had not received Absolution, he could not see the relic; which, otherwise, to any pious person, was visible enough. To prepare therefore for a sight of the miracle, it was the custom to,

to bring this out of the King's head. This great abomination of the blood of Hales, could not be taken a great while out of his mind.

You that be of the Court, and especially ye sworn Chaplains, beware of a lesson that a great man taught me at my first coming to the Court; he told me for good-will; he thought it well. He said to me, You must beware howsoever ye do, that ye contrary not the King; let him have his sayings, follow him, go with him. Marry, out with this counsel; shall I say, as he faith? Say your conscience, or else what a worm shall ye feel gnawing, what a remorse of conscience shall ye have, when ye remember how ye have slacked your duty? It is a good wise verse, "The drop of rain maketh a hole in the stone, not by violence, but by oft falling." Likewise a Prince must be turned, not violently, but he must be won by little and little. He must have his duty told him; but it must be done with humbleness, with request of pardon, or else it were a dangerous thing. Unpreaching Prelates, have been the cause, that the blood of Hales did so long blind the King. Wo worth that such an abominable thing should be in a christian realm; but thanks be to God, it was partly redressed in the King's days that is dead, and much more now. God grant good-will and power to go forward, if there be any such abomination behind, that it may utterly be rooted up.

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to confess to a Priest, and make a suitable offering at the altar, before the relic was shewn. This pretended blood of our Saviour, was kept in a crystal vessel, very thick on one side, but thin and transparent on the other. If a wealthy person appeared, they turned the thick side, where the eye could discern nothing: this, it is said, was done to open both his heart and his pocket. For when he had bought as many masses, and made offerings as far as they thought fit, they turned the thin side, and then the blood was visible to the eye. And this, as William Thomas, Clerk of the Council to King Edward the Sixth, says, was nothing more than the blood of a duck, renewed every week. Yet this mighty relic excited the devotion and adoration of King Henry the Eighth.

O how happy are we, that it hath pleased Almighty God to vouchsafe that his Son should sweat blood for the redeeming of our sins? and again, how unhappy are we, if we will not take it thankfully, that was redeemed so painfully? Alas, what hard hearts have we! Our Saviour Christ never sinned, and yet he sweat blood for our sins: we will not once water our eyes with a few tears. What an horrible thing is sin? That no other thing would remedy and pay the ransom for it, but only the blood of our Saviour Christ. There was nothing to pacify the Father's wrath against man, but such an agony as he suffered: all the passion of all the Martyrs that ever were, all the sacrifices of Patriarchs that ever were, all the good works that ever were done; were not able to remedy our sins, to make satisfaction for our sins, nor any thing besides, but this extreme passion, and blood-shedding of our most merciful Saviour Christ.

But to draw toward an end, what became of this threefold prayer? At the length, it pleased God to hear his Son's prayer; and sent him an Angel to corroborate, to strengthen, and to comfort him. Christ needed no Angel's help, if he had chosen to ease himself with his Deity. He was the Son of God, what then? Forsomuch as he was man, he received comfort at the Angel's hand: as it accords to our infirmity. His obedience, his continuance, and suffering, so pleased the Father of heaven, that for his Son's sake, be he never so great a sinner, leaving his sin, and repenting of the same, he will shew him such favour, as though he had never committed any sin.

The Father of heaven will not " suffer him to be
" tempted with this great horror of Death and Hell,
" to the utmost, and above that he is able to bear."
Look for it, my friend; by him and through him, we shall be able to overcome it: let us do as our Saviour

viour Christ did, and we shall have help from above, we shall have Angels help; if we trust in him, heaven and earth shall give up, rather than we shall lack help: He saith he is an helper in time of need.

When the Angel had comforted him, and when this horror of Death was gone, he was so strong, that he offered himself to Judas; and said, I am he. To make an end. I pray you take pains, it is a day noteworthy, as we use to say, give me leave to make you weary this day. The Jews had him to Caiaphas and Annas, and there they whipped him, and beat him: They set a crown of sharp thorns upon his head, and nailed him to a tree: Yet all this was not so bitter, as this horror of death, and this agony that he suffered in the garden, in such a degree as is due to all the sins of the world, and not to any one man's sins. Well, his passion is our remedy; it is the satisfaction for our sins. His soul descended to hell for a time.

Here is much ado; these new upstarting spirits say, Christ never descended into hell, neither body nor soul. In scorn they will ask, Was he there? what did he there? What if we cannot tell what he did there? The Creed goes no farther, but saith, he descended thither; what is that to us, if we cannot tell, seeing we were taught no further? Paul was taken up into the third heaven; ask likewise what he saw when he was carried thither? You shall not find in scripture, what he saw or what he did there; shall we not therefore believe that he was there? These arrogant spirits, spirits of vainglory, because they know not by any express scripture the order of his doings in hell, they will not believe that ever he descended into hell. Indeed this article hath not so full scripture, so many places and testimonies of scriptures as others have; yet it hath enough, it hath two or three texts: and if it had but one, one text of scripture is of as good and lawful authority as

as a thousand, and of as certain truth. It is not to be weighed by the multitude of texts*.

I believe as certainly and verily that this realm of England hath as good authority to hear God's word, as any nation in all the world; it may be gathered by two texts, one of them is this; "Go into the whole world, and preach the gospel to all creatures." Again, "God will have all men to be saved;" he excepts not Englishmen here, nor yet expressly nameth them; and yet I am as sure that the realm of England, by this gathering, is allowed to hear God's word, as though Christ had said a thousand times, Go preach to Englishmen: I will that Englishmen be saved.

Because this article of his descending into hell, cannot be gathered so directly, so necessarily, so formally, they utterly deny it.

This article hath scriptures two or three, enough for quiet minds; as for curious brains, nothing can content them. This the devil's stirring up of such spirits of sedition, is an evident argument, that the light is come forth; for his word is abroad when the devil rusheth, when he roareth, when he stirreth up such busy spirits to slander it. My intent is not to intreat of this matter at this time. I trust the people will not be carried away with these new arrogant spirits. I doubt not, but good Preachers will labour against them.

But now I will say a word, and herein I protest first of all, not arrogantly to determine, and define it; I will contend with no man for it; I will not have it to be prejudice to any body, but I offer it unto you to consider and weigh it. There be some great

* By which our pious Author means, that the good and faithful Christian should receive and believe these divine mysteries, upon the infallible credit of the holy scriptures, without any farther inquiry. And indeed, all farther inquiry is wholly unnecessary, as the Church and her Councils, have taught in all ages, since the compiling of the books of the Old and New Testament.

great clerks that take my part. And I perceive not what evil can come of it, in saying, that our Saviour Christ not only in soul descended into hell, but also he suffered in hell such pains as the damned spirits did suffer there. Surely, I believe verily, for my part, that he suffered the pains of hell proportionably, as it correspondeth and answereth to the whole sin of the world. He would not suffer only bodily in the garden, and upon the cross, but also in his soul when it was from the body; which was a pain due for our sin: Some write so, and I can believe it, that he suffered in the very place, though I cannot tell what it is, call it what ye will, even in the scalding-house, in the ugliness of the place, in the presence of the place, such pain as our capacity cannot attain unto. It is somewhat declared unto us, when we utter it by these effects, “by fire, by gnashing of teeth, by “the worm that gnaweth in the conscience.” Whatsoever the pain is, it is a great pain that he suffered for us.

I see no inconvenience to say, that Christ suffered in soul in hell. I singularly commend the exceeding great charity of Christ, that for our sakes would suffer his soul in hell. It sets out the unspeakable hatred that God hath to sin. I perceive not that it doth derogate any thing from the dignity of Christ’s death; as in the garden, when he suffered, it derogates nothing from that he suffered on the cross. Scripture speaketh on this fashion; “He that believeth in me, hath life everlasting.” Here he sets forth as the cause of our justification; in other places, as high commendation is given to works; and yet, are the works any derogation from that dignity of faith? No. And again, Scripture saith, “Christ, died for our sins, and rose again for our justification.” It attributes here our justification to his resurrection; and doth this derogate any thing from his death? Not a whit. It is whole Christ. What

with his nativity, what with his circumcision, what with his incarnation and preaching, what with his ascending, and descending, what with his death, it is all Christ that worketh our salvation. He sitteth on the right hand of his Father, and all for us: All this is the work of our salvation. I would be as loth to derogate any thing from Christ's death, as the best of you all. How inestimably are we bound unto him? What thanks ought we to give him for it? We must have this continually in remembrance, "For thee we are in dying continually."

The life of a christian man is nothing but a readiness to die, and a remembrance of death. If this that I have spoken of Christ's suffering in the garden, and in hell, derogate any thing from Christ's death and passion, away with it, believe me not in this; if it do not, it commends and sets forth very well unto us the perfection of the satisfaction that Christ made for us, and the work of redemption, not only before witness in this world, but in hell, in that horrid place; where, whether he suffered or wrestled with the spirits, or comforted Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, I will not desire to know. If ye like not that which I have spoken of his suffering, let it go, I will not strive in it; I will be prejudice to no body, weigh it as you list; I do but offer it you to consider. It is like, his soul did somewhat the three days that his body lay in the grave. To say, he suffered in hell for us, derogates nothing from his death. For all things that Christ did before his suffering on the cross, and after, do work our salvation. If he had not been incarnate, he had not died; he was beneficial to us in all things he did. Christian people should have his suffering for them in remembrance. Let your gardens admonish you, your pleasant gardens, what Christ suffered for you in the garden; and what commodity you have by his sufferings. It is his will ye should so do, he would be had in remembrance.

Mix your pleasures with the remembrance of his bitter passion. The whole passion is satisfaction for our sins ; and not the bare death, considering it so nakedly by itself. The manner of speaking of scripture, is to be considered. It attributes our salvation now to one thing, now to another that Christ did : when indeed it pertained to all. Our Saviour Christ hath left behind him a remembrance of his passion, the blessed communion, the celebration of the Lord's Supper ; alack, it hath been long abused, as the sacrifices were before in the old law. The Patriarchs used sacrifice, in the faith of the seed of the woman, which should break the serpent's head. The Patriarchs sacrificed in hope, and afterward the work was esteemed. There comes other after, and they consider not the faith of Abraham and the Patriarchs, but do their sacrifice according to their own imagination ; even so it came to pass with our blessed communion. In the primitive Church, in places when their friends were dead, they used to come together to the holy communion. What ? to remedy them that were dead ? No, no, a straw ; it was not instituted for any such purpose. But then they would call to remembrance God's goodness, and his passion that he suffered for us, wherein they comforted much their faith.

Others came afterward, and set up all these kinds of massing, all these kinds of iniquity. What an abomination is it ? the foulest that ever was, to attribute to man's work our salvation. God be thanked that we have this blessed communion set forth so now, that we may comfort, increase, and fortify our faith at that blessed celebration. If he be guilty of the body of Christ, that takes it unworthily ; he fetches great comfort at it, that eats it worthily : He doth eat it worthily, that eateth it in faith. In faith ? in what faith ? Not long ago a great man said in an audience, they babble much of faith, I will go lie

with my whore all night, and have as good a faith as the best of them all. I think he never knew any other, but the whoremonger's faith. It is no such faith that will serve. It is no bribing Judge's faith, no rent-raiser's faith, no whoremonger's faith, no leafe-monger's faith, nor no seller of benefices's faith; but that faith in the passion of our Saviour Christ: we must believe that our Saviour Christ hath taken us again into his favour, that he hath delivered us by his own body and blood, to plead with the devil, and by the merit of his own passion, of his own mere liberality. This is the faith, I tell you, that we must come to the communion with, and not the whoremonger's faith. Look where remission of sin is, there is acknowledging of sin also. Faith is a noble Dutches, she hath ever her Gentleman-usher going before her, the confessing of sins: she hath a train after her, the fruits of good works, the walking in the commandments of God. He that believeth will not be idle, he will walk, he will do his business; have ever the Gentleman-usher with you: So if you will try faith, remember this rule, consider whether the train be waiting upon her. If you have another faith than this, a whoremonger's faith, you are like to go to the scalding-house, and there you shall have two dishes, weeping and gnashing of teeth; much good do it you, you see your fare. If you will believe and acknowledge your sins, you shall come to the blessed Communion of the bitter passion of Christ worthily, and so attain to everlasting life; to the which the Father of heaven bring you and me. *Amen.*



S E R M O N XII.

By the Reverend Father in Christ Master HUGH LATIMER Bishop of Worcester.

Preached at Stamford, Oct. 9, in the Year 1550.

M A T T H E W xxv. 21.

Give that that is Cæsar's to Cæsar; and that that is God's to God.

THIS doctrine is grievous, heavy, and irksome to covetous hearts. Give, give, they cannot away with it, it cannot stick in their minds, nor settle in their stomachs: they would rather be taking, scraping, and catching, than giving. But godly persons will accept and take it, for it is to them a great pleasure, joy and comfort. For the better understanding of this place, ye shall understand, Christ came to bring us out of bondage, and to set us at liberty: not from civil burdens, as from obeying the Magistrates, from paying tax and tribute, but from a great burden, a more grievous burden, the burden of sin; the burden, not of the body, but of the soul; to make us free from it, and to redeem us from the curse and malediction of the law, unto the honourable estate of the children of God. But as for the civil burdens, he delivered us not from

from them, but rather commanded us to pay them. Give, give, saith he, to * Cæsar obedience, tribute, and all things due to Cæsar.

For the understanding of this text, it shall be very needful to consider the circumstance going before; which thing duly considered, gives a great light to all places of the scripture; who spake these words, to whom they were spoken, upon what occasion, and before whom. Therefore I will take the whole fragment and shred, taken out of God's book for the Gospel of this day, written in the Gospel of St Matthew, the twenty second chapter: "Then went the Pharisees, and took counsel †," Luke hath OBSERVANTES, marking, spying, looking, tooting, watching, like subtle, crafty, and sly fellows, they took counsel, and sent to him their disciples, which should feign themselves just men, godly men, glad to learn his doctrine: and with them Herod's servants, to trap him in his words: and they said to him: "Master, we know that thou art a true man, and teachest the way of God truly, and carest for no man: for thou regardest not the personage of man: Tell us therefore; what thinkest thou? Is it lawful to give Cæsar tribute-money, or no?" This was their question that they would have snared him with. In answering them to this, they would have caught him by the foot. But Jesus, knowing their malice, their wickedness, their uncharitable-
ness,

* This was Tiberius Cæsar, in the twentieth year of whose reign Jesus Christ our blessed Lord and Saviour was crucified.—This Emperor is said to have been a favourer of the Christians, after the Ascension of Christ; and was willing that our Lord should have been enrolled among the gods of the Roman empire for the many miracles he wrought, as Josephus testifies.

† A sect of the Jews, so called from the Hebrew word Pharish, *to separate*; because they applied themselves more especially to the study of the Law; and were distinguished from others, by pretending to more holiness than the rest of the people. They believed the existence of spirits, and the resurrection of the dead. St Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, was a Pharisee.

ness, said to them, “ Hypocrites, why do ye tempt me? Shew me a piece of the tribute-money. And they brought him a penny. And he said to them, Whose Image is this, and the writing? They answered, Cæsar’s. He said to them, Give to Cæsar, that that belongeth to Cæsar, and to God, that that is God’s.”

Thus ye may perceive, it was our Saviour Christ, that spake these words, and they were spoken to the Pharisees that tempted him. But they be a doctrine unto us, that are Christ’s disciples. For whose words should we delight to hear and learn, but the words and doctrine of our Saviour Christ?

And that I may at this time so declare them, as may be for God’s glory, your edifying, and my discharge, I pray you all to help me with your prayers.

In the which prayer, &c. for the universal Church of Christ throughout the whole world, &c. for the preservation of our Sovereign Lord King Edward the Sixth, sole supreme head under God and Christ, of the Churches of England and Ireland, &c. Secondly, for the King’s most honourable Council. Thirdly, I commend unto you the souls departed this life in the faith of Christ, that ye remember to give laud, praise, and thanks to Almighty God, for his great goodness and mercy shewed unto them in that great need and conflict against the devil and sin, and that gave them at the hour of death faith in his Son’s

* The Roman penny was of the value of seven pence half penny English, according to some, or of ten pence, according to others, marked with the letter X, because it was worth ten asies.

† We see here the manner in which the Clergy of this time introduced their Sermons, by exhorting the people to pray for the King as sole supream head of the Church of England, for the Privy Council, for the High Court of Parliament, for all the Estates of the Realm, as well civil as ecclesiastical; and lastly, they praised God for all the Saints departed this life in the true faith and fear of Christ.

Son's death and passion, whereby they might conquer and overcome and get the victory. Give thanks I say for this, adding prayers and supplications for yourselves, that it may please God to give you the like faith and grace to trust only unto the death of his dear Son, as he gave unto them. For as they be gone, so must we: and the devil will be as ready to tempt us as he was them, and our sins will light as heavy upon us as theirs did upon them: And we are as weak and unable to resist, as they were. Pray therefore that we may have grace to die in the same faith of Christ as they did, and at the latter day be raised with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and be partakers with Christ in the kingdom of heaven: for this, and all other graces let us say the Lord's prayer.

“ THEN went the Pharisees, &c.” it hangeth on a text before. Christ told them a similitude that the kingdom of heaven is like to a King that made a bridal for his son, he married his son, and sent his servants out to bid his guests. They, would not come then, although he had made great preparing and much cost for them: Ambition, Covetousness, and Cruelty would not let them come.

Then he sent his warriors and destroyed them; and again and again sent other servants to bid guests to his bridal *, hand over head, come who would. They did his bidding, and the house was full of guests. The King now would view his guests, and finding there one not clad in marriage garments, he asked him: “ Friend, how camest thou here, not having a marriage garment? and commanded to bind him hand and foot, and cast him into utter darkness: there was wailing and gnashing of teeth: “ For many be called but few be chosen.” Now Christ

* An old word for marriage, marriage-feasts, and every thing pertaining thereto.

Christ expoundeth this : The kingdom of heaven is preaching of the Gospel. This marriage is the joining of Christ and his Church, which was begun by Christ here on earth, and shall continue to the end of the world. The bidders of his guests are Preachers, but here are so many lets and hindrances : Covetousness is a let, Ambition is a let, Cruelty is the greatest let. For they beat his servants, broke their heads, yea murdered them which bad them to his bridal. With this the King was angry, and sent his men of war to destroy those unthankful people. Was he not angry with Covetousness, and with Ambition ? Yes he is angry with covetous men, with ambitious men ; but most of all with Cruelty. This is an anger above common anger, when men be not only unthankful, but also add cruelty, to persecute the Preachers that comes to call us to this marriage.

This touched God so nigh, that he saith, “ He “ that heareth you, heareth me.” This cruelty the King would not leave unpunished, but sent forth his men of war. They are called his men of war, his men, for wars come at his commandment. Titus and Vespasian*, were sent of God to punish those covetous Jews, ambitious Jews, cruel Jews, that would not credit Christ, nor believe the preaching of salvation. Now in war what party soever gets the victory, that is God’s part, that is God’s host. Nebuchadonosser was an evil man, a wicked man, yet was he sent of God to punish the stubborn and covetous Jews for their ambition and cruelty, and forsaking God’s most holy word ; and he is called in scripture, “ God’s servant.” It is no good argument ; He hath the victory, therefore he is a good man.

Nº 10.

H h

* Jerusalem was utterly destroyed by the Roman General Vespasianus, about the seventy fifth year of the christian æra, with a cruel slaughter, according to the prediction of our Saviour, as recorded in the Evangelists.

good man. But this is a good argument ; He hath the victory, therefore God was on his side, and by him punished the contrary party.

The Preachers called good and bad ; they can do no more but call, God is he that must bring in, God must open the hearts, as it is in the Acts of the Apostles. When Paul preached to the women, there was a silk-woman, whose heart God opened. None could open it but God : Paul could but only preach, God must work, God must do the thing inwardly. But good and bad came. Therefore the Preacher is likened to a fisher's net that seeketh good fish and bad, and draweth all to the shore. In the whole multitude that profess the Gospel, all be not good, all cannot away with the mortifying of their flesh, they will with good-will bear the name of Christians, of Gospellers ; but to do the deeds they grudge, they repine, they cannot away with it. Among the Apostles all were not honest, nay, one was a devil : so among a great many Gospellers, some are Card-gospellers, some are Dice-gospellers, some are Pot-gospellers ; all are not good, all seek not amendment of life.

Then cometh the King to see his guests, and findeth one not having the marriage garment, and saith to him ; " Friend, how camest thou hither, and " hast not the marriage garment ?" Faith is the marriage garment, not a feigned faith without good living, but faith that worketh by love. He was blamed because he professed one thing, and was indeed another. Why did he not blame the Preachers ? There was no fault in them, they did their duties ; they had no further commandment but to call them to the marriage ; the garment he should have provided himself. Therefore he quarrelleth not with the Preachers, what doth this fellow here ? Why suffered ye him to enter, &c. For their commission extended no further but only to call him.

Many

Many are grieved that there is so little fruit of their preaching. And when as they are asked ; Why do you not preach, having so great gifts given you of God ? I would preach, say they, but I see so little fruit, so little amendment of life, that it maketh me weary. A naughty answer, a very naughty answer. Thou art troubled with that God gave thee no charge of, and leavest undone that thou art charged with. God commands thee to preach ; and if thou speak not, if thou warn not the wicked, that they turn, and amend, they shall perish in their iniquities. " His blood will I require at thy hand." This text nippeth, this pincheth, this toucheth the quick. He shall die in his wickedness, but I will require his blood at thy hand. Hearken well to this, mark it well, ye Curates, " I will ask his blood at " thy hand." If you do not your office, if ye teach not the people, and warn them not, you shall be damned for it. If you do your office, you are discharged. Warn them therefore to leave their wickedness, their covetousness, their ambition, their cruelty, unmercifulness, &c. and thou hast saved thine own soul. For there was no quarrel with the Preachers, but he was cast into prison ; " where was " weeping and wailing, and grinning of teeth :" these were his delicates. " Many are called but few " are chosen." To this parable now joineth this Gospel. " Then went the Pharisees out." The Pharisees were a sect of religion among the Jews, most exquisite, perfect, holy, and learned, and were reputed most godly men, even such as in holiness exceeded all other, (so much did their hypocrisy prevail) as our Monks were of late amongst us, and be yet in other places. They were in God's bosom, even at heaven-gates, in the sight of the world ; but inwardly superstitious, feigned, hollow-hearted, dissemblers. Now at this time I know none more like them than the hypocritical hollow-hearted Papists. The name is,

changed, but the thing remaineth. Therefore they may well be called by the name that keep the thing. These were enemies to Christ and his doctrine. They would be ordered by old wont, customs, and fore-fathers; and to maintain their traditions, set aside the Commandments of God, refused Christ and his word.

St Luke hath **OBSERVANTES**, observants ; that is, watchers, tooters, spies, much like the Observant Friars *, the barefoot Friars that were here ; which indeed were the Bishop of Rome's spies, watching in every country, what was said or done against him. He had it quickly by one or other of his spies, they were his men altogether ; his posts to work against the Regality. In the Court, in the Noblemen's houses, in every Merchant's house, those Observants, were spying, tooting and looking, watching and prying, what they might hear or see against the see of Rome. Take heed of these Observants. To understand the word **OBSERVANTES**, mark what the Poet saith in his comedy, *Observa-Davum*; take heed, beware and mark *Davum*, for they will be stirring in every Town, in every Gentleman's house, yea at their very tables : Well, be wise, beware of them. "They took counsel ;" some goodly thing, some weighty matter, I am sure, that these holy fathers consult upon. It must needs be for the commonwealth, and the profit of many, that these holy Fathers came together for. It was to snare or trap him in his words: This was their device, this was their counsel: To this end they gathered such a company of holy fathers ; A council, a council.

Bonum

* A branch of the Order of the Franciscan or Grey Friars, so called, because they bound themselves more especially to a strict observation of the rules of their profession. They were also called Observantins. Some of this Order, in greater humility and mortification, used to go bare footed.

Bonum est Concilium, said one: Yea marry, quoth the other, *sed bonorum.* A council is good; yea, Sir, if it be of good men. For else what is a council, if it be wicked, of wicked men? If they say: This was done by a council, determined in a council; what is it the better, if the council be wicked? The * Nicene council was gathered of a great number of Bishops and learned men, yet had not one man been there, they had determined contrary to God's word. They were minded and earnestly bent to make a decree, that no Priest should marry; but one old man, and unmarried himself, withheld that act, and turned the council's mind, so that they meddled not with that decree. And why? more credence is to be given to one man having the holy word of God for him, than to ten thousand without the word. If it agree with God's word, it is to be received; if it agree not, it is not to be received; though a council, yea, though an Angel from heaven had determined it. Truth it is, that Christ granteth to a congregation gathered in his name, to be amongst them, yea though it be but two or three. There is as much granted to two or three, as to ten thousand, so they come in Christ's name. "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." In my name much wickedness is done, that is, "in the name of the

* This was the first General Council, and was held in the year 325, by order of Constantine the Great, in the city of Nice, in Bythinia, a province of Asia Minor. It appears from the Acts of this Council, that it consisted of three hundred sixty five Bishops, among whom were several British Bishops. They confirmed, or rather, by public decrees established all the great and fundamental Articles of the Christian Faith, *viz.* the Divinity of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, the Incarnation, Resurrection and Ascension of our blessed Lord. They also at the same time composed the Creed called the Nicene Creed; they instituted the veneration due to the Virgin Mary, the Holy Cross, and to the Images or Representations of Christ, his Apostles, and of other departed Saints.

“the Lord.” When they come together seeking their own private lust, pleasures, and ambitious desires, it is not “in the name of the Lord.” But to seek God’s glory, Christ’s glory, Christ’s true religion, that is, “in the name of Christ;” and then they are to be heard. But what was these mens council? “That they might insnare him in what he “should say.” To snare or entangle him in his words, tooters, and watchers to catch him in his words, that they might enforce somewhat against him: These were wily spies, fly children, children of the world, and craftily they handled their matters. “They sent his disciples with the Herodians *.” They would not go themselves, lest they might have been known, but he knew not their disciples as they thought. And they went not alone, but had with them Herod’s soldiers, Herod’s favourers. This Herod † was an Idumean ‡, and was appointed by the Romans to govern the Jews, and to gather the tribute-money. Therefore he was hated among the Jews, and so were those that favoured the Romans part, and in disdain they were called Herodians. Now was the time come, that the holy Patriarchs prophesied, that the scepter and kingdom was removed, and Christ was born. This they should have marked, and received his doctrine. But they went about to destroy him, and therefore they brought the

* A sect of heretics, who took Herod for the Messiah.

† He was surnamed the Great, and was created by the Senate of Rome King of Judea. He murdered the Innocents at Bethlehem, hoping thereby to have slain our blessed Lord. He ruined the Temple of Jerusalem built by Zorobabel; but he afterwards raised another more magnificent in its place. He died a miserable death, as the ecclesiastical writers affirm, being eaten up alive of lice.

‡ Idumæa, a kingdom of Palestine, lying betwixt Arabia, Judea and Egypt. The founder of this state was Esau, the son of the Patriarch Isaac; from whom descended the Edomites, a great and warlike people, with whom the Israelites had wars with various success, for a long time.

the Herodians with him. Here now is an agreement in wickedness between the Pharisees and the Herodians, against the truth, against Christ, against God's word they agree together; whereas indeed neither loved other, but hated each other as a toad. So many now adays of our Pharisees, Papists, in destroying the truth they agree wondrous well, whereas in private matters they hate one another as a toad.

Here cometh me now these holy fathers from their council, and send their disciples with the Herodians: mark their behaviour, and mark Christ's behaviour. They came flattering and with low curtesy, as though they would creep into his bosom: as for Herod's men, they meddle not, but stand by to hear the tale as witnesses, and if he should speak any thing amiss, be ready to lay hands upon him. They would fain rid him and destroy him; but they would turn the envy of the deed upon Herod, so that they would be seen faultless. It had been more meet for them to have counselled how to amend their faults, and to have come to Christ to learn his doctrine, than to study maliciously to trap him and to destroy him. What said they? "Master, we know that thou art a true man, and teacheth the way of God truly," Master we know that thou art Tom-tell-truth, and thou tellest the very truth, and sparest no man. Thou art plain Tom-tell-truth. Goodly words, but out of a cankered stomach and malicious heart: Smiling speakers creep into a man's bosom, they love and make all to love him; they favour his word, and call him Master, and yet would gladly see him hanged. These are indeed hypocrites, one in heart, and another in mouth: "We know that thou art a true man, and that thou teacheth the way of God in truth." Yea, this is God's way, taught truly. There is God's way, and man's way. Many teach mens way, but that should not be: we should learn God's way, and that truly without mixture, temperature,

temperature, blanching, powdering. Many teach God's way and shall preach a very good and godly Sermon, but at the last they would have a blanched almond, one little piece of Popery patched in, to powder the matter with, for their own lucre and glory. They make a mangling of the way of God and man's way together, a mingle-mangle, as men serve pigs in my country. Christ did not so: he taught the way of God truly without mixture, powdering, or blanching. These be the properties of all true Preachers, that these confess to be in Christ. It is true every word that they speak: Christ is our Master appointed of God, he was true and taught God's way, not man's way, truly; not blanching it with man's doctrine. So should we Preachers be true men, Preachers of God's way, truly, truly, without regard of person; that is, for man's pleasure corrupting the word, or mingle-mangle the word with man's invention and traditions.

Here may Patrons of benefices learn upon what manner of man they should bestow their benefice. Upon a true man, a teacher. He may not be to learn, and a Scholar*, when he should teach others; but one learned; able to teach, able and well willing to discharge his cure. But what do you Patrons? Sell your benefices, or give them to your servants for their service, for keeping of hounds, or hawks, for making of your gardens. These Patrons regard

* Bishop Burnet says of the Clergy about the period of the Reformation, the Cathedral Clergy throughout the kingdom gave themselves up wholly to idleness and pleasure. They decried and discouraged learning; affirming, that learning would bring in heresy, and all manner of mischief. Learning was also at a very low ebb in the Universities both of Oxford and Cambridge. And to this the Bishop adds, that the rural and parochial Clergy were universally ignorant, slothful, idle, superstitious, proud and vicious; preaching very seldom, and teaching the people fables and legends, rather than the true and wholesome word of God. *Reformat.* Tom. I. p. 21, &c.

gard no souls, neither their own nor other mens. What care they for souls, so they have money, though they perish; though they go to the devil? Whereas indeed the office of a Patron is to have a care, a zeal, a vigilant eye, for souls-health, and to provide for his Churches, that he is Patron of, that they might be taught in God's word. Truly, many now-a-days, strive to be Patrons of benefices, and go to law who shou'd be Patron. And what strive they for, think ye? Even which of them shall go to the devil first... For they regard not souls-health, nor the office of preaching, the office of salvation; whereas indeed therefore are they Patrons to look to it, and to see it be provided for. God of his goodness and almighty power, might ordain other ways and means of salvation: but this office of preaching is it that God hath ordained, as St Paul saith; "Whereas the world by its wisdom knew not God, "it pleased God by foolish preaching to save those "that believe; by the foolishness of preaching," or foolish preaching, it maketh no matter. Not that it was foolish indeed, but that the wise men of the world did so esteem and take the preaching of the gospel, whereas indeed it is most godly wisdom; and the preaching office, is the office of salvation, and the only means that God hath appointed to salvation. Those that believe be saved by this holy office of preaching. I would wish it were better looked unto, and provided for, and that Patrons and Bishops should see more diligently to it, than hath been done afore time. I would ask no more diligence to this office of salvation, than men are wont to bestow upon their worldly pleasures, and lucre, and commodities. Nay, would they bestow but half the labour and pains, and some little part of their expences, it were well.

To consider what hath been plucked from Abbeys, Colleges, and Chantries, it is marvel no
Nº XI. I i more

more is to be bestowed upon this holy office of salvation. It may well be said by us, that the Lord complaineth by his Prophet, " My house ye have deserted, and ye run every one to his own house." What is Christ's house, but Christian souls? but who maketh any provision for them? every man scrapeth and getteth together for this bodily house, but the soul's health is neglected. Schools are not maintained; Scholars have no exhibition, the preaching office decayeth: men provide land and riches for their children, but this most necessary office, they for the most part neglect. Very few there be that help poor scholars, that set their children to school to learn the word of God; and to make provision for the age to come. This notwithstanding is the only way to salvation. God will not devise any new way, as far as I perceive: but would have us to use this way ordained already. This preaching way we ought to use, and not to look for any new way; this office of salvation we ought to maintain, and not look for any other. My request is, that ye would bestow as much to the maintenance of this necessary office of salvation, as ye were wont to bestow in times past upon Romish trifles, and things of man's traditions. Neither do I now speak of myself and my Convent, as the begging Friars were wont to do. I have enough, I thank God, and I need not to beg. I would every Preacher were as well provided as myself through this realm, as indeed I think them as well worthy as myself. I wish, I say, ye would bestow as much upon this necessary office of salvation, as in times past ye bestowed in pilgrimages*, in images, in gilding,

* Vows made for these purposes were held sacred, and married women frequently, in the days of Romish superstition, left their husbands and children, and travelled to holy places at considerable distances, in company with other pilgrims, to visit the tombs of departed saints, and to perform acts of charity and devotion;

ing, painting, in masses *, diriges †, trentals ‡; || chantries, and such like vain things of the Romish Pharisees and Papists inventing. Ye would do that without calling ; and to this will you not be ready when ye be called ? If it be no better in time

I i 2

to

devotion ; till at length these religious undertakings degenerated into licentiousnes and debauchery. The original design and institution of them, seemed calculated for two purposes ; the one, to excite in the pilgrim an emulation to imitate the virtues of the saint he or she visited ; and the other, to give an opportunity to the devotee to make a suitable present to the Abbey, Monastery or Church, in which the relics of the saint was deposited. In which sort of piety the people of the monastic age were very profuse.

* The mass, is that part of the Roman service which answers to the communion-service of the Church of England. — It is called mass, from the Greek Μάζα, the dough, paste, or wafer, eaten in the celebration thereof. Hence the term Mass-Priest, which so often occurs in our historians.

+ It should be written Dirges, from the old Teutonic word, *Dyrke*, to howl and lament. It means certain solemn prayers said for the dead among the Roman Catholics, accompanied with mournful ditties and lamentations, usually sung at funerals. It was common also at these dirges, for the Priest to make an harangue in commendation and praise of the deceased person ; especially if the party had left any thing to the church or monastery to which the Priest belonged. Among the Protestants, Funeral Sermons have supplied their place.

‡ An office for the dead that continued thirty days, and consisted of thirty masses.

|| A Chantry, was a little Church, Chapel, or particular Altar, in some Cathedral Church, &c. endowed with lands or other revenues, for the maintenance of one or more Priests, daily to sing mass, and perform divine service for the health, safety, and good estate of the souls of the founders, and such others as they appointed. These Chantries were many of them entirely independent of any Church, though in Cathedrals there were usually a great number of these Altars. St Paul's in London had a great number, attended by about two hundred Priests. From the place in which they officiated they were denominated Chantry Priests. In these Chantries, the Priests used once a year to perform a solemn Obit or Dirge ; at which time it was customary to recite the good deeds of their Patrons, and to distribute something left by the parties deceased to the poor. Whence these yearly transactions obtained the name of Anniversaries.

to come, than hitherto looked unto, then England will at the last bewail it. Christ knew what a charge hangeth on this necessary office of preaching, the office of salvation, and therefore most earnestly applied to it himself. And when he chose his twelve Apostles to send them forth unto this office, he first prayed all the night. He being God almighty with the Father, might have given all gifts fit for this office, but to teach us, he would first pray all night. Here is good matter for Bishops and Patrons to look upon, and not to regard so little whom they give their benefices unto, or whom they admit to cure the souls they have charge of. A notable example : Christ prayed all night, ere he would send them forth, ere he would put them in this preaching office, this most necessary office of salvation. For he saw that they had need of great zeal to God, and to souls-health, that should take upon them to keep souls ; and a bold courage and spirit, that should rebuke the world of their sin and wickedness.

Many will chuse now such a Curate for their souls, as they may call fool ; rather than one that shall rebuke their covetousnes, ambition, unmercifulnes, uncharitableness ; that shall be sober, discreet, apt to reprove, and resist the gainsayers with the word of God.

These be the properties of every good Preacher, to be a true man, to teach, not dreams, nor inventions of men, but, " The way of God truly ; and " not to regard the personage of man." Not to creep into his bosom, to claw his back ; to say to the wicked he doth well ; for filthy lucre's sake. Ah these flatterers, no greater mischief in the commonwealth, than these flatterers. But who would have discerned this, but our Saviour Jesus Christ ? He spied them out, and knew all their malicious hearts, their uncharitable hearts, their dissembling hearts, and said, " Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites."

Hypocrites,

Hypocrites, Hypocrites, Hypocrites, one in heart, another in mouth ; fair in pretence, but full of mischief, and malicious hatred within. He saw what was within ; then have at ye, ye hypocrites : they put forth their question ; “ Is it lawful to give “ tribute to Cæsar, or not ? ”

A perilous question to answer to. This was the fruit of their counsel, and this was the snare laid for him ; what should he do now ? Hold his peace ? That had been a slander to his doctrine. They would have said ; Lo, how ignorant he is in the law, that hath no answer to this simple and plain question. If he affirm, and pay the tribute, he shall incur the hatred of the people, and seem to speak in favour of the Romans. If he should have denied it ; then had they that they sought for. The Herodians were ready to lay hands upon him, to have him to Bocardo *, to prison with him, a Traytor that speaketh against Cæsar ; away with this seditious fellow.

O Lord, what peril is it to have to do with these Hypocrites ? Who could have escaped this snare but Christ only, which is the wisdom of the Father, and knew all their maliciousness and crafty flights ? And as he then by his wisdom overcame them, so now doubtless he giveth wisdom to all his, to spy out and beware of their subtle crafts. For such trains, traps, snares, and subtleness, as these Pharisees laid for Christ, such have our pharisaical Papists laid for Christ’s Preachers. But he mercifully ever fulfilled his promise ; “ I will, saith Christ, give you a “ mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries “ shall not be able to resist.” They shall not be tongue-tied, they have their answer, yea, so wise that their adversaries shall not be able to resist. They may well oppress it here in this world with power,
but

* An Italian word, signifying a close place, a dungeon, or prison, and the name of the common prison of Oxford.

but they cannot be able to overcome it with arguments of truth; no, all the pack of adversaries, with all their subtleties, snares, and gins. They may rail upon it, as in many places lewd fellows do against Priests marriages; The dame, his wife, his whore, &c.

But they cannot deny it by any scripture, but that the marriage of Priests is as good and godly, as the marriage of any other man. “ For wedlock is “ honourable among all men, and the wedlock bed “ undefiled. And to avoid fornication, let every “ man have his own wife.” Well, let them rail, let them do what they can against the truth; mark the end; look upon the end. The end is, all adversaries of the truth must be confounded and come to nought, neither shall they be able to resist it. And though the poor disciples be troubled, vexed and persecuted; mark the end. The highest promotion that God can bring his unto in this life, is to suffer for his truth. And it is the greatest setting forth of his word, it is God’s seed. And one suffering for the truth, turneth more than a thousand Sermons. I will tell you an example of this, how God giveth mouth and wisdom.

I was once in examination before five or six Bishops, where I had much turmoiling: every week thrice I came to examination, and many snares and traps were laid to get something. Now God knoweth I was ignorant of the law; but that God gave me answer and wisdom what I should speak. It was God indeed, for else I had never escaped them. At the last I was brought forth to be examined, in a chamber hanged with arras, where I was wont to be examined, but now at this time the chamber was somewhat altered. For whereas before there was wont ever to be a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras hanging hanged over the chimney, and the table stood near the chimney’s end;

end; so that I stood between the table and the chimney's end. There was among these Bishops that examined me, one with whom I have been very familiar, and took him for my great friend, an aged man, and he sat next the table's end.

Then among all other questions, he put forth one, a very subtle and crafty one, and such a one indeed as I could not think so great danger in. And when I should make answer; I pray you, Master Latimer, saith he, speak out; I am very thick of hearing, and here be many that sit far off. I marvelled at this, that I was bidden to speak out, and began to misdeem, and gave an ear to the chimney. And, Sir, there I heard a pen walking in the chimney behind the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all my answers, for they made sure work that I should not start from them, there was no starting from them.

God was my good Lord, and gave me answer, I could never else have escaped it. The question was this; Master Latimer, do you not think on your conscience, that you have been suspected of heresy? A subtle question, a very subtle question. There was no holding of peace would serve. To hold my peace, had been to grant myself faulty. To answer it was every way full of danger. But God which alway hath given me answer, helped me, or else I could never have escaped it, and delivered me from their hands. Many a one has had the like gracious deliverance, and been indued with God's wisdom; and God's spirit, which all their adversaries cannot be able to resist.

“ Shew me, said he, a penny of tribute-money.” They laid snares to destroy him, but he overturneth them in their own traps. “ He taketh the crafty in “ their own subtle gins and snares;” but not maliciously to destroy them, as they maliciously would have seen him hanged, but mercifully to turn them

from

from their wicked imaginations, that they might consider that no wisdom, subtle crafts, nor counsel is against the Lord; so repent and become new men. And they brought him a piece of their current coin, that was worth ten of our usual pence, such another piece as our testoon. And he said, “ Whose image “ is this, and superscription? They said, Cæsar’s:” For now was Jewry brought under the bondage of the Romans, and therefore used they the Roman coin, and had upon it both Cæsar’s image, and Cæsar’s superscription. The answer of Jesus; “ Pay “ to Cæsar that is due to Cæsar, and to God that “ which is due to God.”

Make not a mingle-mangle of them, but give to God his own, give Cæsar his own. To God give thy soul, thy faith, thy hope, thy obedience of mind, to keep his word, and frame thy life thereafter. To Cæsar give tribute, tax, subsidy, and all other duties pertaining to him; as to have him in thy honour and reverence, and to obey his just laws and righteous commandments, &c.

But because the time is past, I will here make an end for this forenoon, desiring you to pray to God for his help; for at afternoon I purpose to begin again at this text, and to go forth as God shall give me his grace. Now let us all say together the Lord’s prayer; “ Our Father which art in heaven, &c.



S E R M O N XIII.

By the Reverend Father in Christ Master HUGH LATIMER Bishop of Worcester.

Preached in the afternoon of the same day.

M A T T H E W xxv. 21.

Give that that is Cæsar's to Cæsar ; and that that is God's to God.

YE may perceive by that we have said, who spake these words, and upon what occasion they were spoken. Our Saviour Christ spake them to the tempting Pharisees, willing them to know their duty by their own confession, and to give to Cæsar his due, and to God his due. Our Saviour Christ spake them : If he spake them, we ought to regard them. Regard them I say, and make much of them, for though they were then spoken to them, yet in them they were spoken to all the world. I use to make a rehearsal of that I spake before, but because the time is short, I will omit it. The service must be done, and the day goeth fast away. Therefore I will to my matter, and leave the rehearsal.

These words be words of great importance, and should be well considered : for he that doth this, receiveth great benefit by it, but he that doth it not, incurreth great damage and danger. The occasion was a counsel taken among these holy fathers to snare Christ : a good and charitable deed ; yet

were they holy men, holy fathers, full of charity up to the head and ears. This they learned in their council, and this now they set on broach. But Christ now causeth them to make answer to their own question, as he did also a little before; when he was come up into Jerusalem, and had driven the buyers and sellers out of the Temple, the * Arch-Pharisees, Provincials †, and Abbot-Pharisees, came stoutly to him as he was preaching in the Temple, and said to him, “ By what authority dost thou these things? “ Who hath given thee this authority ? ” We have the rule of the people of God, we have given thee no such authority.

A wondrous thing, Christ hath testimony of his Father; “ This is my beloved Son, hear him.” John had born him witness, saying, “ Behold the “ Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the “ world.” His works and miracles were testimonies that his doctrine was of God. Well, all this would not serve: He must have license of these holy fathers, or else all is nothing worth. Christ answered not directly to their question, but asked them another question, and made them give answer against themselves, and as it were with one wedge driveth out another: “ The Baptism of John, was it of God, “ or of man ? ” Here he driveth them to confess his doctrine to be of God. For John, whom they could not deny to have been sent of God, bore witness that his doctrine was true. If they had confessed this, he would have inferred, Why believe ye him not? If they should have said, John was not of God, then would all the people have been against them; yea, in a hurly-burly have stoned them. This they thought within themselves, and yet their malicious hearts would

* The chief of the Pharisees, &c.

† A Provincial is a Superior or chief Governor of all the religious houses of the same Order in a Province. To him belonged the visitation, good government, redress of grievances, reformation, correction, &c. of them. He was appointed by the Pope.

would not bear it to confess the truth : nay, rather like wise gentlemen, they answered, " We know not " we cannot tell."

These Arch-Pharisees thought nothing might be done, or taught, without their license, nor otherwise but as they pleased to interpret. They were like our religion and Clergy, that thought nothing might be taught but as they pleased. They would pay no tribute, tax, nor custom. They had their immunities, privileges, and grants, from the Romish Bishop. And to maintain this they alledged many scriptures, as this ; " Touch not mine anointed " or consecrated people." Which words the Lord spake of the Israelites in Ægypt, warning King Pharaoh to leave and cease from persecuting the Israelites ; and it maketh as much for our Clergy's immunity, and proveth it as well, as if a man alledged, *Quem terris pontus*, to prove that an Ape hath a tail. Well, they answered, " Cæsar's ;" they confessed it was Cæsar's money, and Cæsar's image and writing upon it. Here Christ compelled them to make answer to their own question ; and if envy should arise, to take it themselves ; for they confessed it to be Cæsar's. Then said he, " Give to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, and to God that is due to God." This answer of Christ I would have you to learn : Give to your Cæsar, to your King, to our most noble King Edward, our Cæsar, our King and Magistrate appointed and given to us of God, give to him that which is due to him. This is a Commandment of God, as are these ; " Thou shalt not murder. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbours." And as thou art bound upon peril of thy soul to obey the other : so upon peril of thy soul thou art bound to obey and keep this. Look well upon it, for it is upon peril of thy soul. *Date*, give, give, a heavy word to a covetous heart, to a rebellious heart ; they would not hear *reddite*, or *date*, pay, or give ; but take, catch, K k 2 keep

keep fast. We are all bound to live in obedience unto our King, under his just and righteous laws and commandments. Christ came indeed to deliver us from our burdens and bondage, but that was not from civil and politic laws and obedience. He came to deliver us from the greatest bondage that can be, from sin and damnation. The heaviest burden that can be, is sin; and in comparison of it, all other burdens are light and easy matters to bear. Therefore Christ came to deliver us from that; and gave his body to be torn upon the cross for that. Neither could any work, or law, or sacrifice redeem us from that, but Christ only.

I never preached in Lincolnshire before, nor came here before, save once when I went to take orders at Lincoln, which was a good while ago; therefore I cannot say much of Lincolnshire, for I know it not: but I dare say, if Lincolnshire be as other places that I know, this text condemneth a great many of Lincolnshire, and driveth them down to hell for breaking this commandment; “ Give to Cæsar that which is due to Cæsar, and to God that which is due to God.”

The office of a Magistrate is grounded upon God’s word, and is plainly described of St Paul, writing unto the Romans, where he shews that all souls, that is to say, all men ought to obey Magistrates, for they are ordained of God; and to resist them, is to resist against God.

“ For he is God’s minister, ordained to punish the wicked, and to maintain the good.” Wherefore we ought to pay to him tribute, custom, taxes, and other things that he requires of us, as Christ saith here: to give to Cæsar. How much we should give, he defineth not, but leaveth it to Cæsar’s officers to determine, and his council to appoint. Christ was not the Emperor’s Treasurer, therefore he meddleth not with that point, but left it to the Treasurer to define and determine. He went about another

ther vocation, to preach unto the people their duty, and exhort them to obey their Princes, Kings, Emperors, and Magistrates; and to bid them give what the King requires of them; not to appoint a King what he shall require of them. It is meet for every man to keep his own vocation, and diligently walk in it, and with faithfulness to study to be occupied in what God hath called him unto, and not to be busy in what God hath not called him unto. Therefore, saith Christ, " Give to Cæsar," but he appoints not how much, for that should his Treasurer know, and should warn him of it when he hath enough, that the people be not oppressed with unfit burdens, nor that the King's treasures be to seek when they should be occupied. The King must have his treasures beforehand, what chance soever come suddenly. It is no reason when the King should occupy his treasure in maintenance of his commonwealth, in defence of a country, in maintaining of his wars, that then his money should be in thy purse to seek, and ungathered. Nay, he must have it in readiness, at hand, that it be not to seek. And he must have as much as is necessary for him; for so much is due to a King as is necessary, and so much may he require by the law of God, and take of his Commons, as is necessary. And that must not thou, nor I, that are subjects, appoint, but the King himself must appoint it, his Council must appoint it: we must give it, we must obediently pay it, for it is due to the King, and upon peril of thy soul thou must pay it. And as he that taketh my * tippet or my cloak doth me wrong, and is a thief; so he that doth not pay to the King his due, without fraud and guile, doth the King wrong, and is in peril of his soul for so doing. Well, mark it well now, and see whether this text be a nipping text for covetous men, or no; " Give to Cæsar what is due to Cæsar." When

* A long scarf, which Doctors of Divinity and Noblemen's Chaplains wear over their gowns.

When the Parliament, the high Court of this realm is gathered together, and there it is determined that every man shall pay a fifteenth* part of his goods to the King: Then commissions come forth, and he that in the sight of men, in his cattle, corn, sheep and other goods, is worth an hundred marks, or an hundred pounds, will set himself at ten pounds; he will be worth no more to the King, but after ten pounds. Tell me now whether this be theft or no? His cattle, corn, and sheep, in every man's eyes, shall be worth two hundred pounds, besides other things, as money and plate; and he will marry his daughter, and give with her four or five hundred marks, and yet at the valuation, he will be a twenty pound man. Doth he give to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's? Doth he not rather rob the King of his bounden duty and debt, that he owed to the King? Yea, it is very theft, and thou mightest with as good a conscience take my cloak or my tippet from me, as so unjustly take, or withhold from the King, that which the Parliament hath given unto the King; it is thy bounden duty to pay him truly that which is granted; for it is a due debt, and upon peril of thy soul thou art bound to obey it. Yet I will say more; If the King should require of thee an unjust request, yet art thou bound to pay it, and not to resist and rebel against the King. The King indeed is in peril of his soul, for asking an unjust request, and God will in his due time reckon with him for it; but thou must obey the King, and not take upon thee to judge him: God is the King's Judge, and doubtless will grievously punish him, if he do any thing unrighteously. Therefore pray thou for thy King, and pay him his duty, and disobey him not. And know

* A Tax raised by authority of Parliament, and laid upon every City and Borough throughout the kingdom; and was so called, because it amounted to a fifteenth part of what a City or Borough was valued at: which was supposed to be the fifteenth part of every man's goods and personal estate.

know this, that whensoever there is any unjust exaction laid upon thee, it is a plague and punishment for thy sin, as all other plagues are; as are hunger, dearth, pestilence, and such other. We marvel we are plagued as we be, and I think verily this unjust and unfaithful dealing with our Princes is one great cause of our plague: look therefore every man upon his conscience. Ye shall not be judged by worldly policy at the latter day, but by God's word; "The word that I have spoken to you, " that shall judge you at the latter day." Look well now every man upon his conscience, and see whether ye have done this commandment of God: Give to your King that which is due to him, and he that findeth himself guilty, let him amend in time to come. This is hard gear, and sore gear, thou wilt say: Give, give; I have wife and children, and great charge: well I shall tell thee, it diminisheth not thy stock one farthing at the year's end. Hearken what God saith: " If you wilt hear my words, saith God, and keep that I command thee, " I will bless thee. If ye will not hear my words, " and do my commandments, you shall be cursed, " &c."

What is blessing? Not wagging of the fingers, as our Bishops were wont: but it is, I will favour thee, and increase thy goods, thy corn, thy cattle, thy oxen, thy sheep; and in all thy business thou shalt prosper and go forward. And what is the curse, but to be out of God's favour? I will impoverish thee; thy corn, thy cattle, thy oxen, thy sheep, shall not prosper, what thou takest in hand, it shall not go forward. This was not taught in times past; men had Pilgrimages, Images, Masses, Trentals *, &c.

But I would have you muse on these two points: cursed, if thou hear God's word commanding thee
to

* See the notes, pag. 242, 243.

to pay thy duty to the King and neglect it; and blessed, if thou hear it and keep it. I would have you to muse on these two things. It shall not diminish thy stock.

Shew me one man in all England that is the poorer for paying the King his duty, for being a true dealing man, a good alms-man, &c. Many have come to poverty by dicing, carding, riot, whoredom, and such like; but never any man by truth, mercy, alms, right dealing with the King. In the * Cardinal's time men were put to their oaths, to swear what they were worth. It was a sore thing, and a thing I would not wish to be followed. O Lord, what perjury was in England by that swearing? I think this realm fareth the worse yet for that perjury. For doubtless many a one willingly and wittingly forswore themselves at that time. It is a dear time, thou wilt say, and men have much ado to live; therefore it is good policy to set myself much less than I am: well that is thy worldly policy, and with it thou runnest into the curse of God for breaking his word and commandment; “ Give to Cæsar that “ which is due to Cæsar.”

I will tell thee a good policy to keep thy stock, and to maintain thine estate: not a policy of the world, but of God's word, and it is this; “ Seek first the “ kingdom of God, and the righteousness of it; “ and all these things shall be plenteously given to “ you.” Dost thou not believe this to be true? Is Christ a hollow man, an untrue man, a dissembler? The Pharisees make him a true man, and we make him a false varlet. He is a true man, and his words and promises are true. Nay, we be false and hollow-hearted, and therefore justly punished. For if we would credit his words, it should without doubt be abundantly

* In the time and during the Legantine power of Cardinal Wolsey.

abundantly upon heaps ; yea, more and more than we could desire.

When we pray for things unto almighty God, what ask we ? do we ask forthwith at the first chop our necessaries ? Nay, Christ taught us first to pray ; “ Our Father, which art in heaven ; hallowed be “ thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be “ done in earth as it is in heaven, &c.” First, we pray these petitions for faith, hope, and charity ; that God’s honour may in all things be set out among us ; and then we pray afterwards for bodily things. But now we leave these petitions, and would be in our daily bread at the first dash, we would have our daily bread at the first chop ; and so we have that, we enforce little of the other. We will not say in words, that we think God false, but in deeds we plainly affirm it ; for we trust him not, neither believe his promise when he biddeth us, Give, give ; I will bless ye, I will make good my word. Nay, nay, we will scrape and scrawl, and catch and pull to us all that we may get. Some men, saith Solomon, divide their own goods ; they pay the King his duty, every man his own, give alms, and yet are more rich, they have enough and enough. Others rob other men, scratch and scrape all that they may come by, never content, never enough, heap to heap, and yet they are always beggars.

He that blesseth shall be fat and wealthy : He that blesseth, not with wagging his fingers, but helping the poor people, he shall be blessed and ever have enough ? God will bless him, God will increase him. And indeed so ought men to consider their gifts and goodness to be given, that their abundance might succour the necessity, poverty, and misery of their poor neighbours, and not to waste it, or consume it in riot and excess ; but in deeds of mercy, in deeds of charity, and pity upon the poor. “ He that hath “ mercy upon the poor, he lendeth upon usury unto

"the Lord." This is a good usury, to make God thy debtor. Many lend upon worldly usury, which is surely a very wicked thing, and God forbiddeth it. But this usury God commandeth, and promiseth to supply the lack of it in thy coffers. He will be debtor, he will be paymaster. Thou shalt not find thy stock diminished at the year's end by keeping God's commandment, but rather blessed and increased. "Give therefore unto the King that is due unto the King; and give to God, that which is God's." What is God's? that you give at God's bidding. The tithes, oblations, first-born beasts, and sacrifice cattle, all which God appointed unto the Jews to the maintenance of their church-ministers of the Clergy, poor widows, fatherless children, and maintenance of poor Scholars. This was the cause that God assigned the Jews to pay their tithes, and until the coming of Christ they were due by God's law, and might by the law given by Moses be claimed. But now that law is at an end, neither can they be claimed any more by the law. Notwithstanding, now in the time of the new testament, the Princes be bound to provide a sufficient living for the Ministers, as St Paul saith; They that preach the gospel, this is the ministry of salvation, preaching of the Gospel, and unto such Ministers, ye be bound to give a sufficient living: "Give part to him that teacheth you, in all good things;" give him part of all your good, see he have sufficient living. But who shall appoint him a sufficient living; himself? Nay: Who then? you? Nay, neither: The King must appoint him sufficient to live upon; for I think verily there are a great many, which if the Ministers should have no living but at their appointment, he should not have clouting leather to mend his shoes with; no, not clouting leather to his shoes. The King therefore must appoint the Ministers their livings by his law, and that living that the King appointeth

pointeth they must claim, and you must pay it to them truly: for it is their due, and it is theft to withdraw or hold it from them: For God commandeth you to obey your King's laws, and by the same laws the King giveth the Minister his tithes, and other duties; therefore upon the peril of thy foul, thou art bound to obey the King, and to pay thy Curate that tithe that thou art commanded.

But some will say, our Curate is naught, an Ass-head, a Dodipole, a Lack-latin, and can do nothing: Shall I pay him my tithes, that doth us no good nor none will do? Yea, I say, thou must pay him his due; and if he be such a one, complain to the Bishop. We have complained to the Ordinary, and he is as negligent as the Curate. Complain to the Council. Sir, so we have done, but no remedy can be had: Well, I can tell where thou shalt complain; complain to God, he will surely hear thee, he will remedy it. Christ saw the people lying, "as sheep having no shepherd." They had Bishops, Scribes, and Pharisees; Curates in name, a great many; yet were they "as sheep having no shepherd :" What is that to say? they had no true Teachers, they had no Preachers of the law of God to them. What remedy taught Christ for it, withdraw their livings? Nay. Make tumults? Nay: but "Pray the Lord of the harvest." Pray, pray. Prayer is the remedy that never faileth; when all other faileth, this never faileth. Therefore pray unto God, and he will either turn his heart, and make him better, or remove him from thee, and send a better in his place; or else take him away altogether.

So will the Lord do with any other oppressor of the poor; either he will turn their hearts, and make them better, or else remove them, and take them quite away. Therefore let men be patient and suffer, and pray unto God for deliverance from their troubles, and not think to remedy it themselves; but

pray to God, and he will remedy it. Pray, I say, and take patience, and you shall see the Lord will in due time remedy it.

There be many that turn this Text clean contrary; for they yield to Cæsar that which is God's, and to God that which is Cæsar's. They had money enough to build Monasteries, Chantries, Masses, * Year-days, Trentals, to gild Images, &c. And all this they did, say they, to honour God with.

They would worship God with Copes †, Torches †, Tapers, Candles, and a hundred things more, that God never required at their hands. God requireth their hearts to fear him, and love him, and studiously to walk before him; but this inward service we will not give him. Nay, we give Cæsar our heart, and God our outward service, as all such do as have received the Interim. God should possess our whole hearts, and we should most studiously walk every man in his vocation, according to the word of God, according to his commandments, obeying our King, and succouring the poor and needy, as he hath commanded us. And this is God's true service, and the thing that belongeth to God.

If this be true, what is become of our forefathers?

I answer, it is a vain and unprofitable question, either it needs not, or it boots not. Whatsoever they did, let us do well, let us keep God's bidding, God's commandments, and then are we safe.

When one dieth, we must have bells ringing, singing, and much ado. But to what purpose? Those that die in the favour of God are well, those that die out

* The same as Anniversary days; these were days on the return of which every year, people used to pray for the souls of their departed friends; and on which it was customary for the Priest to say an Obit, or service for the dead person.

† A vestment worn by the Priest, fastened with a clasp before, and hanging down from the shoulder to the heels.

‡ Torches, tapers and candles, were in the days of popish superstition consecrated, and set apart for holy use.

out of the favour of God, this can do them no good ;
“ Where the tree falleth, there it shall remain.”
Study therefore to live in the favour and grace of
God, in repentance, in amendment of life ; and then
diest thou well. Further, to the question of our
forefathers, God knoweth his elect, and diligently
watcheth and keepeth them, so that all things serve
to their salvation. The nature of fire is to burn all
that is laid in it ; yet God kept the three young men
in Babylon, that they burnt not. And Moses saw a
bush on fire, but it burnt not. So false doctrine
burneth as the fire, it corrupteth. But God kept
his elect, that they were not corrupted with it, but
always put their trust in one everliving God, through
the death of Jesus Christ our Lord. In Elias’s time
idolatry and superstition reigned ; so that Elias said,
“ Lord, they have destroyed thine altars, and slain
thy Prophets (and Preachers) and I am left alone.”
But the Lord answered him ; “ I have reserved to
myself seven thousand men that have not bowed their
knees to Baal :” so God, I trust reserved our fore-
fathers, in so perilous times, more graciously than
we can think.

Let us thank God then for the gracious light of
his word sent unto us, and pray for our gracious King
and his Council, that set it forth unto us. And for
our forefathers, seeing we have no charge given us
of God, leave them, and commend them to God’s
mercy, who disposeth better for them than we can
wifh.

But some will say now ; Why heed we Preachers
then ? God can save his elect without Preachers. A
goodly reason. God can save my life without meat
and drink, need I none therefore ? God can save
me from burning if I were in the fire, shall I run
into it therefore ? No, no ; I must keep the way
that God hath ordained, and use that ordinary means
that God hath assigned, and not to seek new ways.

This

This office of Preaching is the only ordinary way that God hath appointed to save us all by. Let us maintain this, for I know none other, neither think I God will appoint or devise any other : “ Pay therefore to Cæsar, that which is due to Cæsar.” And this said Christ by an heathen King, a pagan ; how much more ought we to pay to our Cæsar, our liege Lord and King, a christian King, and so godly and virtuous a learned King ? And “ Pay to God that is due to God :” tithes and all duties belonging to the Ministers and Preachers of this office of salvation, give to them without dissembling, without withdrawing or abridging of their duties. Take heed of lying, and setting thyself at less than thou art worth. Mark the example of Ananias and Sapphira his wife ; they died suddenly for their lying and dissimulation in the like matter. Well, this was Christ’s doctrine. This was his answer ; “ Give to Cæsar that which is Cæsar’s, and to God that which is God’s.” And they could find no fault in his word before the people, it was so just, so consonant with scriptures and with reason. Yet afterward they falsified his word before Pilate, accusing him, “ We found this fellow turning away the peoples hearts, and forbidding that tribute be given to Cæsar.” These be perilous people to meddle withal, malicious and uncharitable ; that care not what slander they accuse a man of. Deny, they are ready to accuse ; affirm, they will yet falsify his word. Then it is best to say nothing at all : nay, not so. Let us speak God’s truth, and live according to his commandment, he shall deliver us from the hands of our adversaries, and make us safe in his heavenly kingdom. Let us, I say, do God’s bidding and commandment ; give to our King our duties : truly we shall have never the less, it shall not diminish our stock, we shall rather have the more. For God is true of his promise : let us maintain

tain the necessary office of salvation, pay to the Ministers the things appointed them; maintain scholars and schools, help the poor widows and fatherless children, study to do good while we have time in this present life; so shall the Lord in this life bless us, and after this life give us eternal life, through Jesus Christ; to whom, with the Father and the holy Ghost, be all laud and honour. *Amen.*

Marvel not that I use at the Sermon's end to make prayer, for I do it not of singularity: but when I am at home, and in the country where I go, sometime when the poor people come and ask at me, I oppose then myself, or cause my servant to oppose them of the Lord's prayer; and they answer, I can say my Latin *Pater-noster*; some, I can say the old *Pater-noster*, but not the new. Therefore that all that cannot say it may learn, I use before the Sermon and after, to say it. Wherefore now I beseech you let us say it together, "Our Father, " which art in heaven, &c."



S E R M O N XIV.

By the Reverend Father in Christ Master HUGH LATIMER, Bishop of Worcester.

Preached before King Edward the Sixth and his most honourable Council, in his Court at Westminster, in the Year 1550.

L U K E xii. 15.

Take heed and beware of covetousness: Take heed and beware of covetousness: Take heed and beware of covetousness: Take heed and beware of covetousness.

AND what and if I should say nothing else, these three or four hours (for I know it will be so long, in case I be not commanded to the contrary) but these words, “Take heed and beware of covetousness;” it would be thought a strange Sermon before a King, to say nothing else but “Beware of covetousness.” And yet as strange as it is, it would be like the Sermon of Jonah, that he preached to the Ninevites; as touching the shortness, and as touching the paucity or fewness of the words. For his Sermon was, “There is yet forty days to come, and Nineveh shall be destroyed.” Thus he walked from street to street, and from place to place round about the City, and said nothing else; but “There is yet forty days, quoth he,

" he, and Nineve shall be destroyed." There is no great odds nor difference, at least-wise in the number of words, no nor yet in the sense or meaning between these two Sermons : This is, " Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be destroyed;" and these words that I have taken to speak of this day : " Take heed and beware of covetousness." For Nineveh should be destroyed for sin, and of their sins covetousness was one, and one of the greatest ; so that it is all one in effect. And as they be alike concerning the shortness, the paucity of the words, the brevity of words, and also the meaning and purpose ; so I would they might be alike in fruit and profit. For what came of Jonah's Sermon ? what was the fruit of it ? " At the preaching of Jonah they believed God." Here was a great fruit, a great effect wrought. What is the same ? They believed in God. They believed God's Preacher, God's Officer, God's Minister, Jonah ; and were converted from their sin. They believed that, as the Preacher said, if they did not repent and amend their life, the City should be destroyed within forty days. This was a great fruit ? for Jonah was but one man, and he preached but one Sermon, and it was but a short Sermon neither, as touching the number of words : and yet he turned all the whole City great and small, rich and poor, King and all.

We be many preachers here in England, and we preach many long Sermons, yet the people will not repent nor convert. This was the fruit, the effect, and the good that his Sermon did, that all the whole City at his preaching converted, and amended their evil loose living, and did penance in fackcloth. And yet here in this Sermon of Jonah is no great curiositnes, no great clerklines, no great affectation of words, nor painted eloquence ; it was none other but, " Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be destroyed :" it was no more. This was no great

curious Sermon, but this was a nipping Sermon, a pinching Sermon, a biting Sermon ; it had a full bite, it was a nipping Sermon, a rough Sermon, and a sharp biting Sermon. Do you not here marvel that these Ninevites cast not Jonah into prison, that they did not revile him, nor rebuke him ? They did not revile him, nor rebuke him ; but God gave them grace to hear him, and to convert and amend at his preaching. A strange matter, so noble a City to give place to one man's Sermon. Now England cannot abide this gear, they cannot be content to hear God's Minister, and his threatening for their sins, though the Sermon be never so good, though it be never so true. It is, a naughty fellow, a seditious fellow, he maketh trouble and rebellion in the realm ; he lacketh discretion. But the Ninevites rebuked not Jonah that he lacked discretion, or that he spake out of time, that his Sermon was made out of season : But in England, if God's Preacher, God's Minister, be any thing quick, or do speak sharply, then he is a foolish fellow, he is rash, he lacketh discretion. Now a-days if they cannot reprove the doctrine that is preached, they will reprove the Preacher, that he lacketh due consideration of the times, and that he is of learning sufficient, but he wanteth discretion.

What a time is this, picked out to preach such things ? he should have a respect and a regard to the time, and to the state of things, and of the commonweal. It rejoiceth me sometimes, when my friend cometh and telleth me that they find fault with my indiscretion, for by likelihood, think I, the doctrine is true ; for if they could find fault with the doctrine, they would not charge me with the lack of discretion, but they would charge me with my doctrine, and not with the lack of discretion, or with the inconvenience of the time.

I will now ask you a question ; I pray you, when should Jonah have preached against the covetousness of Nineveh, if the covetous men should have appointed

pointed him his time? I know that Preachers ought to have a discretion in their preaching, and that they ought to have a consideration and respect to the place, and the time that he preaches in; as I myself will say here what I would not say in the country for no good. But what then? Sin must be rebuked, sin must be plainly spoken against. And when should Jonah have preached against Nineveh, if he should have forborn for the respect of the times, or the place, or the state of things there? For what was * Nineveh? A noble, a rich, and a wealthy City. What is London to Nineveh? Like a village, as Islington, or such another, in comparison of London. Such a City was Nineveh, it was three days journey to go through every street of it, and to go but from street to street. There was Noblemen, rich men, wealthy men, there was vicious men, covetous men, and men that gave themselves to all voluptuous living, and to worldliness of getting riches. Was this a time well chosen and discreetly taken of Jonah, to come and reprove them of their sin, to declare unto them the threatenings of God, and to tell them of their covetousness, and to say plainly unto them, that except they repented and amended their evil living, they and their City should be destroyed at God's hand within forty days? And yet they heard Jonah and gave place to his preaching. They heard the threatenings of God, and feared his stroke and vengeance, and believed God, that is, they believed God's Preacher and Minister, they believed that

M m 2

God

* Historians say, Nineveh was in compass three days journey: It was founded by Ninus, and from him it received its name. The inhabitants were denominated Ninevites. The spot of ground on which these people dwelt, was, it is probable, as big as the county of Middlesex: for it was customary in the early ages to stile the people living under one King, and form of government, and called by one name, a City; though the inhabitants lived wide and dispersed therein. Cities were not in those early days artificially built, as they are now, and filled with streets and houses.

God would be true to his word that he spake by the mouth of his Prophet, and thereupon did penance, to turn away the wrath of God from them. Well, what shall we say? I will say this and not spare; Christ saith, Nineveh shall arise against the Jews at the last day, and bear witness against them; because that they hearing God's threatening for sin, "did penance at the preaching of Jonah in ashes and sackcloth," (as the Text saith there:) and I say Nineveh shall arise against England, thou England, Nineveh shall arise against England, because it will not believe God, nor hear his Preachers that cry daily unto them, nor amend their lives, and especially their covetousness. Covetousness is as great a sin now as it was then; and it is the same sin now as it was then. And he will surely strike for sin now, as he did then. But ah, good God, that would give them a time of repentance, after his threatening. First, to see whether they would amend or not, or he would destroy them. For even from the beginning of the world they fell to sin. The first age from Adam, which was about two thousand years, they fell ever to sin, and they had Preachers, Noah, and Enoch, and other holy fathers. And in that time a great multiplication was that grew in two thousand years; for that scripture saith, "The sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, and they took them wives from among all that they had chosen." This is a long matter to speak of all. But what meaneth it, that the sons of God saw the daughters of men: who were these sons of God?

The sons of God were those that came of good men, of the Preachers, of the holy fathers, that were God's men; as they that came of Seth and Enoch, that were good men, and of others. For our grandmother Eve, when Cain had killed Abel, and when she had another son by Adam, who was called Seth, what did she? she gave thanks to God for him, and acknowledged that it was God which had given him unto

unto her; for she said, “ God hath given me another seed instead of Abel whom Cain slew.”

Here is a long matter to talk on. Some will say, was this a natural mother, was this naturally done, to publish the sin of her own son? What need she to speak of the matter, or to make any rehearsal of that matter, to open the sin of her own son? What needed she to do this? Yes, she was now a good woman; when she believed the serpent, she was not good. But now she had repented that deed, and had taken hold of the promise of God, that there should come of her a seed, that should tread down and destroy the head of the serpent. She had now taken hold of this promise, and was a good and godly woman; she opened the fault of her son, and hid it not. Here could I say somewhat to them, if I would, that spake so much against me for my preaching here the last year. But to return to Eve, and to declare that by the sons of God are to be understood those that came of good men, as of Seth and Enoch, and the same good part of generation.

And by the daughters of men are to be understood them that came of Cain and his seed; and therefore our grandmother Eve bad beware of marrying with Cain’s seed, for fear of falling from God to wickedness thereby.

And here I would say a thing to your Majesty, I shall speak it of good-will to your Highness; I would I were able to do your Grace good service in any thing, ye should be sure to have it. But I will say this, for God’s love beware where you marry; chuse you a wife in a faithful stock. Beware of this worldly policy; marry not for the great respect of alliance, for thereof cometh all these evils for breaking of wedlock; which is among Princes and Noblemen. And here I would be a suiter unto your Majesty, for I come now rather to be a suiter and a petitioner, then a preacher; for I come now to take my leave,
and

and to take my last farewell, at leastwise in this place; for I have not long to live, so that I think I shall never come here into this place again; and therefore I will ask a petition of your Highness. For the love of God, take an order for marriages here in England. For here is marriage for pleasure and voluptuousness, and for goods; and so that they may join land to land, and possessions to possessions, they care for no more here in England. And that is the cause of so much idolatry, and so much breach of wedlock in the Noblemen, in the Gentlemen, and so much divorcing. And it is not now in the Noblemen only, but it is come now to the inferior sort. Every man, if he have but a small cause, will cast off his old wife, and take a new one, and will marry again at his pleasure; and there be many that have so done. I would therefore wish that there were a law provided in this behalf for adulterers, and that * adultery should be punished with death; and that might be a remedy for all this matter. There would not be then so much adultery, whoredom, and lechery in England as there is: For the love of God take heed to it, and see a remedy provided for it. I would wish that adultery should be punished with death. And that the woman being an offender, if her husband would be a suiter for her, she should be pardoned for the first time, but not for the second time. And the man being an offender, should be pardoned if his wife would be a suiter for him the first

* Adultery was under the Jewish law punished with death. — Moses left it as the positive will of God, that both the adulterer and adulteress should be put to death. The Lacedaemonians, Athenians, Grecians, and the old Romans and primitive Pagans, all punished this horrid and abominable crime with death. But since the revelation of the Christian faith, this crime has not generally met with the like severe punishment in the several parts of Christendom. In our own nation, we have no law that makes it death; divorce and separation, but no corporal punishment is inflicted on the offender among us.

first time, but not for the second time, if he offend twice.

If this law were made, there would not be so much adultery nor lechery used in the realm as there is. Well, I trust once yet, as old as I am, to see the day that lechery shall be punished. It was never more need, for there was never more lechery used in England than is at this day, and maintained. It is made but a laughing matter, and a trifle; but it is a sad matter, and an earnest matter. For lechery is a great sin: Sodom and Gomorrah was destroyed for it. And it was one of the sins reigning in Nineveh, for which it should have been destroyed. But think you that lechery was alone? No, no, covetousness was joined with it. Covetousness followeth lechery, and commonly they go together. For why? they that be given to voluptuousnes, and to the vice of lechery, must have wherewith to maintain it, and that must be gotten by covetousness. For at the first when men fell to sin, and cheifly to lechery, wherefore the world should be destroyed, the book saith, "There were Giants in the earth in those days. And after that the sons of God had come in to the daughters of men, and there had engendered with them, the same became mighty men of the world, and men of renown, &c." This is covetousness; for the book saith, "The earth was replete with iniquity, for they oppressed the poor." They made them slaves, peasants, villains, and bond-men unto them. These were Giants so called of the property of Giants, for they oppressed the weak, and took from them what they list by force, violence and oppression. They were Giants of the property of Giants, not that they were greater men of stature and strength of body than other men were. For certain writers on Giants speaking of this matter, say, that they were Giants for their cruelty and covetous oppression, and not in stature or largeness of body. For there is no reason

son why Seth's children could beget on Cain's daughters greater men than others were in stature of body. But they were Giants in the property of Giants, for oppressing of others by force and violence : And this was covetousness, wherewith God was so displeased, that he repented that he had made man, and resolved utterly to destroy the world ; and so called to Noah, and told him of it. " And I will not dispute the matter with them, saith God, from day to day, and never the near ; but if they will not amend within an hundred and twenty years, I shall bring in an universal flood over their ears, and destroy them all :" This was preached by Noah to them ; and so that God of his goodness, patience, and long-sufferance, gave them a time to repent and amend after his threatening, because they should see their evil doings, and return to God. So they had an hundred and twenty years to repent. This Noah was laughed to scorn ; they, like dodipoles, laughed this godly father to scorn.

Well, ye think little of the history, if ye will know the meaning of it, it is what shews a great anger God hath to sin. But how long time hast thou, England ; thou England ? I cannot tell, for God hath not revealed it unto me ; if he had, so God help me I would tell you of it, I would not be afraid, nor spare to tell it you, for the good-will I bear you ; but I cannot tell how long time ye have, for God hath not opened it unto me. But I can tell you, that this lenity, this long forbearing and holding of his hand, provoketh us to repent and amend. And I can tell, that whosoever contemneth this riches and treasure of God's goodness, of his mercy, his patience and long suffering, shall have the more grievous condemnation. This I can tell well enough ; Paul telleth me this ; and I can tell that ye have time to repent as long as you live here in this world, but after this life I can make no warrant of any further time

time to repent. Therefore repent and amend while ye be here, for when ye are gone hence, ye are past that. But how long that shall be, whether to morrow or next day, or twenty years, or how long, I cannot tell. But in the mean time ye have many Jonah's to tell you of your faults, and to declare unto you Gcd's threatnings, except ye repent and amend.

Therefore, to return to my matter, I say as I said at the beginning, see it, first see it, and then amend it. For I promise you great complaints there is of it, and much crying out, and much preaching, but no amendment that I see : But “ beware of covetousness.” And why of covetousness ? “ For covetousness is the root of all evil and mischief.” This saying of Paul took me away from the gospel that is read in the church this day, it took me from the epistle, that I would preach upon neither of them both at this time ; I cannot tell what ailed me. But to tell you my imperfection, when I was appointed to preach here, I was new come out of sickness, whereof I looked to have died, and weak I was. Yet nevertheless, when I was appointed unto it, I took it upon me, howbeit I repented afterward what I had done. I was displeased with myself ; I was testify, as Jonah was, when he should go preach to the Ninevites. Well, I looked on the gospel that is read this day, but it liked me not ; I looked on the epistle, tush, I could not away with that neither : And yet I remember I had preached upon this epistle once before King Henry the Eighth ; but now I could not frame with it, nor it liked me not in the least. Well, this saying of Paul came in my mind, and at last I considered and weighed the matter deeply, and then thought I thus with myself ; Is covetousness the root of mischief and of all evil ? then have at the root, and down with all covetousness. So this place of Paul brought me to this text of

Luke, " See and beware of covetousness." Therefore you Preachers out with your swords and strike at the root; speak against covetousness, and cry out upon it. Stand not tickling and toying at the branches, nor at the boughs, for then there will new boughs and branches spring again of them, but strike at the root, and fear not these Giants of England, these great men and men of power, these men that are oppressors of the poor: fear them not, but strike at the root of all evil, which is mischievous covetousness. For covetousness is the cause of rebellion. I have forgotten my logic, but yet I can jumble at a syllogism, and make an argument of it, to prove that covetousness is the root of all evil: Rebellion is an evil, therefore covetousness is the root of rebellion. And so it was indeed. Covetousness was the cause of rebellion this last summer, and both parties had covetousness, as well the Gentlemen as the Commons. Both parties had covetousness, for both parties had an inordinate desire to have that they had not, and that is covetousness, an inordinate desire to have that one hath not.

The Commons would have had from the Gentlemen such things as they desired. The Gentlemen would none of it, and so was there covetousness on both sides. The Commons thought they had a right to the things that they inordinately sought to have. But what then? they must not come to it that way. Now on the other side, the Gentlemen had a desire to keep that they had, and so they rebelled too against the King's commandment, and against such good order as he and his council would have set in the realm. And thus both parties had covetousness, and both parties did rebel. I heard say, that there were godly ordinances devised for the redress of it. But the Giants would none of it in no case. I remember myself, a certain Giant, a great man, who sat in commission about such matters. And when the

townsmen should bring in what had been inclosed, he frowned and chafed, and looked so near, and threatened the poor men, that they durst not ask their right.

I read of late in an act of Parliament: and this act made mention of an act that was in King Henry the Third's days, I think it was; yea and such another business there was in King Edward the Second's time also. In this Parliament that I speak of, the Gentlemen and the Commons were at variance, as they were now of late. And there the Gentlemen that were landlords, would needs have away much lands from their tenants; and would needs have an act of Parliament, that it might be lawful for them to enclose and make several, from their tenants, and from the Commons, such portions of their lands as they thought good: Much ado there was about this act; at last it was concluded and granted that they might so do: Provided always, that they should leave sufficient to the tenant. Well, it was well that they should leave sufficient to the tenant; well, it was well that they were bound to leave sufficient for them. But who should be the judge to limit what was sufficient for them? Or who shall now judge what is sufficient? Well, I for my part cannot tell what is sufficient. But methought it was well that the tenants and poor Commons should have sufficient. For if they had sufficient, thought I, they had cause to be quiet. And then fell I to make this argument within myself: if at that time it were put in their will and power that they might inclose, leaving to the tenant what was sufficient for him; if they had it then in their power, thought I, that they might do this, they would leave no more than sufficient. If they left to the tenants and poor Commons no more in those days but sufficient; if they had any more taken from them since that time; then

had they now not sufficient. They in Christ are equal with you.

Peers of the realm must needs be. The poorest Plowman is in Christ equal with the greatest Prince that is. Let them therefore have sufficient to maintain them, and to find them their necessaries. A plow-land must have sheep, yea, they must have sheep to dung their ground for bearing of corn; for if they have no sheep to help to fat the ground, they shall have but bare corn and thin. They must have swine for their food, to make them * veneries or bacon of; their bacon is their venison (for they shall now have *hangum tuum*, if they get any other venison) so that bacon is their necessary meat to feed on, which they may not lack. They must have other cattle, as horses to draw their plow, and for carriage of things to the markets, and kine for their milk and cheese, which they must live upon and pay their rents.

These cattle must have pasture, which pasture if they lack, the rest must needs fail them. And pasture they cannot have if the land be taken in and inclosed from them. So, as I said, there was in both parts rebellion. Therefore for God's love restore their sufficiency to them, and search no more what is the cause of rebellion. But see and "beware of covetousnes," for covetousnes is the cause of rebellion. Well now, if covetousnes be the cause of rebellion, then preaching against covetousnes is not the cause of rebellion. Some say, that the preaching now-adays is the cause of all sedition and rebellion; for since this new preaching hath come in, there hath been much sedition; and therefore it must needs be that the preaching is the cause of rebellion here in England. Forsooth, our preaching is the cause of rebellion, much like as Christ was the cause of the destruction of Jerusalem. For, faith
Christ,

* An old word, signifying the art and exercise of Hunting.

Christ, “ If I had not come and spoken to them, “ they should have had no sin.” So we Preachers have come and spoken unto you, we have drawn our swords of God’s word, and stricken at the roots of all evil to have them cut down ; and if ye will not amend, what can we do more ? And preaching is the cause of sedition here in England, much like as Elias was the cause of trouble in Israel, for he was a Preacher there, and told the people of all degrees their faults, and so they winced and kicked at him, and accused him to Ahab the King, that he was a seditious fellow, and a troublesome Preacher, and made much uproar in the realm : So the King sent for him, and he was brought to Ahab the King, who said to him, “ Art thou he that troubleth all Israel ? ” And Elias answered and said, “ Nay, thou and thy father’s house are they that trouble all Israel.” Elias had preached God’s word, he had plainly told the people of their evil doings, he had shewed them God’s threatenings. In God’s behalf I speak, there is neither King, nor Emperor, be they in never so great estate, but they are subject to God’s word, as therefore he was not afraid to say to Ahab : “ It is “ thou and thy father’s house, that causeth all the “ trouble in Israel.” Was not this presumptuously spoken to a King ? Was not this a seditious fellow ? was not this fellow’s preaching a cause of all the trouble in Israel ? Was he not worthy to be cast into bocardo or little ease ? No, but he had used God’s sword, which is his word, and done nothing else that was evil ; but they could not abide it : he never disobeyed Ahab’s sword, which was the regal power. But Ahab disobeyed his sword, which was the word of God. And therefore by the punishment of God, much trouble arose in the realm for the sins of Ahab and the people. But God’s Preacher, God’s Prophet, was not the cause of the trouble.

Then

Then it is not we Preachers that trouble England. But here is now an argument to prove the matter against the Preachers. Here was preaching against covetousnesſ all the last year in Lent, and the next summer followed rebellion; therefore preaching against covetousnesſ, was the cause of the rebellion. A goodly argument.

Here now I remember an argument of Master More's *, which he bringeth in a book that he made against Bilney, and here by the way I will tell you a merry toy. Master More was once sent in commission into Kent, to help to try out, if it might be, what was the cause of Goodwin sands, and the shelf that stopped up † Sandwich haven. Thither cometh Master More, and calleth the country before him, such as were thought to be men of experience, and men that could of likelihood best certify him of that matter concerning the stopping of Sandwich haven. Among others came in before him an old man, with a white head, and one that was thought to be little less than an hundred years old. When Master More saw this aged man, he thought it expedient to hear him say his mind in this matter, for, being so old a man, it was likely that he knew most of any man in that presence and company. So Master More called this old aged man unto him, and said, Father, tell me, if ye can, what is the cause of this great rising of the sands and shelves here about this haven, the which stop it up so that no ships can arrive here? Ye are the eldest man that I can espy in all this company, so that if any man can tell any cause

* Sir Thomas More, who was made Lord Chincellor by King Henry the Eighth, in the year 1529; he resigned the seals in 1532, and was beheaded in the year 1535, because he would not take the oath for acknowledging the King to be the head of the English Church, and abolishing the supremacy of the Pope. He was generally allowed to be a good, a great and very factious man.

† Sandwich is a sea-port town in the county of Kent, and one of the Cinque Ports.

cause of it, ye of likelihood can say most to it, or at leastwise more than any man here assembled. Yea forsooth, good Master, quoth this old man, for I am well nigh an hundred years old, and no man here in this company any thing near unto my age. Well then, quoth Master More, how say you in this matter? What think ye to be the cause of these shelves and flats that stop up Sandwich haven? Forsooth, Sir, quoth he, I am an old man; I think that Tenderden-steeple, is the cause of Goodwin sands. For I am an old man, Sir, quoth he, and I may remember the building of Tenderden-steeple, and I may remember when there was no steeple at all there. And before that Tenderden-steeple was in building, there was no manner of speaking of any flats or sands that stopped the haven, and therefore I think that Tenderden-steeple is the cause of the destroying and decay of Sandwich haven. And so to my purpose, preaching of God's word is the cause of rebellion, as Tenderden-steeple was the cause that Sandwich haven is decayed.

And is not this a gay matter, that such should be taken for great wise men, that will thus reason against the Preachers of God's word? But here I would take an occasion by the way of digression to speak somewhat to my Sisters the women, to do them some good too, because I would do all folks good if I could, before I take my last farewell, at leastwise here of this place, for I think, I shall no more come here; for I think I have not long to live: so that I judge I take my leave now of the Court for ever, and shall no more come in this place.

Ahab was a King, but Jezabel, Jezabel, she was the perilous woman. She would rule her husband the King; she would bear a stroke in all things, and she would order matters as pleased her; and so will many women do, they will rule their husbands, and do all things after their own minds. They do there-

in against the order of God appointed them: they break their injunction that God gave unto them: Yea, it is now come to the lower sort, to mean mens wives, they will rule and apparel themselves gorgeously, and some of them far above their degree, whether their husbands will or no. But they break their injunction, and do therein contrary to God's ordinance. God saith: "Thou shalt be subject under the power of thy husband." Thou shalt be subject; women are subjects, ye be subjects to your husbands.

At the first, the man and the woman were equal. But after that she had given credit to the serpent, then she had an injunction set upon her: "Thou shalt be subject under the power of thy husband." And as for one part of her injunction, she taketh, and she shaketh one part of her penance because she cannot avoid it: and that is, "Thou shalt bring forth children with pain and travail." This part of their injunction they take, and yet is the same so grievous, that Chrysostom saith, if it were not for the ordinance of God, which cannot be made frustrate by man, they would never come to it again for worldly good. But God hath provided herein. And as Christ saith in the Gospel, "The woman when she beareth a child hath sorrow, but afterward she remembereth not the pain, because there is a soul brought forth into the world."

But as it is a part of your penance, ye women, to travail in bearing your children; so it is a part of your penance to be subject unto your husbands; ye are underlings, underlings, and must be obedient: but this is now made a trifle and a small matter. And yet, it is a sad matter, a godly matter, a ghostly matter, a matter of damnation and salvation. And Paul saith, that "a woman ought to have a power on her head." What is this, to have a power on her head? It is a manner of speaking in the scripture; and

and to have a power on her head, is to have a sign and token of power, which is by covering her head, declaring that she hath a superior above her, by whom she ought to be ruled and ordered: for she is not immediately under God, but mediately. For by this injunction the husband is their head under God, and they subjects to their husbands. But this power that some of them have, is disguised gear and strange fashions. They must wear French hoods, and I cannot tell you what to call it. And when they make them ready, and come to the covering of their head, they will call and say, Give me my French hood, and give me my bonnet, or my cap, and so forth. I would wish that the women would call the covering of their heads by the terms of the scriptures. As when she would have her cap, I would she should say, Give me my power. I wish they would learn to speak as the holy Ghost speaketh, and call it by such a name as St Paul doth. I wish they would, as they have much pranking, when they put on their cap, I wish they would have this meditation, I am now putting on my power upon my head. If they had this thought in their minds, they would not make so much pranking up of themselves as they do now-a-days. But now here is a vengeance devil; we must have our power from Turkey of Velvet, and gay it must be, far fetched and dear bought; and when it cometh, it is a false sign. I had rather have a true English sign, than a false sign from Turkey. It is a false sign when it converteth not their heads as it should do. For if they would keep it under the power as they ought to do, there should not any such * thusslocks nor tufts be seen as there be; nor

Nº 12.

O o

such

† An old word for a braided lock of hair. Such locks the Ladies of those times wore finely adorned; some dangling down before on their breasts, and others hanging down behind, of various lengths. We may here note also, that the use or imitation

such laying out of the hair nor braiding to have it open. I would marvel of it, how it should come to be so abused, and so far out of order ; saving that I know by experience, that many would not be ruled by their husbands, as they ought to be. I have been desired to exhort some, and with some I could do little in that matter.

But there be now many Adams that will not displease their wives, but will in this behalf let them have all their own minds, and do as them listeth. And some others again there be now-adays that will defend it, and say it may be suffered well enough, because it is not expressed in Scripture, nor spoken of by name. Though we have not express mention in scripture against such laying of the hair in thussocks and tufts, yet we have in scripture express mention of wreithen hair, that is for the nonce forced to curl. But of these thussocks that are laid out now-adays, there is no mention made in scriptures, because they were not used in scripture time. They were not yet come to be so far out of order, as to lay out such thussocks and tufts. But I will tell thee, if thou wilt needs lay it out, or if thou wilt needs shew thy hair, and have it seen, go and poll thy head, or round it, as men do ; for to what purpose is it to pull it out so, and to lay it out ? Some do it, say they, of a simplicity ; some do it of pride ; and some of other causes. But they do it because they will be quarter-master with their husbands. Quarter-master ? Nay, half masters : yea some of them will be whole masters, and rule the roast as they list themselves.

But these defenders of it will not have it evil, because it is not spoken of in scripture. But there be other things as evil as this, which are not spoken of in scripture expresly, but they are implied in scripture,

of French manuf. clures, so pernicious to the trade of Great Britain at present, was practised by the fair sex (little to their honour) above two hundred years ago.

ture, as well as though they were there expressly spoken of. For the Prophet Isaiah saith, "Wo unto you that rise early in the morning, and go to drinking until night, that ye might swim in wine."

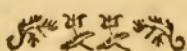
This is the scripture against banqueting and drunkenness. But now they banquet all night, and lie a bed in the day-time till noon, and the scripture speaketh nothing of that. But what then? the devil hath his purpose this way, as well as the other; he hath his purpose as well by revelling and keeping ill rule all night, as by rising early in the morning and banqueting all day. So the devil hath his purpose both ways. Ye Noblemen, ye great men, I wot not what rule ye keep: For God's sake hear the complaints and suits of the poor. Many complain against you that ye lie abed till eight, or nine, or ten of the clock*. I cannot tell what revels ye have over night, whether in banqueting, or dicing, or carding, or how it is. But in the morning, when the poor suitors come to your houses, ye cannot be spoken withal: they are kept sometimes without your gates, or if they be let into the hall, or some outer chamber, out cometh one or other, Sir, ye cannot speak with my Lord yet, my Lord is asleep, or he had business of the King's all night, &c. And thus poor suitors are driven off from day to day, that they cannot speak with you in three, or four days, yea, a whole month; what shall I say more? a whole year sometimes, ere they can come to your speech, to be heard of you. For God's love look better to it, speak with poor men when they come to your houses, and dispatch poor suitors, as

* We may observe here, that in Bishop Latimer's time it was not customary for the Quality to lie in bed later than nine or ten a clock of a morning: but in later days, as at this time, the bad custom of lying abed till one or two a clock, has prevailed among such as would be thought polite.

indeed some Noblemen do, and would to Christ that all Noblemen would so do. But some do.

I went one day myself betimes in the morning to a great man's house to speak with him, in busines that I had of my own. And methought I was up betimes; but when I came thither, the great man was gone forth about such affairs as behoved him, ere I came. Well, yet, thought I, this is well, I like this well: this man doth somewhat regard and consider his office and duty. I came too late for mine own matter, and lost my journey, and my early rising too: and yet I was glad that I had been so beguiled. For God's love follow this example, ye great men, and arise in the mornings, and be ready for men to speak with them, and to dispatch suiters that resort unto you. But all these I bring to disprove them that defend evil things, because they be not exprefly spoken against in the scripture. But what forceth that? when the devil hath his purpose, and is served as well one way, as another way: though it be not exprefly spoken against in scripture, yet I reckon it plainly enough implied in scripture.

But now to come to my matter again; " See and " beware of covetousness :" And I shall desire you to consider four things; Who speaketh it; what he speaketh; to whom he speaketh; and wherefore he speaketh it. And here, Christ speaketh to a rich man against avarice: And why against avarice? what shall be the end of all covetous persons? Eternal damnation. " For the covetous person, saith Paul, " shall not possess, nor enter into the kingdom of " God." Here therefore I shall desire you to pray, &c.



S E R M O N X V.

By the Reverend Father in Christ Master HUGH LATIMER, Bishop of Worcester.

Preached in the afternoon of the same day.

L U K E xii. 15.

See and beware of covetousness.

FIRST, who spake these words? Forsooth, Christ spake them; if I had spoken them of myself, it had been little worth. But Christ spake them, and upon a good occasion: The story is, "There were two at strife between themselves," Luke xii. and by this it appeareth that Christ spake them well, Christ spake these words at that time; and now he speaketh them by his Preachers, whom ye ought to believe; and so it is all one. But upon what occasion did he speak it? There were two brethren at strife together for lands, wealthy men, as it appeareth, and the rich fellow would not tarry till Christ had ended his Sermon, but interrupted it, and would needs have this matter dispatched by and by. He was at Christ's Sermon, but yet he would not defer his worldly cause till Christ had made an end of his godly exhortation. This was a thorny Brother, he was a Gospeller, he was a carnal Gospeller, as many be now-adays for a piece of an Abbey, or for a portion of Chantrey lands, and to get somewhat by it,

it, and to serve his commodity. He was a Gospeller, one of the new brethren, somewhat worse than a rank Papist; however, a rank Papist now-adays shall sooner have promotion than a true Gospeller shall have, the more is the pity. But this was a thorny Gospeller, he heard Christ's preaching and followed him for company, and heard his words; but he was never the better for it: But the care of the world so choked the word of God in him, that he could not hear the Sermon to the end, but interrupted the Sermon for his worldly matter ere it were all done.

And what was Christ then doing? forsooth he was sowing of good seed, but it fell upon stony ground, so that it could not take any root in this fellow, to bring forth good fruit in him. And let me tell you of the seed that Christ was then sowing; bear with me a while, and seeing that I come now to take my last farewell of this place, hear me patiently, and give me leave a little while, and let me take my leave honestly.

At this time when this fellow interrupted Christ's Sermon, he was preaching a long Sermon to his disciples, and to the people, being gathered together in a wonderful great multitude, as appeared in the twelfth chapter of St Luke's gospel: and there he first of all taught his disciples a good lesson, saying, " Beware in any wise of the leaven of the Pharisees." What is this leaven of the Pharisees? Leaven is sometimes taken for corrupt living, which infecteth others by the evil example thereof, and against such corrupt living, God's Preachers must cry out earnestly, and never cease till it be rooted up. In the City of *Corinth

one

* A famous and rich city of Achaea, or Greece, placed in the middle of the isthmus, or narrow strait going into Peloponnesus, or the Morea. It was once a city of great trade; but about the year of the world 3827, it fell under the displeasure of the Romans,

one had married his step-mother, his father's wife. And he was a jolly fellow, a great rich man, an Alderman of the City, and therefore they winked at it, they would not meddle in the matter, they had nothing to do with it; and he was one of the head men, of such rule and authority, that they durst not many of them.

But St Paul hearing of the matter, writ unto them, and in God's behalf charged them to do away such abomination from among them. St Paul would not leave, till they had excommunicated the wicked doer of such abomination. If we should now excommunicate all such wicked doers, there would be much ado in England.

Ye that are Magistrates shew favour or affection to such, and will not suffer they may be rooted out or put to shame. O, he is such a man's servant, we may not do him any shame. O, he is a Gentleman, &c. And so the thing is not now any whit looked unto. Letchery is used throughout England, and such lechery as is used in none other place of the world. And yet it is made a matter of sport, a matter of nothing, a laughing matter, and a trifle, not to be passed on, nor to be reformed.

But beware, ye that are Magistrates, their sin doth leaven you all. Therefore for God's love beware of this leaven. Well, I trust it will be one day amended. I look not to live long, and yet I trust, as old as I am, to live so long as to see lechery punished.

mans, when L. Mummius burnt the city, and razed it to the ground. In the burning of which, so many rich and costly statues of sundry sorts of metals were melted and run together, that thereof was compounded a kind of precious mixed metal, which was afterwards thence called Corinthian Brass, more esteemed among the Romans than silver. This City was in after times rebuilt, and was a place once famous for the profession of Christianity, as we learn from St Paul's Epistles to them: but in the year of Christ 1458 it fell into the hands of the Turks, under Mahomet the Second, and is now called Coranto, but by the Turks Gereme.

punished. I would wish that Moses's law were restored for punishment of lechery, and that the offenders therein might be punished according to the prescription of Moses's law. And here I will make a suit to your Highness to restore unto the Church the discipline of Christ, in excommunicating such as be notable offenders; nor never devise any other way. For no man is able to devise any better way than God hath done, with * excommunication to put them from the congregation till they be confounded. Therefore restore Christ's discipline for excommunication; and that shall be a means both to pacify God's wrath and indignation against us, and also that less abomination shall be used than in times past hath been, and is at this day. I speak this of conscience, and I mean and move it of a good-will to your Grace and your realm.

Bring into the Church of England open discipline of excommunication, that open sinners may be stricken withal. Sometimes leaven is taken for corrupt doctrine; and so it is here taken in this place, when he saith, " Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees." For Christ intended to make his disciples Teachers of all the world, and therefore to beware of corrupt doctrine. And that he said to them, he saith also to us; Receive no corrupt doctrine, no mingle-mangle: yet there be leaveners still, and mingle-manglers that have soured Christ's doctrine with the leaven of the Pharisees. Yea, and where there is any place of leaven, they will maintain that one piece, more than all the doctrine of Christ; and about that purpose they

* Is a solemn curse or sentence, whereby a person is cut off from the communion of the Church. It is pronounced by an ecclesiastical Judge against the offender: whereupon a writ issues out of the High Court of Chancery, directed to the Sheriff of the county, wherein the Party offending dwells, for the apprehending of him, and the laying him up in prison, without bail or main-prize, so long as he remains obstinate or unreclaimed.

they occupy and bestow all their wits. This was the first seed.

The second seed was, “ There is nothing privy “ or hidden that shall not be revealed and opened :” It pertaineth all to one purpose; for there he taught his disciples to beware of the leaven, which was hypocrisy; declaring unto them, that hypocrisy would not be always hidden, but such as were not sincere should be known at the last day, and all that was taught should at length be known. It hath also another meaning, for it is God’s proverb. “ There “ is nothing so private but it shall be opened,” at leastwise in the great day of reckoning; in the dreadful day of general account, in the day of revelation ; then shall it be openly known whatsoever is done, be it never so privily done.

These fellows that have their fetches, and their far compasses to bring things to their purposes, work they never so privily, never so covertly, yet at the last day, their doings shall be openly revealed, saith the Prophet Isaiah, till all the world shall see it, to their shame and confusion that are the doers of it. As the Prophet Jeremiah saith, “ Even as a thief that “ is taken with the manner that he stealeth, so shall “ sinners be openly confounded, and their evil “ doings opened.” Yea, and though it be not known in this world, yet it shall be known at the last day to their damnation. Indeed God hath verified his proverb from time to time, “ Nothing is so “ private the which shall not be revealed.”

When Cain had killed his brother Abel, he thought he had conceived the matter so privily and so closely that it should never have been known or come to light ; but first, God knew it well enough, and called unto him saying, “ Cain, where is thy “ brother Abel ?” But he thought he could have beguiled God too. And therefore he answered, I cannot tell ; “ what, quoth Cain, am I set to keep my

" brother? I cannot tell where he is." But at last he was confounded, and his murder brought to light.

And now all the world readeth in the Bible: Joseph's brethren had sold him away, they took his motly coat, and besprinkled it over and over with blood, they thought all was cock-sure, they had conveyed the matter so secretly, that they thought all the world could never spy it. And yet out it came to their great benefit. And now it is known to us all as many as can read the Bible.

David saw a fair woman wash her naked. Then he was straightway ravished, he was clean gone by and by, and would needs have her. He sent for her, yea he had Gentlemen of his chamber about him that went for her by and by to fetch her.

And here I have another suit to your Highness. When ye come to age, beware what persons ye have about you. For if ye be set on pleasure, or disposed to wantonness, ye shall have ministers enough to be furtherers and instruments of it. But David, by his wisdom and policy, thought so to have cloaked the matter, that it should never have been known. He sent for her husband Uriah, and shewed him a fair countenance, and looked merrily on him, and sent him forth to war, that he might do his pleasure with Bathsheba afterward, and thought he had wrought wondrous privily. He thought all the matter cock-sure. But the Prophet of God, came and laid his fault plain before his face, and who is it now that knoweth it not? Elisha's servant, Gehazi, a bribing brother, he came colourably to Naaman the Syrian, he framed a tale of his master Elisha, as all bribers will do, and told him that his master had need of this and that, and took of Naaman certain things, and bribed it away to his own behoof secretly; and thought that it should never have come out. But Elisha knew it well,

well enough. The servant had his bribes that he sought, yet was he stricken with the leprosy, and so openly shamed.

Think on this, ye that are bribers, when ye go so secretly about such things, have this in your minds, when ye devise your secret fetches and conveyances, how Elisha's servant was served, and was openly known. For God's proverb will be true, "There is nothing hidden that will not be revealed."

He that took the silver bason and ewer for a bribe, thinketh that it will never come out, but he may now know that I know it, and I know it not alone, there be more beside me that know it. O briber, and bribery, he was never a good man that will so take bribes. Nor can I ever believe that he that is a briber shall be a good Justice. It will never be merry in England, till we have the skins of such. For what needeth bribing where men do their things uprightly?

But now I will play St Paul, and translate the thing on myself. I will become the King's officer for a while. I have to lay out for the King two thousand pounds, or a great sum, whatsoever it be: well, when I have laid it out, and to bring in mine account, I must give three hundred marks to have my bills warranted. If I have done truly and uprightly, what should need me to give a penny to have my bills warranted? If I have done my office truly, and do bring in a true account, wherefore should one groat be given? yea, one groat, for warranting of my bills? Smell ye nothing in this? what needeth any bribes giving, except the bills be false? No man giveth bribes for warranting of his bills, except they be false bills.

Well, such practice hath been in England, but beware, it will out one day; beware of God's proverb, "There is nothing hidden that shall not be opened:" yea, even in this world, if ye be not

the children of damnation. And here now I speak to you, my Masters, Minters, Augmentationers, Receivers, Surveyers, and Auditors ; I make a petition unto you : I beseech you all to be good to the King, be good to the King ; he hath been good to you, therefore be good to him ? yea, be good to your own Souls. Ye are known well enough what you were before ye came to your offices, and what lands ye had then, and what ye have purchased since, and what buildings ye make daily. Well, I pray you so build, that the King's workmen may be paid. They make their moan that they can get no money. The poor Labourers, Gunmakers, Powdermen, Bow-makers, Arrow-makers, Smiths, Carpenters, Soldiers, and other crafts, cry out for their dues. They be unpaid some of them three or four months ; yea, some of them half a year : yea, some of them put up bills this time twelve months for their money, and cannot be paid yet. They cry out for their money, and, as the Prophet saith, “ The “ cry of the workmen is come up to mine ears.” O, for God’s love let the workmen be paid, if there be money enough ; or else there will whole showers of God’s vengeance rain down upon your heads. Therefore, ye Minters, and ye * Augmentationers, serve the King truly. So build and purchase that the King may have money to pay his workmen. It seemeth evil-favouredly, that ye should have enough wherewith to build superfluously, and the King lack to pay his poor labourers. Well, yet I doubt not but that there be some good officers. But I will not swear for all.

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* Certain Officers so called, belonging to a Court set up by King Henry the Eighth, for the increase of his crown revenues by the suppression of Monasteries and Religious Houses. It was called the Augmentation Court. It was dissolved by Queen Mary the First ; but the Office of Augmentation still continues ; and in it are many Records of great use and importance.

I have now preached three Lents. The first time I preached Restitution: Restitution, quoth some, what should he preach of Restitution? Let him preach of Contrition, quoth they, and let Restitution alone. We can never make restitution: then, say I, if thou wilt not make restitution, thou shalt go to the devil for it. Now choose thee either Restitution, or else endless Damnation. But now there be two manner of restitutions, secret restitution, and open restitution; whether of both it be, so that restitution be made, it is all good enough. At my first preaching of restitution, one man took remorse of conscience, and acknowledged himself to me, that he had deceived the King, and willing he was to make restitution: and so the first Lent came to my hands twenty pounds to be restored to the King's use. I was promised twenty pounds more the same Lent, but it could not be made, so that it came not. Well, the next Lent came three hundred and twenty pounds more. I received it myself, and paid it to the King's Council. So I was asked, what he was that made this restitution? But should I have named him? Nay, they should as soon have this weason or throat-pipe of mine. Well, now this Lent came one hundred and eighty pounds, ten shillings, which I have paid and delivered this present day to the King's Council: And so this man hath made a godly restitution. And so, quoth I to a certain Nobleman that is one of the King's Council, if every man that hath beguiled the King should make restitution after this sort, it would cough the King Twenty thousand pounds, I think, quoth I. Yea, that it would, quoth the other, a whole Hundred thousand pounds. Alack, alack; make restitution for God's sake, make restitution; ye will cough in hell else, that all the devils there will laugh at your coughing. There is no remedy, but restitution open

or secret, or else hell. This that I have now told you of, was a secret restitution.

Some examples hath been of open restitution, and glad may he be that God was so friendly unto him, to bring him unto it in this world. I am not afraid to name him; it was Master Sherington, an honest Gentleman, and one that God loveth; He openly confessed that he had deceived the King, and he made open restitution. O, what an argument may he have against the devil, when he shall move him to desperation. God brought this out to his amendment. It is a token that he is a chosen man of God, and one of his elected. If he be of God, he shall be brought to it, therefore for God's sake make restitution, or else remember God's Proverb; "There is nothing so secret that shall not be revealed." If you do either of these two in this world, then are ye of God; if not, then for lack of restitution, ye shall have eternal damnation. Ye may do it by means, if you dare not do it yourselves; bring it to another, and so make restitution. If ye be not of God's flock, it shall be brought out to your shame, and damnation at the last day, when all evil mens sins shall be laid open before us. Yet there is one way, how all our sins may be hidden, which is repent and amend; Repentance, Repentance, repenting and amending is a sure remedy, and a sure way to hide all, that it shall not come out to our shame and confusion.

Yet there is another seed that Christ was sowing in that sermon of his, and this was the seed. I say to you, my friends, "fear not him that killeth the body, but fear him that after he hath killed, hath power also to cast into hell-fire, &c." And then, to put his disciples in comfort and sure hope of his help, and out of all doubt and mistrust of his assistance, he bringeth in unto them the example of the sparrows, how they are fed by God's mere providence and goodness, and also of the hairs of our heads

heads; how that not so much as one hair falleth from our heads without him : “ Fear him, saith he, that “ when he hath killed the body, may also cast into “ hell-fire.” Matter for all kinds of people here, but especially for Kings.

And therefore here is another suit to your Highness. “ Fear not him that killeth the body.” Fear not these foreign Princes and foreign powers. God shall make you strong enough. Stick to God, fear God; fear not them. God hath sent you many storms in your youth, but forsake not God, and he will not forsake you. Peradventure ye shall have those shall move you, and say unto you, O Sir, O such a one is a great man, he is a mighty Prince, a King of great power, ye cannot be without his friendship, agree with him in religion, or else ye shall have him your enemy, &c. Well, fear them not, but cleave to God, and he shall defend you. Do not as King Ahaz did, that was afraid of the Affyrian King, and for fear lest he should have him to his enemy, was content to forsake God, and to agree with him in religion, and worshipping of God. And anon sent to Uriah the high Priest, who was ready at once to set up idolatry of the Affyrian King. Do not your Highness so, fear not the best of them all; but fear God. The same Uriah was “ a Chaplain at “ hand,” an elbow Chaplain. If ye will turn, ye shall have them will turn with you, yea even in their white rotchets. But follow not Ahaz. Remember the hair how it falls not without God’s providence. Remember the sparrows, how they build in every house, and God provideth for them ; “ And are ye “ not much more precious to me, saith Christ, than “ sparrows or other birds ?” God will defend you, that before your time cometh, ye shall not die nor miscarry.

On a time when Christ was going to Jerusalem, his disciples said to him, “ They there would have “ stoned

"stoned thee, and wilt thou now go thither again?" What saith he again to them, "Be there not twelve hours in the day?" God hath appointed his times, as pleaseth him, and before the time cometh that God hath appointed, they shall have no power against you. Therefore stick to God and forsake him not, but fear him, and fear not men. And beware chiefly of two affections, fear and love. Fear, as Ahaz, of whom I have told you, that for fear of the Assyrian King he changed his religion, and thereby purchased God's indignation to him and his realm; and love, as Dinah, Jacob's daughter, who caused a change of religion, by Sechem and Hamor, who were contented for lust of a wife to the destruction and spoiling of all the whole City.

Read the Chronicles of England and France, and ye shall see what changes of religion hath come by marriages, and for marriages. Marry my daughter, and be baptized, and so forth, or else, &c. Fear them not. Remember the sparrows. And this rule should all estates and degrees follow; whereas now they fear men and not God. If there be a judgment between a great man, and a poor man, then must there be a corruption of justice for fear. O he is a great man, I dare not displease him, &c. Fie upon thee, art thou a Judge, and wilt be afraid to give right judgment? Fear him not, be he never so great a man, I say; but uprightly do true justice. Likewise some Pastors go from their cure, they are afraid of the plague, they dare not come nigh any sick body, but hire others, and they go away themselves. Out upon thee: The wolf cometh upon thy flock to devour them, and when they have most need of thee, thou runnest away from them. The Soldier also that should go on warfare, he will draw back as much as he can. O I shall be slain. O, such and such went, and never came back again: Such men went the last year into Norfolk; and were

were slain there. Thus they are afraid to go: they will labour to tarry at home. If the King command thee to go; thou art bound to go, and serving the King thou servest God. If thou serve God, he will not shorten thy days to thine hurt. Well, faith some, if they had not gone, they had lived to this day. How knowest thou that? who made thee so privy of God's counsel? Follow thou thy vocation, and serve the King when he calleth thee: in serving him thou shalt serve God. And till thy time come, thou shalt not die. It was marvel that Jonah escaped in such a City, what then? Yet God preserved him, so that he could not perish. Take therefore an example by Jonah, and every man follow his vocation, not fearing men, but fearing God.

Another seed that Christ was sowing in the Sermon was this: "He that confesseth me before men, I shall also confess him before my Father." We must confess him with mouth. It was of a Bishop not long ago asked as touching this: Laws, saith he, must be obeyed, and civil ordinances I will follow outwardly, but my heart in religion is free to think as I will: So said Friar Forest*, half a Papist, yea, worse than a whole Papist.

Well, another seed was, "He that sinneth against the holy Ghost it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world nor in the world to come." What is this same sin against the holy Ghost, an horrible sin that never shall be forgiven, neither in this world nor in the world to come? what is this sin? Final impenitency, and some say, impugning of the truth. One came to me once, that despaired, because of sin against the holy Ghost. He was sore troubled in his conscience, that he should be damned, and that it was not possible for him to be saved, be-

* This Person was burnt in Smithfield under Henry the Eighth for asserting the Pope's Supremacy, who before had complied with many of the King's innovations.

cause he had sinned against the holy Ghost. I said to him ; what, quoth I, comfort yourself in these words of the Apostle : " Christ is a propitiation for all our sins." And again, " My Father hath for this purpose sent me into the world, that he which believeth in me may not perish, but may have the life everlasting." Also, " In what hour soever the sinner shall mourn for sin, he shall be saved." I had scriptures enough for me, as I thought ; but say what I could, he could say more against himself, than I could say at that time to do him good withal. Where some say the sin against the holy Ghost, is original sin : I alledged against that, the saying of St Paul ; " If a man had done all the sins in the world, and have true repentance, with faith and hope in God's mercy, he shall be forgiven." But whatsoever I said he could still object against me, and avoid my reasons. I was fain to take another day, and did so. Let me go to my Book, quoth I, and go you to your prayers, for ye are not altogether without faith. I got me to my study ; I read many Doctors, but none could content me, no Expositor could please me, nor satisfy my mind in the matter. And it is with me as it was with a scholar of Cambridge, who being demanded of his Tutor how he understood his lesson, and what it meant ; I know, quoth he, what it meaneth, but I cannot tell it ; I cannot express it. So I understood it well enough, but I cannot well declare it. Nevertheless I will bungle at it as well as I can.

Now to tell you by the way what sin it was that he had committed, he had fallen from the known truth, and afterward fell to mocking and scorning of it. And this sin it was that he thought to be unforgiveable. I said to him, that it was a vehement manner of speaking in scripture ; yet, quoth I, this is not spoken universally, nor it is not meant that God doth never forgive it, but it is commonly called irremissible,

irremissible, unforgiveable, because that God seldom forgives it : But yet there is no sin so great but God may forgive it, and doth forgive it to the repentant heart ; though in words it sound that it shall never be forgiven : As, “ The privilege of a few persons doth not destroy an universal rule or saying of scripture.” For the scripture saith, “ We shall die every one of us :” yet some shall be wrapt and taken alive, as St Paul saith. For this privilege of a few, doth not hurt a generality. An irremissible sin, an inexcusable sin ; yet to him that will truly repent, it is forgiveable, in Christ it may be remitted : if there be no more but one man forgiven, ye may be that same one man that shall be forgiven. “ Where iniquity hath abounded, there shall grace abound : ” Thus by little and little this man came to a settled conscience again, and took comfort in Christ’s mercy. Therefore despair not, though it be said it shall never be forgiven. Where Cain said, “ My wickedness is so great that God cannot forgive it.” Nay, thou liest, saith Augustine to Cain, “ The mercy of God is greater than thine iniquity.” Therefore despair not ; but this one thing I say ; beware of this sin that ye fall not into it. For I have known no more but this man, this one man, that hath fallen from the truth, and hath afterward repented and come to grace again : I have known many since. God hath opened mine eyes to see a little, I have known many, I say, that knew more than I, and some whom I have honoured, that have afterwards fallen from the truth, but never one of them, this man excepted, that have returned to grace and to the truth again.

But yet, though God doth very seldom forgive this sin, and although it be one of the sins that God doth hate most of all others, and such as is almost never forgiven, yet it is forgiveable in the blood of Christ ; if one truly repent ; and lo it is universal.

As there is also another scripture, “ Wo be to the land, to the realm whose King is a child ;” which some interpret and refer to childish conditions. But it is commonly true the other way too, when it is referred to the age and years of childhood. For where the King is within age, they that have governance about the King, have much liberty to live voluptuously, and licentiously ; and not to be in fear how they govern, as they would be, if the King were of full age, and then commonly they govern not well. But yet Josiah and one or two more, though they were children, yet had they their realms well governed, and reigned prosperously ; and yet the saying may be, nevertheless true for all that ; “ Wo be to that land whose King is a child.”

And this I gather of this irremissible sin against the holy Ghost, that the scripture saith, it is never forgiven, because it is seldom forgiven. For indeed I think that there is no sin, which God doth so seldom, nor so hardly forgive, as this sin of falling away from the truth ; after that a man once knoweth it. And indeed this took best place with the man that I have told you of, and best quieted his conscience.

Another seed was this : “ Be not careful, saith Christ, what ye shall say, before Judges and Magistrates, when ye are brought afore them for my name’s sake ; for the holy Ghost shall put in your minds even at that present hour, what ye shall speak.”

A comfortable saying, and a goodly promise of the holy Ghost : “ That the adversaries of the truth, saith he, shall not be able to resist.” What ? Shall the adversaries of the truth be dumb ? Nay ; there be no greater talkers, nor boasters, and facers than they be. But they shall not be able to resist the truth to destroy it,

Here some will say, what needeth Universities then; and the preservation of Schools? The holy Ghost will give always what to say. Yea, but for all that we may not tempt God; we must trust in the holy Ghost, but we must not presume on the holy Ghost.

Here now should I speak of the Universities, and for preferring of Schools: but he that preached the last Sunday spake very well in it, and substantially, and like one that knew the state and condition of the Universities and Schools very well.— But thus much I say unto the Magistrates; If you will not maintain Schools and Universities, ye shall have a brutality.

Therefore now a suit again to your Highness.— So order the matter that preaching may not decay: for surely, if preaching decay, ignorance and brutishness will enter again. Nor give the Preachers livings to secular men. What should the secular men do with the living of Preachers? I think there be at this day ten thousand students less than were within these twenty years, and fewer Preachers; and that is the cause of rebellion. If there were good Bishops, there should be no rebellion.

I am now almost come to my matter, saving one saying of Christ, which was another seed; “ Give, “ and it shall be given unto you,” &c. But who believes this? If men believed this promise, they would give more than they do; at leastwise they would not stick to give a little; but now-adays mens study is set rather to take gifts, and to get of other mens goods, than to give any of their own. So all the other promises are mistrusted and unbelieved. For if the rich men did believe this promise of God, they would willingly and readily give a little to have the overplus. So where Christ saith of injuries, or offences and trespasses, “ Leave the avenging of “ wrongs alone unto me, and I shall pay them “ home,”

" home," &c. If the rebels had believed this promise they would not have done as they did. So all the promises of God are mistrusted. Noah also after the flood feared at every rain lest the world should be drowned, and destroyed again ; till God gave the rainbow. And what exercise shall we have by the rainbow? We may learn by the rainbow, that God will be true to his promise, and will fulfil his promises. For God sent the rainbow, and it is four thousand years and more since this promise was made, and yet God hath been true to his promise unto this day. So that now when we see the rainbow, we may learn that God is true to his promise. And as God was true in this promise, so he is and will be in all the rest. But the covetous man doth not believe that God is true to his promise, for if he did, he would not stick to give his goods to the poor.

But as touching that I spake before, when we see the rainbow, and see in the rainbow that it is like water, and of a watry colour, and as we may and ought not only to take thereof hold and comfort of God's promise, that he will no more destroy the world with water for sin ; but also we may take an example to fear God, who in such wise hateth sin. Likewise when in the rainbow we see that it is of a fiery colour, and like to fire ; we may gather an example of the end of the world, that except we amend, the world shall at last be consumed with fire for sin ; and to fear the judgment of God, after which they that are damned shall be burned in hell-fire. These were the seeds that Christ was sowing, when this covetous man came unto him. And now I am come to my matter.

While Christ was thus preaching, this covetous fellow would not tarry till all the Sermon was done, but interrupted the Sermon, even suddenly chopping in ; " Marter, quoth he, speak to my brother, that

" he

" he may divide the inheritance with me." He would not abide till the end of the Sermon ; but his mind was set on his halfpenny, and he would needs have his matter dispatched out of hand ; " Master, quoth he, " let my brother divide with me." Yet this was a good fellow ; he could be contented with part, he desired not to have all together alone to himself, but could be content with a division, and to have his part of the inheritance : And what was the inheritance ? A field. So that it was but one piece of ground, or one farm. This covetous man could be content with the half of one farm, where our men now-adays cannot be satisfied with many farms at once : one man must now have as many farms as will serve many men, or else he will not be contented or satisfied. They will jar now-adays one with another, except they have all. O, saith the wise man, " There be three things wherein my soul delighteth ; the unity of brethren ; the love of neighbours ; and a man and wife agreeing well together." So that the concord of brethren, and agreeing of brethren, is a gay thing. What saith Solomon to this matter ? " The brother that is holpen of his brother, is a sure and well-fenced city, and a strong tower, he is so strong." O, it is a great matter, when brethren love and hold together : But if the one go about to pull down the other, then are they both of them weak ; and when one pulleth down his fellow, they must needs down both of them ; there is no stay to hold them up.

Mark in the Chronicles of England : Two brethren have reigned jointly together, the one on this side Humber, and the other beyond Humber, in Scotland, and all that way. And what hath come of it ? So long as they agreed well together, so long they have prospered ; and when they have jarred, they have gone to wreck. Brethren that have so reigned here in England, have quarrelled one with another,

other, and the younger hath not been contented with his portion, (as indeed the younger brother commonly jarreth first) but by the contention both fared the worse*. So when there is any contention between brother against brother for land, commonly they are both undone by it. And that crafty Merchant, whoever he be, that will set brother against brother, meaneth to destroy them both. But of these two brethren, whether this man here were the elder or the younger, I cannot say ; scripture telleth me not which of these two were the younger ; but it is likely this was the younger : for once it was a plain law, that the first-born, that is, the elder brother, had two thirds of the field, or farm : and therefore of all likelihood it should be the youngest brother that found himself aggrieved and was not content. But Christ said unto them, “ Thou man, who hath made me a Judge or a divider between you ? ” Christ answered him by a question ; and mark this question of Christ, “ Thou man, who made me a Judge,” &c. It is no small matter, saith St Augustine, of what intention one asketh a question ; as Christ in another place of the gospel asketh who was neighbour to the pilgrim that was wounded : “ There was, saith Christ, a man that went from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, and they wounded him, and left him for dead. And a Priest came by, that was his own countryman, and let him lie ; a Levite also came by, and would shew no compassion upon him : at last a Samaritan

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* The good Bishop here, and in other places where he treats of discord between brethren, probably alludes to the unnatural opposition of Thomas Seymour, Lord Sudley, to his elder brother the Lord Protector Seymour ; which ended in the untimely and violent deaths of them both. This was soon succeeded by the death of the King himself, and was near destroying the great work of the Reformation, which had its ablest advocate and support in the Lord Protector, and was almost ruined by his much lamented and unhappy fall.

"tan came by, and set him on his horse, and con-
veyed him to a city, and provided surgery for
him, &c. Now who was neighbour to this wound-
ed man?" saith Christ. "He that shewed mercy
unto him;" saith the Lawyer. He that did the
office of a neighbour, he was a neighbour. As ye
may perceive by a more familiar example of the
Bishop of Exeter, at Sutton in Staffordshire. Who
is a Bishop of Exeter? Forsooth, Master Cover-
dale*? What, do not all men know who is Bishop
of Exeter? What? he hath been Bishop many
years. Well, say I, Master Coverdale is Bishop of
Exeter; Master Coverdale putteth in execution the
Bishop's office, and he that doth the office of the
Bishop, he is the Bishop indeed: therefore say I,
Master Coverdale is Bishop of Exeter.

But to the purpose of Christ's question, "Who
made me a Judge between you?" Here an Ana-
baptist will say, Ah, Christ refused the office of a
Judge, therefore there ought to be no Judges nor
Magistrates among Christian men. If it had been
a thing lawful, Christ would not have refused to do
the office of a Judge, and to have determined the
variance between these two brethren. But Christ
did thereby signify, that he was not sent for that of-
fice. But if thou wilt have a trial and a sentence of
the matter according to the laws, thou must go to
the temporal Judge that is deputed therefore. But
Christ's meaning was, that he was come for another
purpose, he had another office deputed unto him,
than to be a Judge in temporal matters; "I am
come, saith he, to call sinners to repentance."—
He was come to preach the gospel, the remission of

Nº 13.

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sins,

* Miles Coverdale was appointed Bishop of Exeter by King Edward, August 30, 1551, but had been the Suffragan, and did the Duty of Bishop of Exeter for some time before; Dr Vesey, Bishop thereof, and Lord President of Wales, being an unpreaching Prelate.

sins, and the kingdom of God; and meant not thereby to disallow the office of temporal Magistrates. Nay, if Christ had meant that there should be no Magistrates, he would have bid him take all; but Christ meant nothing so. But the matter is, that this covetous man, this brother, took his mark amiss; for he came to a wrong man to seek redress of his matter. Nor did Christ forbid him to seek his remedy at the Magistrate's hand, but refused to take upon him the office, that was not his calling.

For Christ had another vocation, than to be a Judge between such as contended about matters of land. If our rebels had had this in their minds, they would not have been their own Judges, but they would have sought the redress of their grief at the hands of the King and his Magistrates under him appointed. But no marvel of their blindness and ignorance; for the Bishops are out of their dioceses that should teach them this gear. But this man perchance had heard, and did think that Christ was the Messias, whose reign in words soundeth a corporal and a temporal reign, which should do justice and see a redress in all matters of worldly controversy: which is a necessary office in a Christian realm, and must needs be put in execution for ministering of justice. And therefore I require you, as a suitor rather than a preacher, look to your office yourself, and lay not all on your officers backs; receive the bills of supplication yourself: I do not see you do so now-adays as ye were wont to do the last year.

For God's sake look unto it, and see to the ministering of justice your own self, and let poor suitors have answer. There is a King in Christendom, and it is the King of Denmark *, that sitteth openly

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* Christian the Third, King of Denmark and Norway: who for his faithful discharge of the kingly office, being intitely the Father and

in justice thrice in the week, and hath the doors kept open on purpose. I have heard it reported of one that hath been there, and seen the proof of it many a time and often : and the last justice that ever he saw done there, was of a Priest's cause that had had his glebe land taken from him ; and now here in England some go about to take away all. But this Priest had had his glebe land taken from him by a great man. Well, first went out letters for this man to appear at a day : process went out for him according to the order of the law, and charged him by virtue of those letters to appear before the King at such a day. The day came : the King sat in his hall ready to administer justice. The Priest was there present. The Gentleman, this Lord, this great man, was called, and commanded to make his appearance according to the writ that had been directed out for him. And the Lord came, and was there, but he appeared not. No, quoth the King, was he summoned as he should be ? Had he any warning to be here ? It was answered; Yea, and that he was there walking up and down in the hall ; and that he knew well enough that that was his day, and also that he hath already been called, but he said, he would not come before the King at that time ; alledging, that he needed not as yet to make an answer, because he had had but one summoning. No, quoth the King, is he here present ? Yea, forsooth, Sir, said the Priest. The King commanded him to be called, and to come before him ; and the end was this, he made this Lord, this great man, to restore unto the Priest not only the giebe land which he had taken from him, but also the rent and profit thereof, for so long time as he had withhold-

and Protector of his people, has not been equalled, and rarely imitated by any Prince on earth since his time. It must also be remembered, that Denmark, at this period, was the freest nation in Europe.

en it from the Priest, which was eight years, or thereabouts. When you can shew, saith he, better evidence than the Priest hath done why it ought to be your land, then he shall restore it to you again, and the profits thereof that he shall receive in the mean time; but till that day come, I charge ye that ye suffer him peaceably to enjoy that is his.

This is a noble King, and this I tell for your example, that ye may do the like: Look upon the matter your own self. Poor men put up bills every day, and never the near. Confirm your kingdom in judgment, and begin doing of your office your self, even now while you are young, and sit once or twice a week in Council among your Lords, it shall cause things to have good success, and that matters shall not be lingered forth from day to day. It is good for every man to do his own office, and to see that well executed and discharged.

Ahaziah King in Judah, he would needs do the office of the Priest, and he would needs offer incense in the sanctuary, which was the Priest's office to do. But he was suddenly stricken with the leprosy for his labour, and so continued a leper all the days of his life.

St John Baptist's disciples would have had their master to take upon him that he was Christ. But what said John? "No man may take any thing upon himself, except it be given unto him from above." If the Devonshire men had well considered this, they had not provoked the plagues that they have had lighted upon them. But unpreaching Prelacy hath been the chiefest cause of all this hurly-burly and commotions. But if Christ may challenge any kind of men for taking his office upon them, he may say to the Mass-mongers, Who gave you commission to offer up Christ? Who gave you authority to take my office in hand? for it is only Christ's office to do that. It is a great matter

to offer Christ ; if Christ had offered his body at the last supper, then should we do so too. Who is worthy to offer up Christ ? an abominable presumption. Paul saith, “ He took bread, and after that he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take ye, eat ye,” &c. and so said, “ This is, my body.” He gave thanks ; well then, in thanksgiving there is no oblation ; and when he gave thanks, it was not his body.

When I was in examinations I was asked many questions, and it was said to me, What Christ did, that should we do ; a Bishop gathered that upon these words, “ Do this in remembrance of me :” Then said he to me, How know ye that they eat it, before he said, “ This is my body ? ” I answered again and said, How know ye that they did not eat it ? &c. So I brought unto him the place of Paul abovesaid, and that in thanksgiving is no oblation, and when he gave thanks it was not in his body, for he gave thanks in the beginning of supper, before they had eat any manner of thing at all, as his accustomed manner was to do. I wonder therefore that they will dare by this text to take upon them to offer Christ’s body : they should rather say, Who made me an offerer ? But when Christ said, “ Who hath made me a Judge or a divider among you ? ” Christ did refuse another man’s office, an office he was not of his Father deputed unto. Christ’s kingdom was a spiritual kingdom, and his office was a spiritual office, and he was a spiritual Judge. And therefore when the woman taken in adultery was brought before him, he refused also to play the Judge, but said, “ Who accuseth thee ? ” And she said again, “ No man, Lord.” Then said he, “ Nor I condemn thee not. Go thy ways, and sin no more.” Here he took upon him his own office, and did his office ; for his office was to preach, and bid sinners amend their evil living ; and not to be

a temporal Judge in temporal causes. And here is another occasion of a suit to your Highness, for the punishment of lechery, for lechery floweth in England like a flood.

But now to make an end of temporal causes : — He said, “ Who made me a Judge of temporal causes among you, and of worldly matters ? ” — Thus came this fellow off here for interrupting of Christ’s Sermon, and received the answer which I have rehearsed. “ Thou man, who made me a Judge among you ? ” And he said unto all the audience, “ See and beware of covetousness.” Why so ? “ For no man’s life standeth in the abundance of the things which he possesseth.” We may have things necessary, and we may have abundance of things, but the abundance doth not make us blessed. It is no good argument, “ The more riches that a man hath, the more happily and the more blessedly he liveth.” For a certain great man, that had purchased much lands, a thousand marks a year, or I know not what, a great portion he had ; and on the way, as he was in his journey towards London, or from London, he fell sick by the way ; a disease took him, that he was constrained to lie upon it. And so being in his bed, the disease grew more and more upon him, that he was by his friends that were about him godlily advised to look to himself, and to address himself to God ; for there was no other likelihood but that he must die without remedy. He cried out, What, shall I die ? quoth he ; wounds, sides, heart, shall I die, and thus go from my goods ? Go, fetch me some Physician that may save my life. Wounds and sides, shall I thus die ? There lay he still in bed like a block, with nothing but wounds and sides, shall I die ? Within a very little while he died indeed, and then lay he like a block indeed. There was black gowns, torches, tapers, and ringing of bells ; but what is become of him God knoweth, and not I. But

But here by this ye may perceive, that it is not the abundance of riches that maketh a man to live quietly and blissfully. But the quiet life is a mediocrity: They that are in a mean do live best. And there is a proverb which I read many years ago: The half is sometimes more than the whole. The mean life is the best life, and the most quiet life of all. If a man should fill himself up to the throat, he should not find ease in it, but displeasure, and with the one half he might satisfy his greedy appetite. So this great riches never makes a man's life quiet, but rather troublous. I remember here a saying of Solomon, and his example; “I gathered silver and gold together, saith he; I provided me singers, and women which could play on instruments, to make men mirth and pastime. I gat me Psalteries and songs of music, &c. and thus my heart rejoiced in all that I did.” But what was the end of all this? “When I considered, saith Solomon, all the works that my hands had wrought, &c. lo all was but vanity and vexation of mind; and nothing of any value under the sun.” Therefore leave covetousness, for believe me, if I had an enemy, the first thing that I would wish him should be, that he might have abundance of riches; for so I am sure he should never be in quiet. But think ye there be not many that would be so hurt? But in this place of the Gospel, Christ spake and declared this unquietness, and uncertainty of great riches, by a similitude and parable of a great rich man, who had much land, that brought forth all fruits plentifully. And he being in a pride of the matter, and much unquiet by reason that he had so much, said to himself: “What shall I do, because I have not room enough wherein to bestow my fruits, that hath grown unto me of my lands? I will thus do, saith he, I will pull down my barns and build greater; and I will say to my soul, Soul, thou hast much goods

" goods laid up in store for many years, take thine
" ease, eat, drink, and be merry. But God said
" to him : Thou fool, this night will they take thy
" soul from thee again, and then whose shall these
" things be which thou hast provided ? Even so it
" is with him, saith Christ, that gathereth riches
" unto himself, and is not rich toward God, &c."

But yet the covetous man can never be content. I walked one day with a Gentleman in a park, and the man regarded not my talk, but cast his head and his eyes this and that way, so that I perceived he gave no great ear to me, which when I saw I held my peace. At last, quoth the Gentleman, if this park were mine, I would never desire more while I lived. I answered and said, Sir, and what if you had this park too ; for there was another park even hard by ? This Gentleman laughed at the matter. And truly I think he was diseased with the dropsy, the more he had, the more covetous he was to have more and more. This was a Farmer that had a farm hard by it, and if he might have had this park to it, he would never have desired more. This was a Farmer not altogether so covetous a man, as there be now-a-days, as for one Gentleman to rake up all the farms in the country together into his hands all at once.

And here one suit more to your Highness : There lacketh one thing in this realm, that it hath need of ; for God's sake make some promoters. There lack promoters, such as were in King Henry the Seventh's days, your grandfather. There lack men to promote the King's officers when they do amiss, and to promote all offenders. I think there is a great need of such men of godly discretion, wisdom and conscience, to promote transgressors, as Rent-raisers, Oppressors of the poor, Extortioners, Bribers, Usurers. I hear there be Usurers in England, that will take forty in the hundred ; but I hear of no promoters to put them up. We read not, this covetous Farmer,

mer, or landed men of the gospel, bought corn in the markets to lay it up in store, and then sell it again. But and if it please your Highness, I hear say that in England, we have Landlords, nay, Step-lords I might say, that are become Grasiers, and Burgesses are become Regraters, and some Farmers will regrate and buy up all the corn that cometh to the markets and lay it up in store, and sell it again at an higher price, when they see their time. I heard a Merchantman say, that he had travelled all the days of his life in the trade of Merchandize; and had gotten three or four thousand pounds by buying and selling; but in case he might be licenced or suffered so to do, he would get a thousand pounds a year, by only buying and selling of grain here within this realm. Yea, and, as I hear say, Aldermen now-adays are become Colliers. They be both Woodmongers and makers of Coals. I would wish he might eat nothing but coals for a while, till he had amended it. There cannot a poor body buy a sack of coals, but it must come through their hands. But this rich man that the gospel speaketh of was a covetous man, God had given him plenty, but that made him not a good man: It is another thing that maketh a good man; God saith, " If thou obey not my voice, &c." And therefore worldly riches, do not declare the favour or disfavour of God. The Scripture saith, " God hath ordained all things to be good;" and the devil laboureth to turn all things to man's evil. God giveth men plenty of riches to exercise their faith and charity, to confirm them that be good, to draw them that be nougnt, and bring them to repentance, and the devils work together to the contrary. And it is an old Proverb, the more wicked, the more fortunate. But the unquietness of this covetous rich man, declareth the unquietness of the mind, that riches bringeth with it. First,

they are all in care how to get riches, and then they are in more care how to keep it still. Therefore the Apostle saith: "They that study to get great riches, " do fall into divers and many temptations. But " the root of all evil is covetousness. What shall " I do?" saith this rich man. He asked his own brainless head what he should do; he did not ask of the scripture. For if he had asked of the scripture, it would have told him, it would have said unto him; " Break thy bread unto the hungry." All the affection of men now-adays is in building gay and sumptuous houses, it is in setting up and pulling down, and never have done building. But the end of all such great riches and covetousnes is this; " This night, thou fool, thy soul shall be taken " from thee." It is to be understood of all that rise up from little to much, as this rich man that the gospel spake of. I do not despise riches, but I wish that men should have riches as Abraham had, and as Joseph had. A man to have riches to help his neighbour, is godly riches. The worldly riches, is to put all his trust and confidence in his worldly riches, that he may by them live here gallantly, pleasantly and voluptuously. Is this godly riches? No, no, this is not godly riches. It is a common saying now-adays among many; O, he is a rich man. He is well worth five hundred pounds, that hath given five hundred pounds to the poor, otherwise it is none of his. Yea, but who shall have this five hundred pounds? For whom hast thou gotten that five hundred pounds? What saith Solomon? Ecclesiastes v. "Another evil, saith he, and " another very naughty imperfection, is riches " hoarded up, and kept together to the owner's " harm;" for many times such riches do perish and consume away miserably. Such a one shall sometimes have a Son, said he, that shall be a very beggar, and live in all extreme penury. O godly riches,

that

that one man shall get it, and another come to devour it. Therefore, “ See and beware of covetousness.” Believe God’s words, for they will not deceive you nor lie. “ Heaven and earth shall perish, but the word of the Lord abideth, and endureth for ever.” O, this leavened faith, this unseasoned faith, beware of this unseasoned faith. A certain man asked me this question, Didst thou ever see a man live long that had great riches? Therefore said the wise man; “ If God send thee riches, use them.” If God send thee abundance, use it according to the rule of God’s word, and study to be rich in our Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom, with the Father and the holy Ghost, be all honour, glory, and praise, for ever and ever. *Amen.*



S E R M O N XVI.

Being the first of those preached upon the
Lord's Prayer.

*By the Reverend Father in Christ Master HUGH
LATIMER Bishop of Worcester.*

Preached before the right honourable Lady,
Katharine Dutchesse of Suffolk,
in the Year 1552.

M A T T H E W vi. 9.

Our Father which art in heaven, &c.

I HAVE entered of late into the way of preaching, and spoken many things of prayer, and rather of prayer than of any other thing: for I think there is nothing more necessary to be spoken of, nor more abused than prayer was by the craft and subtily of the devil; for many things were taken for prayer when they were nothing less: Therefore now also I have thought it good to intreat of prayer, to the intent it may be known how precious a thing right prayer is. I told you,

First, What prayer is.

Secondly, To whom we ought to pray.

Thirdly, Where and in what place we ought to pray. And,

Fourthly, I told you the diversity of prayer, namely of common prayer and the private.

These

These and such like things I have dilated, and expounded unto you in the open pulpit *.

Now at this present time I intend as by the way of a lecture, at the request of my most gracious Lady, to expound unto you, her household servants, and others that be willing to hear, the right understanding and meaning of this most perfect prayer which our Saviour himself taught us, at the request of his disciples, which prayer we call *Pater-noster*. This prayer of our Lord may be called a prayer above all prayers, the principal and most perfect prayer, which prayer ought to be regarded above all others, considering that our Saviour himself is the author of it; he was the maker of this prayer, being very God and man. He taught us this prayer, who is a most perfect Schoolmaster, and commanded us to say it; which prayer containeth great and wonderful things, if a learned man had the handling of it. But as for me, such things as I have conceived by the reading of learned mens books, so far forth as God will give me his grace and spirit, I will shew unto you touching the very meaning of it, and what is to be understood by every word contained in this prayer; for there is no word idle or spoken in vain. For it must needs be perfect, good, and of great importance, being our Saviour's teaching, which is the wisdom of God itself. There be many other Psalms and prayers in scripture very good and godly, and it is good to know them. But it is with this prayer, the Lord's prayer, I say, like as with the law of love. All the laws of Moses, as concerning what is to be done to please God, how to walk before him uprightly and godly; all such laws are contained in the law of love. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind;

* The Pulpit Cross in the inner Garden in the King's Palace at Westminster. See before, p. 187, 188.

" mind; and thy neighbour as thyself :" Even so it is with this prayer. For like as the law of love is the sum and abridgment of the other laws, so this prayer is the sum and abridgment of all other prayers ; all the other prayers are contained in this prayer ; yea, whatsoever mankind hath need of to soul and body, that same is contained in this prayer.

This prayer hath two parts ; first, it hath a preface, which some call a salutation or a loving entrance ; secondly, the prayer itself. The entrance is this ; When ye pray, say, " Our Father which art in heaven ; " as who should say, you Christian people, you that bear the name of Christians, you may pray so.

Before I go any farther, I must put you in remembrance to consider how much we be bound to our Saviour Christ, that he would vouchsafe to teach us to pray ; and in this prayer to signify unto us the good-will which our heavenly Father bear-eth towards us. Now to the matter :

" Our Father." These words pertain not to the petitions, they be but an entering, a seeking favour at God's hand ; yet if we will weigh and consider them, they admonish us of many things and strengthen our faith wondrous well. For this word Father, signifieth that we be Christ's brothers, and that God is our Father. He is the eldest Son, he is the Son of God by nature, we be his sons by adoption through his goodness ; therefore he biddeth us to call him our Father, which is to be had in fresh memory, and great reputation. For here we are admonished how that we be " reconciled unto God ; " we, which before-times were his enemies, are made " now the children of God, and inheritors of ever-lasting life." This we be admonished of by this word Father. So that it is a word of much importance and great reputation : for it confirmeth our faith,

faith, when we call him Father. Therefore our Saviour, when he teacheth us to call God Father, teacheth us to understand the fatherly affection which God beareth towards us; which thing maketh us bold and hearty to call upon him, knowing that he beareth a good-will towards us, and that he will surely hear our prayers.

When we be in trouble, we doubt of a stranger whether he will help us or not: but our Saviour commanding us to call God Father, teacheth us to be assured of the love and good-will of God towards us: So by this word "Father," we learn to establish and to comfort our faith, knowing most assuredly that he will be good unto us. For Christ was a perfect Schoolmaster, he lacked no wisdom; he knew his Father's will and pleasure; he teacheth us, yea and most certainly assureth us, that God will be no cruel Judge, but a loving Father. Here we see what commodities we have in this word, "Father." Seeing now we find such commodities by this one word, we ought to consider the whole prayer with great diligence and earnest mind. For there is no word nor letter contained in this prayer, but it is of great importance, and therefore it is necessary for us to know and understand it thoroughly; and then to speak it considerately and with great devotion; else it is to no purpose to speak the words without understanding, it is but lip labour and vain babbling, and so unworthy to be called prayer; as it was in times past used in England.

Therefore when you say this prayer, you must well consider what you say; for it is better once said deliberately, with understanding, than a thousand times without understanding; which is in very deed but vain babbling; and so is more a displeasure than pleasure unto God. For the matter lieth not in much saying, but in well saying. So, if it be said

to the honour of God, then it hath its effect, and we shall have our petitions ; for God is true in his promises : and our Saviour knowing him to be well affected towards us, commandeth us therefore to call him Father.

Here you must understand, that like as our Saviour was most earnest and fervent in teaching us how to pray and call upon God for aid and help, and for things necessary both to our souls and bodies : so the devil, that old serpent, with no less diligence endeavoureth himself to let and stop our prayers ; so that we shall not call upon God. And amongst other his lets, he hath one especially wherein he thinketh to keep us from prayer, which is the remembrance of our sins. When he perceiveth us to be disposed to pray ; he cometh with his crafty and subtil conveyances, saying, What, wilt thou pray unto God for aid and help ? Knowest thou not that thou art a wicked sinner, and a transgressor of the law of God ? Look rather to be damned, and judged for thy evil doings, than to receive any benefit at his hands. Wilt thou call him Father, which is so holy a God, and thou art so wicked, and miserable a sinner ?

This the devil will say, and trouble our minds, to stop and let us from our prayer ; and so to give us occasion not to pray unto God. In this temptation we must seek for some remedy and comfort ; for the devil doth put us in remembrance of our sins to that end, to keep us from prayer and invocation of God. The remedy for this temptation is to call our Saviour to remembrance, who hath taught us to say this prayer ; he knew his Father's pleasure, he knew what he did. When he commanded us to call God our Father, he knew we should find fatherly affections in God towards us. Call this, I say, to remembrance, and again to remember that our Saviour hath cleansed, through his

his passion, all our sins, and taken away all our wickedness. So that as many as believe in him shall be the children of God. In such wise let us strive and fight against the temptations of the devil, which would not have us to call upon God, because we be sinners. Catch thou hold of our Saviour, believe in him, be assured in thy heart, that he with his suffering took away all thy sins. Consider again, that our Saviour calleth us to prayer, and commandeth us to pray: Our sins let us, and withdraw us from prayer; but our Saviour maketh them nothing: when we believe in him, it is like as if we had no sins. For he changeth with us, he taketh our sins and wickedness from us, and giveth unto us his holiness, righteousness, justice, fulfilling of the law; and so, consequently, everlasting life: so that we be like as if we had done no sin at all; for his righteousness standeth us in so good stead, as though we of ourselves had fulfilled the law to the uttermost.

Therefore our sins cannot let us, nor withdraw us from prayer: for they be gone, they are no sins, they cannot be hurtful unto us. Christ dying for us, as all the scripture, both of the new and old Testament, witnesseth; "He hath taken away our "sorrows." Like as when I owe unto a man an hundred pounds; the day is expired, he will have his money; I have it not, and for lack of it, I am laid in prison. In such distress cometh a good friend, and faith, Sir, be of good cheer, I will pay thy debts; and forthwith payeth the whole sum, and setteth me at liberty. Such a friend is our Saviour; he hath paid our debts, and set us at liberty; else we should have been damned world without end, and in everlasting prison and darkness. Therefore though our sins condemn us, yet when we alledge Christ and believe in him, our sins shall not hurt us. For St John saith, if we have sinned, "We

" have an Advocate with God the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous." Mark what he saith, " We have an Advocate," not Advocates *, he speaketh singularly, not plurally.

We have one Advocate, not many; neither saints, nor any body else, but only him, and none other, neither by the way of mediation, nor by the way of redemption. He only is sufficient, for he only is all the doer, let him have all the whole praise. Let us not withdraw from him his Majesty, and give it to creatures, for he only satisfieth for the sins of the whole world. So that all that believe in Christ be clean from all the filthiness of their sins. For St John Baptist saith, " Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world." Doth the devil call thee from prayer? Christ calleth thee unto it again: For so it is written. " To that end the Son of God appeared, to destroy the works of the devil."

But mark here: scripture speaketh not of impenitent sinners; Christ suffered not for them; his death remedieith not their sins. For they be the bondmen of the devil, and his slaves; and therefore Christ's benefits pertain not unto them. It is a wonderful saying that St John hath: " Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world." The devil saith unto me, Thou art a sinner: Yea, saith St John, but the Lamb of God hath taken away thy sins. Also, " We therefore having a great high Priest, which hath passed through the heavens, even Jesus the Son of God, let us with boldness go unto the seat of his grace, that we may obtain mercy." O it is a comfortable thing that we have an access unto God.

* Master Latimer here refutes the Popish enthusiastic doctrine of a multitude of Advocates and Intercessors, who, it is said, continually intercede in heaven for sinners: and hence their custom of praying to Angels and Saints.

God. Isaiah saith, “ The pains of our punishment
“ was laid upon him, and with his stripes are we
“ healed.” Farther, in the new Testament we read,
“ Unto the same bear all the Prophets witness, that,
“ all they do receive forgiveness of sins by his name,
“ which believe on him.”

Now ye see how ye be remedied from your sins, you hear how you shall withstand the devil, when he would withdraw you from prayer. Let us therefore not give over prayer, but stick unto it ; let us rather believe Christ our Saviour, than the devil, which was a liar from the beginning. You know how you may prevent him, how ye may put him off, and avoid his temptations.

There is one other addition before we come to the petitions, which doth much confirm our faith, and increase the same ; those words, “ which art in heaven.” These words put a diversity between the heavenly Father, and our temporal fathers. There be some temporal fathers which would fain help their children, but they cannot, they be not able to help them. Again, there be some fathers which are rich, and might help their children, but they be so unnatural they will not help them. But our heavenly Father, in that we call him Father, we learn that he will help, that he beareth a fatherly love towards us.

“ In Heaven :” here we learn that he is able to help us, to give us all good things necessary to soul and body ; and is mighty to defend us from all ill and peril. So it appeareth that he is a Father which will help us, and that he being celestial, he is able to help us. Therefore we may have a boldness and confidence, that he may help us, and that he will help us, where and whensoever we call. He saith, “ I fill heaven and earth.” And again, “ Heaven is my seat, and the earth is my foot-stool.” Where we see, that he is a mighty God,

that he is in heaven and earth, with his power and might. In heaven he is apparently, where face to face he sheweth himself unto his Angels and Saints. In earth he is not so apparently, but darkly, and obscurely he exhibiteth himself unto us; for our corrupt and evil flesh could not bear his Majesty. Yet he filleth the earth; that is to say, he ruleth and governeth the same, ordering all things according unto his will and pleasure. Therefore we must learn to perswade ourselves, and undoubtedly to believe that he is able to help us: and that he beareth so good and fatherly a will towards us that he will not forget us. Therefore the King and Prophet David saith, "The Lord looked down "from heaven." As far as the earth is from heaven, yet God looketh down, he feeth all things, he is in every corner. He saith, the Lord hath looked down, not the Saints: No, he saith not so. For the Saints have not so sharp eyes to see down from heaven: they be pur-blind, and sand-blind, they cannot see so far, nor have not so long ears to hear. And therefore our petition and prayer should be unto him, which will hear and can hear. For it is the Lord that looked down. He is here in earth, as I told you, very darkly; but he is in heaven most manifestly; where he sheweth himself unto his Angels and Saints face to face. We read in scripture that Abel's blood did cry unto God: Where it appeareth that he can hear, yea, not only hear, but also see, and feel. For he feeth over all things, so that the least thought of our hearts is not hid from him.

Therefore ponder and consider these words well, for they fortify our faith. We call him "Father," to put ourselves in remembrance of his good-will towards us. "Heavenly," we call him, signifying his might and power, that he may help and do all things according to his will and pleasure. So it appeareth
most

most manifestly, that there lacked neither good-will, nor power in him.

There was once a Prophet, who when he was ill intreated of King Joash, said, "The Lord look upon it, and avenge it." There be many men in England, and other where else, which care not for God, yea they be clean without God; which say in their hearts; "Tush, the clouds cover him that he may not see, and he dwelleth above in heaven." But as I told you before, Abel's blood may certify of his present knowledge. Let us therefore take heed that we do nothing that may displease his Majesty, either openly, or secretly. For he is every where, and nothing can be hid from him; "He seeth, and will punish it."

Farther, this word "Father," is not only apt and convenient for us to strengthen our faith withal, as I told you, but also it moveth God the sooner to hear us when we call him by that name, Father. For he perceiving our confidence in him, cannot choose but shew himself like a Father. So that this word Father, is most meet to move God to pity and to grant our requests. Certain it is, and proved by holy scripture, that God hath a fatherly and loving affection towards us, far passing the love of bodily parents to their children. Yea, as far as heaven and earth is asunder, so far his love toward mankind exceedeth the love of natural parents to their children; which love is set out by the mouth of his holy Prophet Isaiah, where he saith, "Can a wife forget the child of her womb, and the son whom she had born? And though she do forget him, yet will not I forget thee." Here are shewed the affections and unspeakable love, which God beareth towards us. He saith, "May a woman?" He speaketh of the woman, meaning the man too; but because women most commonly are more affected towards their children than men be, therefore he nameth the

the woman. And it is a very unnatural woman that hateth her child, or neglecteth the same. But, O Lord, what crafts and conveyances used the devil abroad, that he can bring his matters so to pass, that some women set aside not only all motherly affections, but also all natural humanity, insomuch that they kill their own children, their own blood and flesh?

I was of late credibly informed of a Priest, which had taken in hand to be a midwife: O what an abominable thing is this? But what followed? he ordered the matter so, that the poor innocent was lost in the mean season. Such things the devil can bring to pass, but what then? God saith, Though women do forget their children, though they kill them, yet will I not forget thee, saith the Lord God almighty. True it is, there be some women very unnatural and unkind, which shall receive their punishments of God for it; but for all that, we ought to beware and not to believe every tale told unto us, and so rashly judge. I know what I mean. There hath been of late such tales spread abroad and most untruly; such false tale-tellers shall have a grievous punishment of the Lord, when he shall come to reward every one according to his deserts.

Here I have occasion to tell you a story which happened at Cambridge. Master Bilney *, or rather Saint Bilney, that suffered death for God's word sake, the same Bilney was the instrument whereby God called me to knowledge, for I may thank him, next to God, for that knowledge that I have in the word of God. For I was as obstinate a Papist as any was in England, insomuch that when I should be made Bachelor of Divinity, my whole Oration went against

* See the note on page 209. Latimer had a high opinion of this Bilney, and deservedly stiles him a Saint; he being one of the earliest sufferers for the principles of the Reformation.

against Philip Melancthon*, and against his opinions. Bilney heard me at that time, and perceived that I was zealous without knowledge; he came to me afterward in my study, and desired me for God's sake to hear his confession: I did so. And to say the very truth, by his Confession I learned more than before in many years. So from that time forward I began to smell the word of God, and forsook the school-doctors and such foolerries.

Now after I had been acquainted with him, I went with him to visit the prisoners in the Tower at Cambridge, for he was ever visiting prisoners and sick folk. So we went together, and exhorted them as well as we were able to do; minding them to patience, and to acknowledge their faults. Among other prisoners, there was a woman which was accused that she had killed her child, which act she plainly and stedfastly denied, and could not be brought to confess the act; which denying gave us occasion to search for the matter, and so we did. And at the length we found that her husband loved her not, and therefore he sought means to make her out of the way. The matter was thus:

A child of hers had been sick by the space of a year, and so decayed as it were in a consumption. At length it died in harvest time. She went to her neighbours and other friends to desire their help, to prepare the child for burial; but there was no body at home, every man was in the field. The woman, in an heaviness and trouble of spirit, went, and being herself alone, prepared the child for burial. Her husband coming home, not having great love towards her, accused her of the murder, and so she was taken and brought to Cambridge. But as far forth as I could learn, through earnest inquisition, I thought

* See before, p. 117. Here Master Latimer gives us a short account of the beginning of his Conversion to the old Christianity, restored in England by the Reformation.

thought in my conscience the woman was not guilty, all the circumstances well considered.

Immediately after this, I was called to preach before the King, which was my first Sermon that I made before his Majesty, and it was done at Windsor; where his Majesty after the Sermon was done, did most familiarly talk with me in a gallery. Now when I saw my time, I kneeled down before his Majesty, opening the whole matter, and afterwards most humbly desired his Majesty to pardon that woman. For I thought in my conscience she was not guilty; or else I would not for all the world sue for a murderer. The King most graciously heard my humble request, insomuch that I had a pardon ready for her at my returning homeward. In the mean season, that woman was delivered of a child in the Tower of Cambridge, whose Godfather I was, and Mistress Cheek was Godmother. But all that time I hid my pardon, and told her nothing of it, only exhorting her to confess the truth. At the length the time came when she looked to suffer; I came as I was wont to do, to instruct her; she made great moan to me, and most earnestly requested me that I would find the means that she might be purified before her suffering. For she thought she should be damned, if she should suffer without purification. Where Master Bilney and I told her that that law was made unto the Jews, and not unto us; and that women dying in childbed be not unclean before God, neither is purification used to that end, that it should cleanse from sin; but rather a civil and politic law, made for natural honesty sake; signifying, that a woman before the time of her purification, that is to say, as long as she is a green woman, is not meet to do such acts as other women, nor to have company with her husband: for it is against natural honesty, and against the commonwealth: to that end purification is kept and used

used, not to make a superstition, or holiness of it, as some do; which think that they may not fetch either fire or any thing in that house where there is a green woman; which opinion is erroneous and wicked. For women, as I said before, be as well in the favour of God before they be purified as after. So we travailed with this woman till we brought her to a good opinion; and at length shewed her the King's pardon, and let her go.

This tale I told you by this occasion, that though some women be very unnatural, and forget their children, yet when we hear any body so report, we should not be too hasty in believing the tale, but rather suspend our judgments till we know the truth.

And again, we shall mark hereby the great love and kindness of God our loving Father, who sheweth himself so loving unto us, that notwithstanding women forget sometimes their own natural children, yet he will not forget us; he will hear us when we call upon him; as he saith by the Evangelist Matthew, "Ask, and it shall be given unto you; " seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you," &c. Then he cometh and bringeth in a pretty similitude, saying, "Is there any man amongst you, which if his son ask bread, will give him a stone? If ye then being evil, can give your children good gifts," &c. In these words, where he saith, "which be evil," he giveth us our own proper name, he painteth us out, he pincheth us, he cutteth off our combs, he plucketh down our stomachs. And here we learn to acknowledge ourselves to be wicked, and to know him to be the well-spring and fountain of all goodness, and that all good things come of him. Therefore let every man think lowly of himself, humble himself and call upon God, who is ready to give us, not only bread and drink, or other necessaries, but the

holy Ghost. To whom will he give the holy Ghost? To Lords and Ladies, to Gentlemen or Gentlewomen? No, not so; he is not ruled by affections; he hath not respect unto personages: but "unto those who call upon him," being rich or poor, Lords or Knights, beggars or Kings; he is ready to give unto them when they come to him. And this is a great comfort unto those which be poor and miserable in this world; for they may be assured of the help of God, yea, and as boldly go unto him, and desire his help, as the greatest King on earth. But we must ask, we must inquire for it; he would have us to be importunate, to be earnest and diligent in desiring, then we shall receive, when we come with a good faith and confidence. To whom shall we call? Not unto the Saints. Those that call upon me, saith he, shall be heard. Therefore we ought to come unto him only, and not unto the Saints.

But one word is left, which we must needs consider; it is "our," he saith not *my*, but *our*; wherefore saith he "our?" This word "our," teacheth us to consider that the Father of heaven is a common Father, as well my neighbour's Father as mine; as well the poor man's Father as the rich: so that he is not a peculiar Father, but a Father to the whole Church and Congregation, to all the faithful, be they never so poor, so vile, so foul and despised; yet he is their Father as well as mine: and therefore I should not despise them, but consider that God is their Father as well as mine.

Here may we perceive what communion is between us; so that when I pray, I pray not for myself alone, but for all the rest: Again, when they pray, they pray not for themselves only, but for me: for Christ hath so framed this prayer, that I must needs include my neighbour in it. Therefore all those which pray this prayer, they pray as well for me as for themselves; which is a great comfort

to every faithful heart, when he considereth that all the Church prayeth for him. For amongst such a great number there be some which be good, and whose prayer God will hear. And it appeareth by Abraham's prayer, which prayer was so efficacious, that God would have pardoned Sodom and Gomorrah, if he might have found but ten good persons therein. Likewise St Paul in shipwrack preserved his company by his prayer. So that it is a great comfort unto us to know that all good and faithful persons pray for us.

There be some learned men which gather out of scripture that the prayer of St Stephen was the occasion of the Conversion of St Paul. *St Chrysostom saith, that that prayer that I make for myself is the best, and is of more efficacy than that which is made in common. Which saying I like not very well. For our Saviour was better learned than St Chrysostom. He taught us to pray in common for all; therefore we ought to follow him, and to be glad to pray one for another: for we have a common saying among us; Whosoever loveth me, loveth my dog. So, whosoever loveth God, will love his neighbour, which is made after the image of God.

And here it is to be noted, that prayer hath one property before all other good works: for with my alms I help but one or two at once, but with my faithful prayer I help all. I desire God to comfort all men living, but especially "those which be of the household of faith :" Yet we ought to pray with all our hearts for others, which believe not, that God will turn their hearts and renew them with his Spirit; yea, our prayers reach so far, that our very capital enemy ought not to be omitted.

Here we see what an excellent thing prayer is, when it proceedeth from a faithful heart, it

* See before, p. 187.

doth far surpass all the good works that men can do.

Now to make an end, we are admonished here of charity, and taught, that God is not only a private Father, but a common Father unto the whole world, unto all the faithful, be they never so poor and miserable in this world, yet he is their Father. Where we may learn humility and lowliness, especially great and rich men should learn here not to be lofty or to despise the poor. For when ye despise the poor miserable man, whom despise you? ye despise him which calleth God his Father as well as you; and peradventure may be more acceptable, and more regarded in his sight than you be. Those proud persons may learn here to leave their stubbornness and loftiness. But there be a great many which little regard this; they think themselves better than other men be, and so despise and contemn the poor; insomuch that they will not hear poor mens causes, nor defend them from the wrong and oppression of the rich and mighty. Such proud men despise the Lord's prayer; they should be as careful for their brethren, as for themselves. And such humility, such love and carefulnes towards our neighbours, we learn by this word "Our." Therefore I desire you on God's behalf, let us cast away all disdainfulness, all proudnes, yea, and all bibble-babble. Let us pray this prayer with understanding and great deliberation, not following the trade of Monkerie, which was without devotion or understanding. There be but few which can say from the bottom of their hearts, "Our "Father," a little number. Neither the * Turks, neither

* Neither Jews nor Turks ever stiled the Creator of heaven and earth Father in the same sense Christians do: for the adoption of the faithful, is through the sonship of Jesus Christ. God is the Father of Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ is his Son; which is a revelation not known or received by Jews, Turks, or Infidels, ancient or modern.

neither the Jews, nor yet the impenitent sinners, can call God their Father. Therefore it is but vain babbling whatsoever they pray: God heareth them not, he will not receive their prayers. The promise of hearing is made unto them only which be faithful and believe in God, which endeavour themselves to live according to his commandments. For the scripture saith, “The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and his ears are open unto their prayers.”

But who are those righteous? Every penitent sinner that is sorry from the bottom of his heart for his wickedness, and believeth that God will forgive him his sins, for his Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake.

This is called in scripture “a just man,” that endeavoureth himself to leave all wickedness. In such sort Peter and Paul were just, because they did repent, and believe in Christ, and endeavoured themselves to live according to God's laws. Therefore like as they were made just before God, so may we too; for we have even the self-same promise. Let us therefore follow their example, let us forsake all sins and wickedness, then God will hear our prayers. For the scripture saith, “The Lord fulfilleth the desire of them that fear him: he also will hear their cry, and help them.” In another place he saith, “If ye abide in me, and my words abide in you, ask what you will, and it shall be done for you.” So we see, that the promises appertain only to the faithful, to those which endeavour themselves to live according to God's will and pleasure, which can be content to leave off wickedness, and follow godliness; those God will hear at all times, whensoever they call upon him.

Remember now what I have said; remember what is meant by this word “Our;” namely, that it admonisheth us of love and charity, it teacheth

eth us to beware of stubbornness and proudness; considering that God loveth as well the beggar as the rich man, for he regardeth not persons. Again, what is to be understood by this word “Father;” namely, that he beareth a good will towards us, that he is ready and willing to help us: “Heavenly,” that admonisheth us of his omnipotency and ability, that he is ruler over all things: This, I say, remember, and follow it; then we shall receive all things necessary for this life, and finally, everlasting joy and felicity. *Amen.* Let us pray, “Our Father,” &c.



SERMON XVII.

Being the second of those upon the Lord's Prayer.

Preached in the afternoon of the same day.

By the Reverend Father in Christ Master HUGH LATIMER Bishop of Worcester.

M A T T H E W vi. 9.

Hallowed be thy name.

THESE few words contain the first petition of the Lord's prayer: the other words which go before this, be no part of this petition, but rather an introduction to these petitions: and they be like a preface, or learned entrance to the matter, that the petitions might be the sooner and with more favour heard. For our Saviour being a perfect Schoolmaster, as a learned and an expert Orator, teacheth us, how we should begin our prayer that we might be speedily heard, and how to get favour at God's hand.

I have a manner of teaching which is very tedious to them that be learned, I am wont ever to repeat those things which I have said before, which repetitions are nothing pleasant to the learned; but it is no matter, I care not for them; I seek more the profit of those which be ignorant, than to please learned men. Therefore I oftentimes repeat such things which be needful for them to know; for I would speak so that they might be edified withal.

I speake some things this day in the commendation of this prayer: and first I told you, that it was our Saviour's own making and handy work, who is a perfect Schoolmaster, put in authority by God the heavenly Father himself, which faith, " This is my well beloved Son, in whom I have pleasure, hear him." This prayer is a perfect prayer, an abridgment and compendious sum of all other prayers. There is nothing that we have need of, neither to our souls or bodies, but is contained in some of these petitions; nor nothing that God promiseth in his word to give us, but it is expressed in one of these seven petitions.

I shewed you this day why we call God, Father; namely, because he beareth a loving and fatherly heart towards us. It is a sweet word, " Father;" and a word which pleaseth God much when it is spoken with a faithful heart, which above all things God requireth. This word Father, moveth God's affection in a manner towards us, so that he hearing the word Father, cannot chuse but shew himself a Father indeed. So that it is a word profitable to us in God's behalf, and again for our own selves. For it moveth God to pity, and also helpeth our faith: So that we doubt not, but that we shall find him a Father, which will grant our requests and petitions made unto him in the name of Christ. Now what crafty conveyances the devil daily useth to withdraw and let us from prayer, I told you to day aforenoon. If you exercise prayers, you shall find the temptations of the devil, for he sleepeth not: he ever intendeth to withdraw us from prayer. But I told you what remedy you shall use against him, namely, with faith, believing that our Saviour hath taken away our sins, so that they cannot hurt us. For they be no sins in the sight of God; for he hath taken away both the guiltiness of sins, and the pains and punishments which follow sins. Christ hath

hath deserved that those which believe in him shall be quit from all their sins. .. These benefits of Christ are set out in scripture in many places; and these be the weapons wherewith we must fight against the devil and his illusions; not with holy water *; for I tell you, the devil is not afraid of holy water. It is Christ that hath gotten the victory over him, it is he that vanquisheth the Serpent's head, and not holy water.

Further, in that we call him “ Father,” his will and fatherly affection is expressed; that we call him “ heavenly Father,” his might and power, his omnipotency is expounded unto us. So that you perceive he is both loving and kind towards us; that he beareth a good-will, and also is able to help, able to defend us from all our enemies, spiritual or temporal. Therefore let us put our trust and confidence in him; let us not despair of his help, seeing he is so loving, kind, and gentle towards us, and then so mighty, that he hath all things in his hands. This affection and love towards us, passeth all motherly affections. And here I brought in to day, a woman which was accused that she should have killed her child: I told you what busyness good Master Bilney and I had with her, before we could bring her to a good opinion. For she thought herself to be damned if she should suffer

N° XV.

X x

before

* Holy Water is prepared every Sunday in the Romish church, with divers prayers, exorcisms, &c. and used by the people to cross themselves withal at their entrance, and going out of the church. It is pretended to have the virtue of washing away venial sins, driving away devils, preserving from thunder, dissolving charms, securing from, or curing diseases, &c. The use of it appears to be of pretty antient standing. M. Godeau attributes its first rise to Pope Alexander, a Martyr under the Emperor Adrian. But many of the reformed think the use of it to be borrowed from the lustral water among the antient Romans, which is not improbable: though perhaps its origin may be dated from the sprinklings used in the Jewish ceremonies.

before her purification *. There I told you, purification is continued in the Church of God, for natural honesty's sake, that man and wife should not company together before that time ; and not to that end, that it should cleanse from sin ; for there is nothing that cleanseth from sin, neither in heaven nor earth, saving only the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

For how can a woman having company with her husband, and bringing forth children according to God's injunction ; how can she be made an heathen woman, doing nothing but what God hath commanded her to do ? Therefore against such foolish opinions that women have, thinking themselves out of the favour of God lying in childbed, I spake to day, and told you that it is no offence before God ; only let every man and wife take heed and use themselves honestly ; for a man may sin deadly with his own wife, if he, contrary to God's order, misuse her.

Further, you have heard how the good-will of God towards us is set out by this word " Father," and his power and omnipotency by this word " heavenly ;" but I would have you to consider well this word " our ;" for it is a great help unto

us,

* Our Church, in imitation of the Jewish purification of women after child-birth, hath appointed an Office on purpose, that the woman should, after so great a deliverance, return her hearty and sincere thanks to Almighty God for the same : the Church likewise orders, " that the woman do make the usual offerings ; " and that if it be convenient she do receive the sacrament of the " body and blood of Christ." There is also a festival observed by the Church, called, The Purification of the blessed Virgin Mary, by the vulgar called Candlemas day, kept on the second of February yearly ; and so called, because candles were formerly consecrated on that day, and set apart for sacred use for the whole year : and a solemn procession was made with some of those hallowed candles, in memory of the Divine Light with which Christ enlightened the Church at his Presentation in the Temple, when he was called by St Simeon, " A Light to lighten the Gentiles, " and to be the Glory of his people Israel."

us, and strengtheneth much our faith, so that we may be assured every good man in the whole world will pray for us and with us, whilst we have one Father and one manner of prayer. And this word "our," putteth us in remembrance that we be brethren in Christ: whereby we be admonished to despise no man, be he never so miserable or poor; for we have one Father, which hath made us all of one metal of earth. So that the highest Prince in the world is made as well of earth as the poorest; and so shall turn into the same again, as well as the poorest Shepherd. Let those proud persons mark this well, which be ever ready to despise every man. Such proud persons never say the Lord's prayer with a good mind; yea, God is not their Father: for he abhorreth all proudness. Therefore such stubborn fellows when they will pray, they should not say, "Our Father which art in heaven;" but rather, Our father which art in hell. God is their father, as concerning their substance: for he giveth them souls and bodies; but they make themselves the members of the devil, contrary unto God's will and pleasure.

Therefore set aside all arrogance and proudness, likewise all superstitious and all hypocritical babbling, speaking many words to little purpose. As I heard say of some Lawyers, which * babble and prate, and pretend a great diligence and earnest desire to defend the poor man's cause; but in their hearts they be false, they seek money and nothing else; so that their hearts and mouth disagree: Let us, I say, not follow such Lawyers, let us not

* Hence we find, that Lawyers were in those days babblers and praters, and cozeners of their Clients, as they have been ever since, and still continue to be: only it may be reasonably concluded, from such successive practice, that the Barristers of the present polite age, are much greater adepts in the science than any those days of ignorance could boast.

make a shew of holiness with much babbling ; for God hath no pleasure in it ; therefore away with it : yea, not alone with this, but with all that may let us in our prayer, set aside, and come reverently to talk with God ; like as when you go to the communion, you must be prepared unto it, you must be in charity with your neighbours ; so likewise, when ye will talk with God, and pray to him, you must be prepared.

Here you may perceive, that all those persons that will not be corrected for their faults, that cannot bear godly admonitions, they talk never with God to his pleasure ; they be not ruled by God's Spirit, and so not meet for him : all rebellious persons, all blood-thirsty persons, all covetous persons, all lecherous persons, all lyars, drunkards, and such like, be not in a condition to speak with God. God will not hear them, he cannot abide them, they stink before his face, as long as they come before him with such abominable sins, not intending to leave them. Remember now what a doctrine is contained in this preface, weigh it ; for it is better to say it sententiously one time, than to run it over an hundred times with mumbling and stumbling.

Now when we have begun as we ought to do, what shall we desire ? " Hallowed be thy name." Thy name " Father," be hallowed, sanctified, and magnified. What is this ? What meant our Saviour when he commanded us that we shall desire that God's name be hallowed ? There is a great number of people which speak these words with their mouth, but not with their heart, contrary to that saying, " But they say it without knowledge, therefore they say it not ; that is, as they ought to do. " Thy name :" we require not that this name may be hallowed in him ; for this is already done without our prayer : but we desire that he will give us grace,

grace, and assist us, that we in all our doings throughout our life may sanctify his name.

And here we are admonished again of love and charity; for when we say, "Hallowed be thy name," we ask in all mens names; whereby we may perceive what communion and fellowship is between the faithful flock of God; for every faithful man and woman requireth, that the whole Church may hallow, and sanctify God's word.

What is it to be hallowed? We desire that the name of God may be revealed, opened, manifested and credited throughout the world. What is God's name? Marry all that is spoken of him in holy scripture, that is his name. He is called, " * Gracious; Merciful; Righteous; A punisher of wickedness; True; Almighty; Long-suffering; Patient; Hardy; A consuming fire; The King over the whole earth; A Judge; A Saviour." These, and such like are the names of God. Now when I make my petition unto him, saying, " Hallowed be thy name;" I desire that his name may be revealed, that we may know what scripture speaks of him, and so believe the same, and live after it. I do not desire that his name be hallowed of himself, for it needeth not; he is holy already. But I desire that he will give us his Spirit, that we may express him in all our doings, and conversations: so that it may appear by our deeds that God is even such a one indeed as the scripture doth report him. We are tried many times whether his name be hallowed amongst us or no; he sendeth us troubles and adversities to prove us, whether we will hallow his name or no; but he findeth us clean contrary. For some of us, when we

* What the Name of God is, see Exod. ix. Zech. ix. Rom iii. Jer. x. Joshua iv. Deut. iv. Psal. xlvi. Nehem. ix. Exod. xxii. Jer. i. Gen. xviii. Exod. xv. Psal. xviii. Psal. vii. Psal. xlvi. Isaiah xii.

we be in trouble; do run hither and thither to Sorcerers and Witches to get remedy; some again swear and curse; but such fellows hallow not the name of God; but God is “A sharp punisher,” he will punish sin, and those which blaspheme his holy name.

I heard of late that there be some wicked persons, despisers of God and his benefits, which say, it is no matter whatsoever we do; we be baptized, and we cannot be damned: for all those that be baptized, and be called Christians, shall be saved. This is a false and wicked opinion: and I assure you, that such as bear the name of Christians, and be baptized, but follow not God’s commandments; that such fellows, I say, be worse than Turks and Heathens: for the Turks and Heathens have made no promise unto Christ to serve him. These fellows have made promise in baptism to keep Christ’s rule, which thing they do not; and therefore they be worse than Turks. For they break their promise made before God, and the whole congregation. And therefore such Christians be most wicked, perjured persons; and not only be perjured, but they go about to make God a liar, so much as lieth in them.

There be some again, which when they be in trouble they call upon God; but he cometh not by and by, minding to prove their patience; they perceiving he cometh not at the first call, give over by and by, they will no more call upon him. Do they believe now think ye? Do they sanctify God’s holy name? God promiseth in his holy word, “Every one that calleth, or that desireth help of me, shall have it. “ Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear thee; and thou shalt praise me.” Likewise St Paul saith; “ God is faithful, which will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able.” Now when we give over prayer being in trouble, do we sanctify the name

name of God? No, no; we slander and blaspheme his holy name; we make him a liar, as much as lieth in us. For he saith, "I will deliver thee, I will help thee." We will call no more; for we say, he will not help. So we make him and his word a liar. Therefore God said to Moses and Aaron, "Because ye believed me not, to sanctify me in the sight of the children of Israel, therefore you shall not bring this congregation into the land which I have given them." Where it appeareth what it is to hallow God's name, that is, to believe his words, to shew ourselves that he is true in his doings and sayings. He saith farther, "Fear them not, neither be afraid of them, but sanctify the Lord of Hosts."

Here you see what it is to sanctify his name; that is, to believe that all things be true that be spoken of him; that is, to believe that our enemies are not able to go farther than it pleaseth God. And so did the Apostles when they suffered for God's sake, they believed that God would do with them according to his word and promise. And so they sanctified God; that is, they declared by their acts and deeds, that God is a true and faithful God. This did the Martyrs of God; this did the three young men which would not worship the idol set up by the King, and therefore were cast into the burning oven *, to which pain they were willing to go. "We know, said they, that God is able to help and defend us, when it pleaseth him."

So

* Dan. iii. 17. In this wonderful deliverance, as we learn, verse 25, the Son of God appeared, and delivered Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego. "Did not we, said Nebuchadnezzar to his Nobles, 'cast three men bound into the midst of the fire?' and lo, I see four men loose, walking in the midst of the fire, and they have no hurt; and the form of the fourth is like the Son of God." This the King spake being inspired by the holy Ghost. And hence Arians and Socinians ought to learn to believe and adore the Son of God, even as they do the Father.

So must we likewise offer ourselves unto the cross, content to suffer whatsoever he shall lay upon us. We may call upon him, and desire his help; but we may not appoint unto him the manner and way, how he shall help, and by what means; neither may we appoint unto him any time, but only sanctify his name, that is, to call upon him for deliverance, not doubting but when it is to his honour and our profit to be delivered, that he will help. But if he help not, but let us suffer death, happy are we; for then we be delivered from all trouble. And so these three young men sanctified the name of God; they believed that God was a helper: and so, according to their belief he helped them; marvellously shewing his power, and defending them from the power of the fire.

In such wise did Achior, that good man, when Holopernes, that sturdy Captain, made great brags what he would do, and how he would handle the Jews. This Achior, knowing God, and believing him to be the Ruler over heaven and earth, stept forward, and said to Holopernes; "If this people have done wickedness in the sight of their God, then let us go up against them; but if this people have not displeased their God, we shall not be able to withstand them; for God shall defend them." Here this Achior shewed himself to believe that which was spoken of God in scripture; namely, that God would be a Deliverer and Defender of those which believe in him. But for all that he suffered; being before a great and mighty Captain, he was now handled like a wild beast; but what then? Happy are those that suffer for God's sake. The Prophet saith, "Commit thy way unto the Lord, and he shall bring it to pass;" that is to say, when thou art in trouble, call upon the Lord, believe in him; and if it be good for thee,

he

he will deliver thee: so to sanctify God's name, is to believe in him.

Lady Judith that good, godly and holy woman, sanctified the name of the Lord. For she and her people being in great distress and misery, she put her hope in God; she fasted and prayed devoutly, and afterward being moved or admonished by a secret admonition, was not afraid to put herself in great danger. Insomuch that she took in hand, being a woman, to kill the great Captain of whom all men were afraid, Holoternes; I say, she was not afraid of him. I think she rebuked the Priests, which would appoint God a time; as who should say, He shall be no more my God, except he come by that time; which was very wickedly done of them. For we ought to be at his pleasure, whensover or whatsoever he will do with us; we ought to be content with all. If we were earnest and zealous as we should be, O how earnest we should be in promoting God's honour, and sanctifying his name? We would nor could not suffer that any body should go about to dishonour the holy name of God. But we be very cold, we are not zealous for his honour; we ought to be patient in our own quarrel, when any body doth us wrong, we ought to bear and forbear it; but in God's behalf we ought to be hot and earnest to defend his honour, as much as lieth in us to do. But it is clean contrary with us; for in our own quarrel we be as hot as fire; but in God's cause, for his honour, we care not, we regard it as nothing, whereas it ought most of all to be regarded: For God is just, righteous, faithful, and kind; and therefore we ought to take his part. But nothing maketh more for the sanctifying of God's holy name, than to be thankful for such gifts as we receive at his hands.

And this hallowing standeth in all things that may make for the furtherance of God's honour. To hear God's word, and highly to esteem the same, that is hallowing of God's name. How hallow they now the name of God, which refuse to hear the word of God, or for lack of Preachers cannot hear it? And how can they believe, when they hear it not? Therefore they that do somewhat for the furtherance of learning, for maintaining of Schools and Scholars, they sanctify God's holy name. As for those Preachers which have been in my time, they go away. How shall now this office of preaching, the office of salvation, how shall it be maintained, except there be made some provision for the same? Here I could say much against those which hinder that office, which withdraw the goods where-with Schools should be maintained, and take it to themselves; but my audience is not of that sort. This office of preaching is the office of salvation; for St Paul saith, "It hath pleased God to save the believers by the foolishness of preaching." How can men believe, but by the office of preaching? Preachers are Christ's Vicars; "They are Christ's Ambassadors." St Paul saith, "The gospel is the power of God unto salvation, for every believer;" it is the mighty instrument of God.

When we say, "Hallowed be thy Name;" we desire God that he through his goodness, will remove and put away all things that may let and stop the honour of his Name. But I fear me there be many which would not that it should be so. We desire here that God will remove all Infidelity; we require that all Witchcrafts be removed, that art Magick and Sorcery be pulled out; *Nigromancy taken away:

* Here read Necromancy, an art, by which it was pretended communication was held with the devil, so as to call up the spirits of the dead; such as the Witch of Endor made use of, in order to cause the Prophet Samuel to appear to King Saul. By the vulgar it is called, 'The Black Art.'

away : and so nothing left but his holy word, where-with we may daily praise the Name of God. For I fear me there be a great many in England which use such Sorceries, to the dishonour of God and their own damnation. We require here farther, that all heresy, all Popery may be abolished and extinguished. Farther we require here, that all wicked living may be amended and reformed. Next we require, that all Magistrates may do their duties. Finally, we require, that every man in his vocation may do the work whereunto God hath called him.

There be many vocations : The Magistrate's vocation is to see that the commonwealth be well ordered ; to see that the Schools be maintained, to see that Universities be well furnished, to see that justice be executed, that the wicked be punished, and the good rewarded. Finally, to keep every one in good order : This is their duty.

Farther, we pray that the Priests, the Spirituality, or the Churchmen, as they call them, do their duties, to preach God's word, to live godly, and to give a good example by their conversation ; else do they against the honour of God, and their own honesty. Likewise, we pray that servants may do their duties ; for to be a servant is an honest estate, and much commended in scripture ; and scripture speaketh much to the comfort of them. And truly, those that live in the fear of God, considering that they serve not only their carnal Masters, but God himself, they be in a good case ; but they may not be eye-servants. St Paul noteth this fault, and saith, that they shall not be murmurers, nor froward answerers. St Paul would have them to live so, that they may adorn and sanctify the name of God. For that servant that doth the thing whereunto he is called, he doth adorn his estate ; that servant is a good gospeller, that will not be an eye-servant. There be some servants, which do their duties as

long as their master is in sight ; but as soon as their master is gone, they play the loiterers or lubbers : unto such fellows I say, beware ; for though your bodily master see you not, yet your great Master, God, seeth you, and will punish you. " What thou doest, " do it from the bottom of thy heart," with a good-will ; go not away with the devil's *Pater-noster*, as some do ; do all things with a good mind. For I tell you, you be not forgotten in scripture ; you are much commended in the same. St Paul speaketh very honourably of you, saying, " You serve the Lord Christ :" it becometh you not to put a difference what business you be commanded to do. For whatsoever it be, do it with a good-will, and it is God's service. Therefore you ought to do it, in respect that God would have you to do so ; for I am no more assured in my preaching, that I serve God, than the servant is in doing such business as he is commanded to do ; scouring the candlesticks, or whatsoever it be. Therefore, for God's sake, consider the matter. Some of you think, if Christ were here, you would go with him and serve him. I tell you, when you follow your service, and do such things as your Master and Mistress shall command you, you serve him as well as if he were here bodily. He is not here bodily now, but his word is here. Thus saith St Paul, " You serve the Lord Christ." Therefore I desire you in God's behalf to walk uprightly, and godlily. Consider what God saith unto you ; " Cursed be he that doth the work of the Lord negligently." This scripture appertaineth to you as well as to me. For when you do your business negligently, you be cursed before the face of God. Therefore consider the goodness of God, that he would have you saved as well as your masters. Surely, methinks it is a great benefit of God, to be a good servant. For those that keep houses, must make account before

fore God for their Family, they must watch and see that all things be well. But if a servant can discern what standeth with God's commandments, and what is against it, it is enough for him; but he must know that he ought not to obey his Master or Mistress when they would command him to act against God; in such a case he may refuse and withstand them. For it is written, "We must rather obey God, than man:" we should not act against God, to please our Masters. Again, Masters and Mistresses are bound to consider their duties, to pay unto their servants their wages, and meat and drink convenient. For it is a great sin to defraud the labourer of his wages; for it is written, "The cry of the labourers shall come before the Lord;" it is a great fault before God to defraud them: but there be some servants which be so wicked, that they will complain without a cause, when they cannot have that they would have, nor bear all the rule themselves. But I say, it is a great thing for a Master to defraud his servant; and again, the servant which hath his whole wages, and doth but half his work, or is a sluggard, that same fellow, I say, is a Thief before God. For like as the Master ought to pay the whole wages, so likewise the Servant ought to do his whole work.

Here I might have occasion to shew how Man and Wife ought to live together, how they ought to be faithful, loving and friendly one to the other; how the man ought not to despise the wife, considering that she is partaker with him of everlasting life. Therefore the man ought "to dwell with her," which is a great thing. Again, see how the woman ought to behave herself towards her husband, how faithful she ought to be. Now when they both yield their duties the one to the other, then they sanctify the name of God; but when they do contrary to their calling, then they slander the holy name of God.

God. Therefore let every man and woman walk truly in their vocations.

We must have a good and earnest mind and will to sanctify the name of God; for that person that prayeth, and desireth of God that his name may be hallowed, and yet hath no will nor pleasure to do it indeed, that is not the right sanctifying of the name of God. St Peter teacheth us how we shall sanctify God's name, saying, "Have a good and holy conversation, living uprightly in your calling; so that your light may so shine before men that they may see your good works, and so glorify God."

I will trouble you no longer; it is better a little well perceived and born away, than a great deal heard and left behind. Consider wherefore our Saviour commandeth us to call God "Our Father," then afterward weigh this, "which art in heaven." Then come to the petition; "Hallowed be thy Name;" weigh and consider this. For now it is the very time wherein the name of God should be hallowed. For it is a pitiful thing to see what rule and dominion the devil beareth, how shameless men be, how the name of God is brought in derision. Therefore let us say from the bottom of our heart, "hallowed;" that is to say, Lord God, through thy goodness remove all wickedness; give us grace to live uprightly. And so consider every word; for it is better one word spoken with good affection, than an hundred without it: Yet do I not say this to hinder you from saying the whole Lord's prayer; but I say, one word well said, is better than a great many otherwise. Read throughout all the scripture, and ye shall find that all faithful men have made but short prayers; Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, David, Hezekiah, our Saviour himself in the garden saith, "Father, if it be possible let this cup pass from me." This was but a short prayer.

So

So likewise again he saith ; “ Father, forgive them, because they know not what they do.” The Publican praying in the temple made but a short prayer ; saying, “ Lord be merciful to me a sinner.” So the Thief hanging upon the cross saith, “ Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom.” Here was not much babbling. But I speak not this to dissuade you from long prayer, when the spirit and the affections do serve ; for our Saviour himself spent a whole night in prayer.

“ Hallowed be thy Name;” that is to say, Lord, remove away thy dishonour, remove away sin, move them that be in authority to do their duties, move the man and wife to live rightly, move servants to do well. And so it should be a great grief unto us when we should see any body dishonour the name of God, insomuch that we should cry out, “ Our Father, hallowed be thy Name.” This one thing bear away with you above all others ; consider that when we will come to God and talk with him, we must be penitent sinners, we must abhor our sins, purpose to leave them, and to live uprightly ; which grant us God the Father, Son, and holy Ghost. *Amen.*



SERMON XVIII.

Being the third of those upon the Lord's
Prayer.

*By the Reverend Father in Christ Master HUGH
LATIMER Bishop of Worcester.*

M A T T H E W vi. 10.

Thy kingdom come.

THIS is the second petition of the Lord's prayer. I trust you have not forgotten the two lessons before rehearsed unto you. First, the beginning of the Lord's prayer, what a treasure of doctrine is contained in every word. "Our," what it signifieth. "Father," what it meaneth; and then this addition, "which art in heaven." How many things is to be noted by every one of these words: and I trust also you have remembered the contents of the first petition, "Hallowed be thy name." Here I told you wherein standeth the holiness of his name, and what it meaneth; namely, we require that his name may be sanctified in us, that is to say, we require all our conversations may be to the honour of God, which followeth when we endeavour ourselves to do his pleasure, when we hear his word with great diligence and earnest reverence, and so walk in the works of our vocation every man whereunto God hath appointed him. And because the word of God is the instrument and fountain of all good things,

things, we pray to God for the continuance of his word, that he will send godly and well learned men amongst us, which may declare to us his will and pleasure. So that we may glorify him in the hour of our visitation, when God will visit us, and reward every one according to his desert.

One thing we must well consider and not forget it, namely, that our Saviour teacheth us to pray and desire of God that his name may be hallowed. Where he painteth us in our own colour, and would have us to confess our own imperfections, that we be not able to do any thing according to God's will, except we receive it first at his hands. Therefore he teacheth us to pray, that God will make us able to do all things according to his will and pleasure.

This is our request : “ Thy kingdom come : ” Thou Father, we beseech thee let thy kingdom come to us. Here we pray that the kingdom of God come not to one only, but to us all. So that when I say this prayer, I require of God that he will let his kingdom come to you as well as to me. Again, when you pray you pray as well for me as for your own selves : “ Let thy kingdom come.” You must understand that to speak properly, these words are not to be understood of God's inferior kingdom ; of his earthly kingdom, as though it did hang upon our petitions; so that he could not be Lord and Ruler over the earth, except we pray for him. No ; we pray not for his inferior kingdom ; it is come already : he ruleth and governeth all things. He is called in scripture, the “ King above all Kings, “ the Lord above all Lords.” Therefore he ruleth and governeth all things according to his will and pleasure, as scripture saith, “ Who will withstand “ his will ? ”

So our Saviour reporteth ; saying, “ My Father “ worketh hitherto, and I work also : ” what worketh he? he worketh the works of governance. For at

the first beginning he did create all things. But he left them not so. He affisteth them, he ruleth them, according to his will. Therefore our Saviour doth not teach us to pray for his worldly kingdom to come. For he ruleth already as Lord and King, yea, and all the Kings and Rulers rule by him, by his permission, as the scripture witnesseth; "By me Kings reign :" Through me, that is, by my permission, Kings reign. I would wish of God that all Kings and Potentates in the world would consider this well, and endeavour themselves to use their power to the honour and glory of God, and not to presume in their strength. For this is a good admonition for them, when God saith, "Through me Kings reign :" yea they be so under God's rule, that they can think nothing nor do any thing without God's permission. For it is written, "The heart of the King is in the hands of the Lord, and he turneth the same whithersoever it pleaseth him." This is good to be considered, and especia'ly subjects should mark this text well, when the Rulers be hard, and oppress the people, think ever, "The King's heart is in the governance of God." Yea, when thou art led to prison, consider that the governor's heart is in the hand of the Lord.

Therefore yield obedience, make thy moan unto God, and he will help, and can help: surely I think there is no place in the scripture more pleasant than this: "The heart of the King is in the hand of God." For it maketh us sure, that no man can hurt us without the permission of God our heavenly Father. For all those great Rulers that have been from the beginning of the world till now, have been set up by the appointment of God; and he pulled them down when it pleased him. 1st, There have been principally four Monarchies in the world; the first were the Babylonians, which had great and

many

many nations underneath them : which was God's ordinance and pleasure, for he suffered them so to do.

2d, After those came the Persians, which were great Rulers and mighty Kings, as it appeareth by stories written of learned men at that time.

3d, Then came in the Greeks and took the dominion from the Persians, and ruled themselves for a while, till they were plucked down.

4th, At the last came the Romans with their Empire, which shall be the last: and therefore it is a token that the end of the world is not far off. But wherefore were those mighty Potentates plucked down? marry for wickedness sake. The Babylonians, Persians, and Grecians, (and a good part of the Romans) were cast down for wickedness sake: what were their doings? They would not execute justice: the Magistrates were wicked, lofty, and high-minded: The subjects taking example of their Magistrates, were wicked too, and so worthy to be punished together. Therefore the majesty of God saith, " In the place where poor men ought to be heard, there have I seen impiety; I have seen oppression, and extortion;" this have I seen. Yea, and in the place of justice, there I have seen bearing and bolstering. So for these causes sake, these great Emperors were destroyed: so shall we, if we follow their wicked examples: Isaiah, that hearty Prophet, confirmeth the same, saying, " I looked they should execute justice, defend the good, and punish the ill: but there was nothing but crying." This is a great matter, " the cry of the people :" when subjects be oppressed, so that they cry unto God for deliverance, truly God will hear them; he will help and deliver them. But it is to be pitied, that the devil beareth so much sway, and so much prevails both in Magistrates and Subjects, insomuch that he beareth almost all the rule,

not that he ought to do so. For God is the lawful Ruler of the world; unto him we owe obedience: but the devil is an usurper; he cometh to his dominion by craft and subtilty, and so maketh himself the great Ruler over the world. Now, he being the great Ruler would have all the other Rulers to go after him, and follow his example, which commonly happeneth so. For you know there is a common saying, Like to like: Therefore he useth all homely tricks to make all Rulers to go after him: yea, he intendeth to inveigle even mighty Kings, and to make them negligent in their business and office. Therefore such Kings and Potentates were pulled down, because they followed the instructions of the devil.

But our Saviour speaks not of such worldly kingdoms, when he teacheth us to say, "Thy kingdom come." For these worldly kingdoms bring us not to worldly felicity; they be full of calamities and miseries, death, perditions, and destructions. Therefore the kingdom that he speaketh of, is a spiritual kingdom; a kingdom where God only beareth the rule, and not the devil. This kingdom is spoken of every where in scripture, and was revealed long ago; and daily God hath his Preachers, which bring us to the knowledge of this kingdom. Now we pray here that the kingdom of God may be encreased, for it is God's fellowship, they are God's subjects that dwell in that kingdom; which kingdom doth consist in righteousness and justice, and it delivereth from all calamities, and miseries, from death and all peril.

And in this petition we pray that God will send unto us his Spirit, which is the leader unto this kingdom; and all those which lack this Spirit shall never come to God. For St Paul saith, "Whosoever hath not the Spirit of Christ, he pertaineth not unto him." Likewise our Saviour saith, "The kingdom

" kingdom of God is within you." Signifying, that those that have the Spirit of God shall be sure of that kingdom : yea, it beginneth here in this world with them that be faithful.

The instrument wherewith we be called to this kingdom, is the office of preaching. God calleth us daily by Preachers to come to this kingdom, to forsake the kingdom of the devil, to leave all wickedness. For customary sinners, those that be not content to leave sin, they pertain not to that kingdom ; they are under the dominion of the devil, he ruleth them : Like as our Saviour saith to the Jews, " The devil is your Father." Also, " He " that doth sin is of the devil." Therefore by this petition we pray, that we may be delivered from all sin and wickedness, from the devil and his power. We desire of God, that we may be his subjects, which is a very godly and needful prayer.

Farther, by this petition we be put in remembrance what we be, namely, captives of the devil, his prisoners, and bondmen ; and not able to come at liberty through our own power : Therefore we desire God's help and aid, as Christ hath taught us to call him Father, he knew his affections, therefore he commands us to call him Father, and to desire his help to be delivered out of the kingdom of the devil. Happy are those which are in his kingdom, for they shall lack nothing ; and this kingdom cometh to us by preaching and by hearing of God's word. Therefore those that find Scholars to School, they are helpers and furtherers of this kingdom ; and truly it is needful that there be made some provision for them. For except Schools and Universities be maintained, we shall have no Preachers : when we have none which should shew unto us God's word, how shall we come to that blessed kingdom which we desire ? What availeth it when you have gotten many hundred pounds for your children, and lack God's

God's word? Therefore I say, this office must needs be maintained: for it is a necessary office, that furthereth to this kingdom; of which our Saviour speaketh in the gospel to the Jews, saying, "The kingdom of God is come near." Likewise he saith to one, "Follow me, and preach the kingdom of God." So ought all Preachers to do, they ought to allure every man to come to this kingdom, that his kingdom may be replenished. For the more there be converted, the more is the kingdom of God. Again, those that be wicked livers, they help to multiply the kingdom of the devil.

To this heavenly kingdom our Saviour exhorteth us, saying, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all other things shall come upon you unlooked for. Cast all thy care upon God," as David saith; then our principal study shall be to hear God's word, and when we have heard it, we shall believe and follow it, every man in his vocation. Then servants shall yield their obedience to their masters, as God requireth of them: Then the parents shall bring up their children in the fear of God: Then children shall be obedient to their parents: Then subjects shall be obedient to their King and Prince, and all his officers under him: So go throughout all estates, every one shall live uprightly in his calling. Then God will bless us, so that we shall lack no necessaries in this world; and then, at the end, we shall come to that perfect felicity and joy, that God hath laid up and prepared for them that study here to live according to his will and testament. But we must labour and travail as long as we be in this world, we must be occupied. For St Paul saith, "Who soever will not labour, let him not eat." Likewise David saith, "Thou shalt eat the labours of thy hand, and it shall go well with thee." For he that will labour, and is content to travail for his

his living, God will prosper him, he shall not lack. Let every man therefore labour in his calling. For so did our Saviour himself, which came into this world to teach us the way to heaven, and to suffer death for us. Now how diligent he hath been in his office, appeareth every where. For the Evangelist saith, " He talked with them of the kingdom of God." Mark here, he taught them of the kingdom of God, he taught them nothing of the kingdom of this world. For he saith, standing before Pilate, " My kingdom is not of this world." He reigneth by faith through his holy Ghost, in all those which pertain unto him. He is not an earthly King, as the Jews hope to have their Messiah.

Therefore when I feel such motions within me, then it is time to call upon God, for such motions come of the devil; therefore I must run to God, saying; " Thy kingdom come," most loving Father; help thou, fight thou for me against my enemies, suffer me not to be taken prisoner: let not my enemies have the victory over me. So we must call upon God without intermission. For you may be sure we shall never be without battle and travail, and we are not able to withstand our adversary by our own power. Therefore it is needful for us to call and cry unto him for help: if we do so, then we shall have grace to withstand the devil; for he cannot, neither is he able to strive with God, for all his craft. For the scripture saith, " No wisdom, no craft can prevail against the Lord." He will help and deliver us when he seeth his time. For commonly the nature of God is to help when all man's help is past; when the devil thinketh himself cock-sure, then God cometh and subverteth his wicked intents; as it appeareth in our Saviour himself. For when the devil had brought the Jews to such a madness that they went and crucified him;

when

when this was done, the devil triumphed and made merry ; he thought himself sure enough of him. But what was the end of it ? his triumphing was turned into his own destruction. For Christ hanging upon the cross, “ did by his death destroy the ‘‘ power of the devil.’’ So we see how God suffereth the devil for a while, and then when he feeth his time, he cometh with his gracious helping hand. But, as I told you before, the devil hath many inventions, many impediments and lets, wherewith he trappeth us. For we see there be a great many gospellers which began very well and godly, but now the most part of them are become ambitious and covetous persons ; all the world is full of such fellows.

But what then ? God will preserve his kingdom ; he will wrestle with the devil’s kingdom, and so shall prevail and pull it down to the bottom. Therefore all those which be in the kingdom of God must wrestle, strive, and fight with the devil : not as the carnal gospellers do, which commonly begin well at the first, but now having rest and tranquillity, and all things going well with them, they leave the gospel, and set their mind upon this naughty world. Therefore it is good and needful for us to have afflictions and exercise ; for, as St Augustine * faith, “ The blood of the Christians is “ as it were the seed of the fruit of the Gospel.” For when one is hanged here, and another yonder, then God goeth sowing of his seed. For like as the corn that is cast into the ground riseth up again, and is multiplied ; even so the blood of one of those which suffer for God’s holy word’s sake stirreth up a great many, and happy is he to whom it is given to suffer for God’s holy word’s sake. For it is the greatest promotion that a man can have in this world, to die for God’s sake, or to be despised and contemned for his sake : for they shall be well rewarded

* See page 184.

rewarded for their pains and labours. "Your re-
"ward, saith our Saviour, shall be great in heaven."

Farther, when we pray, "Thy kingdom come." we desire of God that there may come more and more to the knowledge of God's word. And secondly, we desire of God to bring those which be come already to the perfect knowledge of his word, and so to keep them in it still to the very end ; for not he that beginneth, but "he that endureth shall
"be saved."

This kingdom of God is double ; "The king-
"dom of grace, and the kingdom of glory, honour,
"joy, and felicity." As long as we be in this world, we be in the kingdom of grace ; when we are gone, then we shall come to the kingdom of glory. For as long as we be here, God sheweth himself unto us by grace ; he ascertaineth us through his Spirit of his favour, and so he reigneth within us by grace. But when we be once gone, then we shall see him face to face ; which we cannot as long as we be here. For he exhibiteth himself unto us, not so plainly as he doth unto his Angels, which be with him in the kingdom of glory. Therefore when we say, "Thy kingdom come," we desire of God that he will help us to this perfect kingdom, that he will deliver us out of this troublesome world, and give us everlasting rest.

I fear there be a great many in England, which if they knew what they meant in speaking these words, "Thy kingdom come," they would never say them. For they are so given to the world, and so set their mind upon it, that they could be content that there should never be an end of it. Such worldlings, when they say these words, "Thy kingdom come," they pray against themselves : for they desire God to take them out of this world speedily, and yet they have all their delight in it. Therefore such worldlings when they say, "Thy

“ kingdom come,” either they mock God; or else they understand not the meaning of the words. But we ought not to trifle with God, we should not mock him, he will not be despised. “ Let us pray heartily unto him, desirous to have the thing wherefore we pray.” But the accustomed impenitent sinner cannot say, from the bottom of his heart, this prayer; for he would have no end of this worldly life, he would have his heaven here. Such fellows are not meet to say, “ Thy kingdom come;” for when they do, they pray against themselves. Therefore none can say this petition, but such as be weary of this world; such faithful folk would have him to come speedily, and make an end of their miseries. It is with the Christians, like as it is in a realm where there is confusion, and no good order; those which are good would fain have a Parliament; for then they think it shall be better with them, they trust all things shall be well amended.

Sometimes the counsels be good, but the constitutions like not the wicked, and so they begin to cry out as fast as they did before. Sometimes the counsels be naught, then the good people cry out; and so they be never at rest. But there is one Parliament that will remedy all the matters, be they never so weighty or heavy, it will dispatch them clean. And this Parliament will be sufficient for all realms of the whole world, which is the last day; where our Saviour himself will bear the rule; there shall be nothing done amiss I warrant you, but every one as he hath deserved, so he shall have: the wicked shall have hell, the good shall possess heaven. Now this is the thing that we pray for when we say, “ Thy kingdom come:” And truly the faithful penitent sinners, do desire that Parliament, even from the bottom of their hearts. For they know that therein reformation of all things shall

shall be had; they know that it shall be well with them at that day. And therefore they say from the very bottom of their hearts, " Thy kingdom " come." They know that there shall be a great difference between that Parliament that Christ shall keep, and the Parliaments of this world. For in this world this is the common rule, " The more " wicked, the better luck." Which is a wonderful thing to consider how it cometh to pass, that for the most part wicked people have the best luck: they are in health and wealth; insomuch that a man may much marvel at it; as Esdras, David, and others did: especially considering that God curseth them in his laws, and threatneth them that they shall have none of his benefits: " If thou wilt " not hear the voice of the Lord thy God, thou " shalt be cursed in the field, &c."

These be the words of God, which he speaketh against the wicked, and it must needs be so, but yet we see by experience daily the contrary. Wherefore doth God suffer the wicked to subvert his order? The order is, that those which do well, shall receive good things at God's hand, they shall be blessed, and all things shall go well with them. Now, how chanceth, that we see daily the wicked to be blessed of God, to have and possess his benefits, and the good to be cursed? which is a wonderful thing.

God the Almighty, who is most true, yea the truth itself, doth it not without cause. One cause is, that it is his pleasure to shew his benefits as as well unto the wicked as to the good. For he letteth them have their pastime here, as it is written, " He letteth his sun shine, as well over the wicked " as over the good." And I tell you this is for the exercise of those which serve God with goodly living; they are promised, that it shall go well with them, and yet have they all the ill. This maketh

them to think that there is another world, wherein they shall be rewarded ; and so giveth them occasion to hunt for and seek after the other world ; whereas otherwise they would forget God, if they should have all things according to their hearts desire, as the wicked have ; which in very deed do forget God, their mind being so occupied with other business, that they can have no leisure to inquire for God or his kingdom. Again, he suffereth them to turn his order, to the intent that they may be brought to repentance, when they see his great goodness shewed unto them, in that notwithstanding all their wickedness, he suffereth them to enjoy the good things of the world. And so by his benefits he would give them occasion to leave sin and wickednes. As St Paul saith : “ The goodness of God allureth us to the amendment of our life ; ” but when they will not amend, then, “ They heap up to themselves the wrath of God in the day of wrath.”

Now you have heard the causes, wherefore God suffereth the wicked to enjoy his gifts. But I would will and desire you most heartily for God’s sake, to consider that the judgment of God at the latter day shall be right, according unto justice ; it will then appear who hath been good or bad. And this is the only comfort of all Christian people, that they know that they shall be delivered from all their troubles and vexations. Let us therefore have a desire that this day may come quickly ; let us hasten God forward ; let us cry unto him day and night ; “ Most merciful Father, thy kingdom come.” St Paul saith, “ The Lord will not come till the swerving from faith cometh ; ” which thing is already done and past : * Antichrist

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* The word was at first used to signify an Adversary to Christ ; but since the Reformation, by Protestants it is usually taken to denote his Holines the Pope, who is said to be a seducer, and one who puts himself in Christ’s room and stead.

is known throughout the whole world. Wherefore the day is not far off. Let us beware, for it will one day fall upon our heads. St Peter saith, "The end of all things draweth near." If St Peter said so in his time, how much more shall we say so? For it is a long time since St Peter spake these words.

The world was ordained to endure, as all learned men affirm and prove it with scripture, six thousand years. Now of that number there be passed five thousand five hundred and fifty two; so that there is no more left but four hundred and forty eight. And furthermore, those days shall be shortened, it shall not be full six thousand years. "The days shall be shortened for the elect's sake." Therefore all those excellent learned men *, which without doubt God hath sent into this world in those latter days to give the world warning, all those men do gather out of scripture that the last day cannot be far off. And this is most certain and sure, that whosoever he cometh, he cometh not too timely, for all things which ought to come before are passed now. So that if he come this night, or to morrow, he cometh not too early. Therefore, good people, let us make ready towards his coming. And though he cometh not at this time, yet let us make ready; for we are not sure when we shall be called to make account before the Lord. All good and godly people since the world began, endeavoured to make themselves ready toward this day; but, O Lord, how wretched and miserable, yea, and how careless are we! Therefore it shall be like as he saith,

* We see here, that good men have long ago expected the end of the world, and there be those among us who daily expect it: but it certainly remains hidden to us, as to the time when this last great event shall happen. But we may say, as our Lord said on a like occasion, "But of that day (or time) knoweth no man, no not the Angels of heaven, but my Father only." Matth. xxiv. 36.

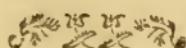
saith, " When they say, all things are well and quiet, then they shall be suddenly taken, and perish;" like as Dives, that rich glutton did: he eat and drank, he builded a new barn, for the old was too little for him; then he said to himself, " Now my soul, be merry and take thy pleasure; for thou hast riches enough for many years." But what said God? What said he? " Thou fool, this night they will fetch thy soul from thee; whose then shall those riches be which thou hast heaped up?" And so shall all those be taken and trapped like this glutton, which will not make ready, which refuse the warnings of God; they shall be taken so suddenly to their everlasting wo. For scripture giveth warning unto every one, saying, " Like as in the days of Noah they will eat and drink, and marry, &c." To eat and drink, and marry, is godly and lawful; but to do it otherwise than God hath commanded it is wicked and damnable. To eat without thanksgiving, or to eat man's flesh, or to play the glutton, more than sufficeth nature, this is wicked. Also to marry upon other respects than God hath appointed, and expressed in his most holy laws, is wicked and damnable: else " Marriage is honourable amongst all men;" but to marry for wantonness sake, that is wicked. " The Sons of God saw the daughters of men:" This did Noah rebuke in his time, but they laughed at it; he prepared the ark, and went into it; at the length it fell upon their heads. " As in the days of Lot:" What did they? " Thou art come hither a stranger," said they; regarding nothing God's word, which was shewed unto them through that good man Lot; they were wicked, whoremongers, drunkards, covetous persons. But what followeth; what followeth, I say? consider the end: " The fire from heaven fell upon them suddenly and consumed them all. We

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" be not in darkness:" We have the word of God, we know what is his will ; therefore let us watch, " for he will come like a Thief in the night ; happy are we if he find us watching."

This is the effect of this petition, wherein we desire that God will send down faith from heaven, that he will continue in me my faith, and every man's ; so that we may be ready to go with him when his kingdom shall come.

Now as many as pertain to the kingdom of God, shall have one property amongst other things ; they shall have an earnest and stedfast purpose to leave sin, according to St Paul's saying, " Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal bodies." God's kingdom shall reign in us, and not the devil's. Therefore when the devil tempteth thee, withstand him ; give not over, let him not get the victory : As for an example ; when thou seest a fair woman, and an ill desire ariseth up in thy heart towards her : this lust is of the devil ; call therefore for help, let him not occupy thy heart ; then surely God will help , for he hath promised, " There is no condemnation to such as are in Christ Jesus ;" when we do not allow sin nor agree unto it. Therefore dispose yourselves so to live according unto his will ; which can and will preserve us from the devil, and bring us into his kingdom : Which grant us God the Father, God the Son, and God the holy Ghost.
Amen.



S E R M O N XIX.

Being the fourth of those upon the Lord's Prayer.

By the Reverend Father in Christ Master HUGH LATIMER Bishop of Worcester.

M A T T H E W vi. 10.

Thy will be done:

AFTER this form our Saviour, a perfect Schoolmaster, taught Christian people to pray, “ Our Father, which art in heaven; “ thy will be done.” And here he teacheth us two things as he did before in the other petitions. First, he teacheth us to understand what we be of ourselves; namely, nothing at all, not able to do any thing pleasant to God; and so he plucketh us down, cutteth our comb, bringeth us low; which else would be proud, as though we could do somewhat that we cannot do indeed; like as those * merit-mongers do,

* The good Bishop here alludes to that lucrative doctrine, which was early established by the Popes, that a man could perform more good works than he was bound to do. They also taught, that one man could merit for another; which brought great gain to the Church and Clergy. The Schoolmen called these works, Works of Supererrogation. All which is diametrically opposite to the true doctrine and faith of Christianity, whose founder hath said, “ After ye have done all, count yourselves as “ unprofitable servants.” And our Church teacheth us, That we cannot merit of ourselves, nor is there any future happiness to be obtained, but through the merits and sufferings of Jesus Christ the Son of God, who is the Lamb slain for the sins of the whole world.

do, who esteem themselves after their merits, think themselves perfect; insomuch that their works shall not only help themselves, but also others: Therefore they take in hand to sell them for money.

These fellows know not themselves, and therefore they do contrary to this petition. Where our Saviour teacheth us, that we can do nothing of ourselves; they, contrary to that petition, will do all things alone, and with their merits bring to pass all matters. But our Saviour, contrary to that, teacheth us two things in this petition. First, he pulleth down our stomachs, and teacheth us to know ourselves. Secondly, he sheweth us what we shall do; namely, call upon God our heavenly Father; who will help us, that we may be able to do his will. For of ourselves we are not able to do any thing acceptable unto him. And this is a good doctrine, which admonisheth us to give all praise unto God, and not to ascribe it to our own selves: for so did St Paul when he said: "I am able to do all things that appertain to God's honour and glory, through him that strengtheneth me:" he said not, through my own self; but through God which helpeth me. And here appeareth the right humiliation, and lowliness, which our Saviour teacheth us in this petition. For he would have us to know our own impossibility and unability to do any thing; and then, again, he would have us to call for aid and help to God; therefore he teacheth us to say, "Thy kingdom come." So that though we be not able of our own selves to do any thing, yet when we call upon him he will help. For Christ knew his Father's will and loving affections towards us; he knew that he would help us, for he was a perfect Schoolmaster; else he would not have commanded us to pray, "Thy will be done." Here we must understand, that the will of God is to be considered after two sorts. First,

as it is omnipotent, unsearchable, and that cannot be known unto us. Now we do not pray that his will so considered be done. For his will so considered, is and ever shall be fulfilled, though we would say nay to it. For nothing either in heaven or earth, is able to withstand his will. Wherefore it were but folly for us to pray to have it fulfilled, otherwise than to shew thereby that we give our consent to his will, which is to us unsearchable.

But there is another consideration of God's holy will ; and that consideration we and all faithful Christians desire may be done : and so considered, it is called a revealed, a manifested, and declared will ; and it is opened unto us in the Bible, in the New and Old Testament : There God hath revealed a certain will ; therefore we pray that it may be done, and fulfilled of us. This will was opened by Moses and the holy Prophets, and afterward by our Saviour himself and his Apostles, which he left behind him to that end, that they should instruct the world and teach them his will. Which Apostles have done according to their Master's commandment : for they not only spake but also wrote it, so that it should remain to the world's end. And truly we are much bound to God, that he hath set out this his will in our natural mother tongue, in English *, I say, so that now you may not only hear

* In the year 1536, the Convocation petitioned the King for an English Translation of the Bible. It was accordingly translated and presented to the King, when he ordered fifteen hundred copies (which cost five hundred pounds) to be printed, and set up in the principal Churches : being satisfied, as he himself said, that nothing would be found therein to support the exorbitant power assumed by the Pope over all Christendom. Lord Cromwell, then Prime Minister, and a great favourer of the Reformers, procured the King's warrant, allowing all persons to read it without control. It was printed in a large volume, and one of these Bibles was ordered to be set up in every church, at the joint charge of the

hear it, but also read it yourselves ; which is a great comfort to every christian heart. For now you can no more be deceived, as you have been in times past, when we did bear you in hand that Popery was the word of God ; which falsehood we could not have brought to pass if the word of God, the Bible, had been abroad in the common tongue. For then you might have perceived yourselves our falsehood and blindness. This I speak to move you to thankfulness towards him, which so lovingly provideth all things necessary to our salvation.

Now to the matter : Almighty God, I say, set out his will by Moses and his Prophets, and this will is contained in certain laws, which laws God commandeth that we should keep ever before our eyes, and look upon them as in a glass, and so learn to order our lives according unto the same. And in case that a man swerve from the same, and so fall into the danger of damnation, God revealed farther his will how to remedy the matter, namely, by repentance and faith. So that whosoever from the bottom of his heart is sorry for his sins, and studieth to leave them and live uprightly, and then believeth in our Saviour, confessing that he came into this world to make amends for our sins ; this man or woman shall not perish, but have forgiveness of sins, and so obtain everlasting life. And this will God revealeth especially in the New Testament, where our Saviour saith, “ Whosoever be-

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“ lieveth

the Incumbent and the Parishioners. BURNET, Tom. I. p. 245. In the year 1542, an act passed both Houses, allowing the Bible in English to be read and used in all private houses. The enemies of the English Translation offered many reasons against this act, amongst which, one was, That the scriptures of the Old and New Testament were never intended in their first compilation for the use of the Laity. This Translation of the Bible was made at the charge of the Crown ; and King Henry by Patent first authorized one Grafton to print the same : which right has been held of the Crown ever since.

" lieveth in me hath life everlasting ;" where we learn that our Saviour is ordained of God to bring us to heaven, else we should have been all damned world without end. So that in this prayer, when we say, " Thy will be done ;" we desire of God that he will help and strengthen us, that we may keep his holy laws and commandments. And then again we desire of him, that he will endue us with the gift of faith, so that we may believe that all those things which we do contrary to his laws, shall be pardoned and forgiven unto us through his Son for his passion's sake. And farther, we desire that he will fortify and strengthen us, so that we may withstand the devil's will and our own, which fight against God's will. So that we may be able to bear all our tribulations and afflictions willingly and patiently, for his sake. This is the simple meaning of this petition, when we say, " Thy will be done." I will go a little farther, and shew you somewhat more of it, yet I intend not to tarry long, for I am not very well at ease this morning, therefore I will make it short.

I have said many times, and I now say it yet again, " Whatsoever we desire of God, let us desire it from the very bottom of our hearts :" but I fear me, there be many which say this prayer, and yet cannot tell what they say, at the least their hearts are contrary disposed unto it. Such people I exhort in God's behalf to consider their duties, to consider that God will not be mocked withal, he will not be derided. We laugh God to scorn when we say one thing with our mouth, and think another with our hearts. Take this for an example.

Our rebels which rose about two years ago in *Norfolk

* The Norfolk rebels were headed by one Ket, a Tanner ; who quickly became twenty thousand strong. The Marquis of Northampton was sent against them with eleven hundred men only ;

folk and Devonshire * , they considered not this petition : they said it with their lips only, but not with their hearts. Almighty God hath revealed his will as concerning Magistrates, how he will have them to be honoured and obeyed. They were utterly bent against it ; he hath revealed this his will in many places of scripture ; but especially by St Peter, where he saith, “ Be ye subject to all the common laws made by men of authority ; ” as if he had said, by the King’s Majesty, and his most honourable Council, or by a common Parliament ; be subject unto them, obey them, saith God. And here is but one exception against God, that is, when

only ; too small a number to inspire them with terror. Wherefore he had orders to keep at some distance from them, and try only to cut off their provisions. Ket marching to Norwich, was advanced as far as Moushold Hill above that City, when he erected a sort of tribunal to administer justice, as a Sovereign, under an old oak, called from thence, “ The oak of Reformation.” This was because they talked only of reforming the state, religion being neither the cause nor the pretence of their rising. Their chief design was to destroy the Gentry, and put some of their own body about the King, to direct and govern him. But in a battle which was fought on the twenty seventh of August, 1549, the Earl of Warwick killed two thousand of them, and took many prisoners, among whom was Ket their Captain, who was executed soon after on a gibbet at Norwich.

* This rising of the Devonshire rebels was also in the year 1549. They besieged the City of Exeter, and were repulsed by the bravery of the Citizens. They were soon dispersed, and Arundel their leader, the Mayor of Bodmyn, and several others, were executed for their rebellion. Hayward says, that Boyer, Mayor of Bodmyn, was basely used. Sir Anthony Kingston, Provoost Marshal of the King’s army, sent him word he would come and dine with him on such a day. The Mayor received him and his company with many ceremonies and kind entertainment. A little before dinner Sir Anthony took the Mayor aside, and bid him get a pair of gallows erected against they had dined, for execution must that day be done in the Town. His orders were obeyed ; and after dinner, the Mayor shewing him the gallows, Kingston asked him whether he thought them strong enough ? And upon his saying, Yes, doubtless ; he bid him go up and try, and so hanged him indeed. Page 295.— It is said, the malecontents among the Roman Catholics fomented those insurrections.

when laws are made contrary to God and his word; then I ought rather to obey God than man. Then I may refuse to obey with a good conscience; yet for all that I may not rise up against the Magistrates, nor make any uproar; for if I do so, I sin damnable: I must be content to suffer whatsoever God shall lay upon me, yet I may not obey their wicked laws to do them. Only in such a case men may refuse to obey, else in all the other matters we ought to obey. What laws soever they make as concerning outward things we ought to obey, and in no wise to rebel, although they be never so hard, noisome and hurtful; our duty is to obey, and commit all the matters unto God, not doubting but that God will punish them, when they do contrary to their office and calling. Therefore tarry till God correct them; we may not take upon us to reform them, for it is no part of our duty. If the rebels, I say, had considered this, think you they would have preferred their own will before God's will? For doing as they did, they prayed against themselves. But I think that ignorance was a great cause of it; truly I think if this had been opened unto them, they would never have taken such an enterprise in hand. And here we have occasion to consider how much we be bound unto God, that he openeth unto us his word so plainly, and teacheth us truly how we should behave ourselves towards the Magistrates and their laws: but for all that, I fear there be some of us which little regard their laws and statutes. All such despisers of Magistrates, when they pray, they pray against themselves. There be laws made concerning diet, how we should feed our bodies, what meat we should eat at all times, and this law is made in policy, as I suppose, for viuals sake, that fish might be disposed of as well as other meat. Now as long as it goeth so in policy we ought to keep it.

it. Therefore all except those that be dispensed withal, as sick, impotent persons, women with child, or old folks, or licensed persons, all the rest ought to live in an ordinary obedience to those laws, and not do against the same in any wise. There be laws made for apparel, how we should clothe ourselves. Is there not many which go otherwise than God and the Magistrates command them to go? There is made a law for gaming, how we shall recreate our bodies, for we must have some recreation because of the weakness of our nature. In that law we be inhibited carding, dicing, tabling, and bowling, and such manner of games, which are expressed in the same act: you may read it, and you ought to read it, and to know the acts. For how can you keep them when you know them not? Every faithful subject will not disdain to read the acts, and the King's Majesty's proceedings, so that he may know what is allowed, or forbidden in the same acts. And I myself read the acts, for it is meet so for us to do. Now again, this is a great matter that God is so kind towards us, that he disdaineth not to reveal his will, what order we shall keep in our diet, in our recreations and in our garments.

Therefore it is most meet for us to live in subjection, and not to prefer our own will before God's will. For when I do stubbornly against those acts set out by our natural King, and his most honourable Counsellors; then I prefer my will before God's will, and so sin damnably. These things ought well to be noted; for it is not a trifling matter, there hangeth damnation or salvation upon it. Therefore, as I said before, it is good to know the laws, and I call him a good man, and her a good woman, that are content to be ruled by the laws, and so declare their subjection and obedience unto God and the Magistrates.

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There be some men that say, when the King's Majesty himself commandeth me to do so, then I will do it, but not before ; this is a wicked saying, and damnable : for we may not so be excused. Scripture is plain in it, and sheweth us that we ought to obey his officers, having authority from the King, as well as unto the King himself. Therefore this excuse will not, nor cannot serve before God. Yet let the Magistrates take heed to their office and duties : for the Magistrates may not do all things according to their pleasures, and minds ; they have authority of God to counsel, and not harm ; to edify, and not to destroy ; to punish the wicked and obstinate, and to comfort those which live well and godly ; to defend the same from the wrongs and injuries of the wicked. So it appeareth that every one in his order, in his degree and calling, ought to do the will of God, and not our own will and pleasure. This is our duty, happy are we if we do it indeed. O that men in authority would consider whereunto God hath ordained them. St Paul saith, The Magistrate " is God's ordinary minister, to punish malefactors and ill doers." God saith, " I will avenge myself ;" and so he doth by his Magistrates : for that is his ordinary way, whereby he punishment malefactors. But Magistrates must take heed that they go no farther than God alloweth them to do : If they do, they themselves shall be punished. As there be many examples in scripture whereby it appeareth how grievously God hath punished wicked Magistrates.

Finally, St Peter giveth a rule not only unto the Magistrates, but unto the Subjects, saying ; " It is the will of God that you with your good, godly, and honest conversation shall stop the mouth of your adversaries." What called St Peter well-doing? well-doing is to live according to God's laws and commandments. God's commandment

ment is, that we should obey Magistrates: therefore those which disobey and transgress the laws of Magistrates, they do not according to God's will and pleasure, they do but mock God, they stop not the mouth of the adversaries, as St Peter would have them to do; but they give rather occasion unto the wicked to slander and blaspheme the holy word of God. St Peter would have us stop their mouth with well-doing. Many men when they have been reproved of Preachers because of their wicked living, they have gone about to stop their mouth with slanderous words; this stopping is an ill stopping. St Peter would have us to stop them with well-doing. Now will Magistrates not be spoken ill of, and rebuked of Preachers? Let them do well. Likewise saith St Paul of the Subjects, "Wilt thou not fear the higher power? do well, and thou shalt be commended." Now even as it is with the temporal sword, so is it with the spiritual. There be some men that cannot away withal if they be rebuked; they cannot bear when the Preacher speaketh against their wickedness; unto them I say, "Will you not be rebuked of the Preacher? then do well;" leave off your covetousness, your ambition, your wrath, vengeance, and malice, your lechery and filthiness, your blood-shedding, and such like sins; leave them, amend your life, or else the Preacher, according to his office, will rebuke and reprove you, be you never so great Lords or Ladies; he will rub you on the gall. For a good and godly Preacher can do no less; seeing God dishonoured, perceiving him to be blasphemed, his will to be neglected, and not executed of them that ought with all their study and endeavour to apply themselves that his will might be done. For he is well worthy, he is the Lord, he created heaven and earth, and is therefore the right natural Lord over it. But for all that, the devil is lord

more than he is, not by right or inheritance, but by conquest and usurpation ; he is an usurper. God, as I said before, is the natural and lawful Lord over the whole earth, because he made it ; yet it pleased his divine Majesty to make mankind, as ye would say, Lieutenant over it ; so that mankind should bear the rule over the whole earth. Therefore God said unto man, “ Replenish the earth, and ‘ subdue it.’” Here Adam and his wife, and so all his posterity, were by God made rulers over the earth, as God’s high deputies, or his Lieutenants. So as concerning God’s ordinance, mankind was the lawful inheritor of this kingdom. But now cometh in the devil with his crafty conveyances, and with his false subtleties, he inveigled first the woman, and afterward the man, persuading them to transgress God’s holy commandments ; with which doing they lost the favour of God, and their dignities ; and so the devil, through his false lies, substituted himself as an usurper or conqueror : and so he is a possessor, not lawfully but wrongfully.

Though he did say to our Saviour, shewing him all the kingdoms of the world, “ I will give them ‘ to whomsoever I will.’” He lieth falsely ; God will destroy him at the length for all his subtleties and lies, they shall not save him. Yet for all that he is a great ruler. For this is most certain and true, a great many more do the will of the devil, than of God ; whatsoever they babble with their mouths, look upon their works, and you shall find it so. For all proud persons, all ambitious persons, which be ever climbing up, and yet never be well, all such do not the will of God, and therefore appertain not to his kingdom : all wrathful, rebellious persons, all quarrellers and wranglers, all blood-shedders, do the will of the devil, and not God’s will. God saith, “ I will avenge myself.” Which he doth through the Magistrate ; and when the Magistrate is

is slack, he doth it himself. Now those wrathful, malicious persons, that hate their neighbours, they do not the will of God, but of the devil. Also these subtil, deceitful persons, which make no conscience of defrauding and beguiling their neighbours, that care not for breaking their promises, nor are ashamed to utter false ware, they appertain all to the devil. Also those that will not make restitution of goods ill gotten, they serve the devil. The scripture saith, “ Whosoever sinneth, “ is of the devil ;” which is a hard word to be spoken of the holy Ghost, and a fearful word, able to withdraw us from sin, if we had any fear of God in our hearts. Amongst these may be numbered all slothful persons, which will not work for their livings, they do the will of the devil. God biddeth us to get our living with labour ; they will not labour, but go rather about begging, and spoil the very poor and needy. Therefore such idle Beggars are Thieves before God. Some of the lazy * lubbers, when they came to my house I communed with them, burthened them with the transgression of God's laws. Is not this a great labour, say they, to run from one town to another to get our meat ? I think we labour as hard as other men do. In such wise they go about to excuse their unlawful beggary and thievery : but such idle lubbers are much deceived ; for they consider not that such labour is not allowed of God. We must labour so as may stand with godliness, according to his appointment ; else Thieves which rob in the night time, do they not labour ? yes, sometimes they labour with great care, peril, and danger of their lives. Is it therefore godly, because it is a labour ? No, no ; we must labour as God hath ap-

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* The original meaning of the word Lubber, is a servant that does all base services in a house. It means also a heavy drudge, or a lazy drone.

pointed us, every man in his estate. Farther, these drunkards which abuse the gifts of God; also these lechers and whoremongers, that live in adultery; these violators of holy matrimony, which live not according unto God's laws; also these swearers, forswearers, liars, all those do not the will of God. Therefore it is to be lamented of every Christian heart, when they see how many servants the devil hath, and God so few. But all those which serve the devil, are rebels against God; God was their Lord, they swerve from him through wicked living, and so become servants of the devil. Therefore those Christian people that have a desire to live after God's will and commandments, they live amongst the wicked even as it were amongst the rebels.

They that dwelled in Norfolk or Devonshire at the time of the rebellion, they which were faithful to their King and Prince, how think you they were intreated? Full miserably God knoweth; either they were constrained to help their wicked purposes, or else they must suffer all calamities which could be devised. Even so shall all those be intreated which intend to live well, according to God's commandments. For the rebels, that is, the wicked which have forsaken their Lord God, and taken the devil to be ruler over them, they shall compel them to follow, or else to suffer all calamities and miseries. And so shall be verified the saying of our Saviour Christ, "I am not come, saith he, to send 'peace, but the sword.'" Which is indeed a strange saying, but he hath his understanding: God is a God of peace and concord, he loveth unity and concord: but when he cannot have peace, by reason of the devil, then he will have the sword; that is to say, God loveth unity, he would have all agree together, but because of the wicked we cannot: therefore he will rather have us to chuse the

the sword, that is, to strive and withstand their wickedness, than to agree unto them. And therefore this doctrine is called a seditious doctrine ; but who are those rebels ? even they themselves which call this doctrine seditious, they themselves, I say, are traitors against God. Wherefore our Saviour, seeing he can have no peace with the wicked, he will have us rather to withstand their wickedness, and so to bring them to his reformation : and this is the cause wherefore he will have his flock separated from the wicked.

Therefore let us pray unto God our Father, “ Thy will be done.” This is the prayer of all Christian people, which have a view to God’s will ; but those impenitent sinners, which are not yet weary of their sins, do never pray ; for though they say the words, yet it is to no purpose, they say them without understanding : therefore it is but lip-labour, it is no prayer, it is but the devil’s service. For a man may serve the devil, with saying the *Pater-noster*, when he saith it with a defiled mind. Let us therefore order ourselves so, that we may say it worthily as it ought to be. Let us put away all wickedness and ill living, so that we may say from the bottom of our heart, “ Our Father, “ which art in heaven ; thy will be done.” And so did Susanna, that godly woman ; so did Lady Judith ; so did Queen Esther ; so did all the good Saints of God : and though this prayer was not made at that time, by reason they were a great while before Christ’s coming ; yet they had this prayer in effect. For they believed in almighty God, they believed in Abraham’s seed, which was promised ; which faith stood them in as good stead, and they were as well saved through the same belief, as we now through our belief. For there is no difference between their belief and ours, but this ;

They

They believed in Christ which was to come, and we believe in Christ, which is come already.

Now their belief served them as well as ours doth us. For at that time God required no further at their hands than was opened unto them: we have in our time a farther and more perfect knowledge of Christ than they had. Now Susanna, when the Judges, the same wicked men, came unto her, and moved her with fearful threatenings to do their wills, that is, to sin against God in doing that filthy act of lechery, for those wicked Judges bore a wicked damnable love toward her; think you not she reported unto God? Yes, yes, without doubt; she said these words in effect, "Our Father, thy will be done," and not the will of these wicked men. Therefore she putting all her hope and trust in God, having a respect that his will might be done, and not the devil's will, God, who is ever true, did not fail her; for it is well known she was delivered through young Daniel. This is written for our instruction; for he is now the self-same God that he was at that time; he is as mighty as he was. She was in anguish and great distress, she sought to hallow his holy name; therefore he did help her, he suffered her not to perish. So certainly he will do unto us too. Therefore when we be in trouble let us hallow his name, and then we shall find his help like as Susanna did.

In such wise did Judith when she was provoked of Holofernes to do wickedly. She fought rather to sanctify God's name, to do his will, than the will of the devil; therefore God gave her such a triumphant victory. So did Queen Hester, when Hamon, that wicked fellow, had power over her: she committed all the matter unto God, with fasting and prayer. But Saint Peter, what did he? Marry he forgot his Pater-noster; for when there came but a foolish wench, asking him; "Art not thou a

" Gali-

“ Galilean?” Art not thou one of this new learning? art not thou a gospeller? What did Peter? He was gone quite; he denied it; he forgot his Pater-noster. For if he had had grace to consider that he ought rather to suffer death, than forsake his Master Christ, then he would have said, “ Our Father, thy will be done.” I am ready to suffer for thy sake whatsoever thou shalt lay upon me. But he did not so, he forgot himself. What did our Saviour? he turned back and looked upon him. Happy was Peter that our Saviour looked upon him again, for it was a gracious token.

Judas, that false man, that traitor, forgot this same petition, and remained so in his error still to the end. Surely he was a sorrowful, and a heavy man, insomuch that he made restitution. He was much better than a great many of us be, which when they have injured any wronged poor man, will make no restitution; I tell you truth, Judas was much better than such fellows be; “ Restitution leads to repentance,” saith the text; but he lacked faith. And so between Peter and him, which were both two sorrowful men, this was the difference; Peter had faith, Judas lacked it: yet he was exceeding sorrowful for his wickedness, insomuch that he went and hanged himself; therefore he forgot this petition. So likewise all voluntary sinners, all unrepentant sinners, none of them all said this petition as they ought to do; they say not worthily nor profitably, for they have no will to do his will, their will is to do their own will and pleasure.

But above all things, these * Quest-mongers had need to take heed; for there all things goeth by oath. They had need to say; “ Our Father, thy will be done.” For they shall be moved to do this

* Or Jurors. In these times we find, that both Judges, Jurors, and Courts of Judicature were full of bribery and corruption.—Indeed, in this our day, bribery, deceit, corruption and perjury, stalks barefaced at noon day.

this and that, which is against God. They must judge by their oath, according to conscience, Guilty or Not guilty. When he is Guilty, in what case are those which say, Not guilty? Scripture doth shew what a thing it is, when a man is a malefactor, when the Quest-mongers justify him, and pronounce him Not guilty; saying, "He that justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the just man, they are both abominable before the Lord." Who is abominable? He that doth not the will of God: the will of God is, that the wicked should be punished. I myself did once know where there was a man slain of another man in anger; it was done openly, the Man-killer was taken and put in prison. Suit was made to the Quest-mongers, for it was a rich man that had done the act. At length, every man had a crown for his good-will: and so this open Man-killer was pronounced Not guilty.

Lo, they sold their souls unto the devil for five shillings. For which souls Christ suffered death. And I dare pronounce, except they amend and be sorry for their faults, they shall be damned in hell world without end. They had clean forgotten this petition, "Thy will be done." For they did the will of the devil. It had been a good deed to cut off their crowns by their necks, to the example of all others. Therefore, I say, these Quest-mongers had need to say, "Our Father, which art in heaven, thy will be done:" For truly it is marvel that this realm sinketh not down to hell headlong. What perjuries, swearing and cursing is every where, in every corner. Therefore, I say, we had need to pray earnestly, that God's will be done. And we should be content to lose our lives for righteousness sake. For he that loseth his life, because he will not agree to the dishonour of God, he seeketh God's will may be done: happy is that man, for

for he findeth his life, he loseth it not: For Christ will be his keeper.

Joab, that great and valiant Captain, knew well enough when David sent unto him good Uriah with letters; he knew, I say, that the King's will was against God's will, yet he looked through his fingers, he winked at it, he would rather do the wicked will of the King than the will of God. Of such fellows there be a great number, which are not for the honour and will of God. These Chaplains about the King, and great men, had need to say, "Our Father, thy will be done;" but they are very slow and slack; they wink commonly at all matters be they never so bad. They be Chaplains at hand. They dare not "rebuke the world "of sin;" they dare not do as the Prophet commandeth them to do, when he saith, "Let the hills hear the judgments of the Lord;" though they smoke, as he saith, "Touch the hills and "they will smoke." Yea, and though they smoke, yet strike them; spare them not, tell them their faults. But great men cannot suffer to be so rebuked; their Chaplain must be taught discretion, if they will go so to work. They say commonly, Magistrates should be brought out of estimation, if they should be so handled.

Sirs, I will tell you what you should do to keep your estimation and credit; do well, handle uprightly and indifferently all matters, defend the people from oppressions, do your office as God hath appointed you to do; if you do so, I warrant you, you shall keep your estimation and credit. And I warrant you again, the Preacher will not strike nor cut you with his sword; but rather praise you, and commend your well-doing. Else when you do naught, and wickedly oppress the poor, and give false judgments; when you do so, there is no godly Preacher that will hold his peace, and not strike

you with his sword, that you smoke again. But it is commonly as the scripture saith, "The wicked " is praised in the desires of his wickedness." Chaplains will not do their duties, they will not draw their swords, but rather flatter, they will use discretion: but what shall follow? Marry, they shall have God's curse upon their heads for their labour; this shall be all the gain that they shall get by their flatterings.

Another scripture saith, "The great and the " mighty men be called benefactors, and well- " doers :" but of whom be they called so? Marry, of flatterers, of those which seek not to do the will of God, but the pleasures of men.

St John Baptist, that hardy Knight, and excellent Preacher of God, he said this petition aright with a good faith; "Our Father, thy will be done." Therefore he went to the King, saying, "Sir, it " is not lawful for thee so to do." See what boldness he had? How hot a stomach in God's quarrel, to defend God's honour and glory? But our Chaplains, what do they now-adays? Marry, they wink at it, they will not displease: for they seek livings, they seek benefices; therefore they be not worthy to be God's officers. Isaiah, that faithful Minister of God, he is a good plain fellow, he telleth them the matter in plain terms, saying, "Thy silver is " turned to dross, thy Princes are unfaithful, and " fellows of Thieves." He is no flatterer, he tell- eth them the truth. Thy Princes, said he, are Bribe-takers, subverters of justice. This Isaiah did; for he had respect to God's word, he perceived things amiss; he knew that it was his part to admonish, to cut them with his sword. Would to God our Preachers would be so fervent to promote the honour and glory of God, to admonish the great and the small to do the will of the Lord. I pray God they may be as fervent as our Saviour was,

when

when he said to his Disciples, “ My meat is to do
“ the will of my Father which is in heaven ; ” that
is to say, you are not more desirous to eat your
meat when you be an hungry, than I am to do
my Father’s will which is in heaven. By what oc-
casion our Saviour saith these words you shall per-
ceive, when you consider the circumstances. I pray
you read the Chapter, it is the fourth of John. The
story is this : He sendeth his Disciples to a town to
buy meat ; where it appears that our Saviour had
money : after their departure, he setteth him down,
which was a token he was weary, and I warrant
you he had never a cushion to lay under him. Now
as he was sitting so, there cometh a woman of the
town to fetch water ; he desireth her to give him
drink. She made answer; “ Will you drink with me
“ which am a Samaritan ? ” So they went forward in
their talk : at length he bid her go call her hus-
band. She made answer, I have no husband: “ Thou
“ sayst well, said our Saviour, for thou hast had five,
“ and this that thou hast now is not thy husband.”
And so revealed himself unto her.

Some men, peradventure, will say, What mean-
eth this that our Saviour talked alone with this
woman ? Answer, His humility and gentleness is
shewed herein. For he was content to talk with
her, being alone, and to teach her the way to
heaven. Again, some men may learn here, not to
be so hasty in their judgments ; who when they see
two persons talk together, are apt to suspect them.
For in so doing they might suspect our Saviour
himself. It is not good ; it is against the will of
God to judge rashly ; I know what I mean ; I
know what unhappy tales be abroad ; but I can do
no more than give you warning. Now the woman
went her way into the City, making much ado,
how she had found the Messiah, the Saviour of the
world : insomuch, that a great many of the Sam-
ritans

ritans came out unto him. Now as the woman was gone, the disciples desired him to eat; he made them answer: "I have other meat;" then they thought some body had brought him some meat; at length he breaketh out and saith, "I am as desirous to do my Father's will, as you be of meat and drink." Let us now, for God's sake, be so desirous to do the will of God, as we be to eat and drink. Let us endeavour ourselves to keep his laws and commandments, that whatsoever we shall desire of him he will give it unto us; we shall have it.

We read oftentimes in scripture, that our Saviour was preaching according to his vocation; I would every man would go so diligently about his business: The Priests to go to their books, not to spend their time so shamefully as some do in hawking, hunting, and in ale-houses: if they would go to their books, in so doing they should do the will of God; but the most part of them do their own will, they take their pleasure; but God will find them out at length, he will meet with them when he seeth his time. On a time when our Saviour was preaching, his mother came unto him, very desirous to speak with him, insomuch that she made means to speak with him, interrupting his Sermon, which was not good manners. Therefore, after St Augustine, and St Jerom's mind, she was pricked a little with vainglory; she would have been known to be his mother, else she would not have been so hasty to speak with him. And here you perceive that we give her too much, in thinking her to be without any spark of sin, which was too much; for no man born into this world is without sin, save Christ only. The school Doctors say she was arrogant. One came and told our Saviour as he was teaching; Sir, thy Mother is here, and would speak with thee. He made answer, like as he did when

he was twelve years old : " I must be about my Fa-
" ther's busines :" so he saith now stretching out
his hands, " Who is my Mother ? He that doth
" the will of my Father, which is in heaven." Luke
saith, " He that heareth the word of God, and
" doth it." Mark this well, he saith, " and doth
" it ; " let us do, let us not only be hearers but
doers ; then we shall be according to this promise,
his brethren and his sisters ; we must hear the word
and do it. For truly if Mary his Mother had not
heard his word and believed it, she should never
have been saved. For she was not saved because she
was his natural Mother, but because she believed in
him, because she was his spiritual Mother. Remem-
ber therefore, that all that do his will, are his bre-
thren and kinsfolk. But remember that in another
place he saith, " Not all that say, Lord, Lord,
" shall enter into the kingdom of heaven." Here
you see that the matter standeth not in saying, but
in doing ; do his will, and then resort unto him,
and thou shalt be welcome. We read in Luke,
where our Saviour said : " That servant that know-
" eth the will of his master, and doth it not, shall
" be beaten with many stripes." He that knoweth
not shall be beaten, but not so much. We must
first know and then do ; it is a good thing to know,
but it is a heinous thing to know, and not to do :
it is a great sin to slander God's word with wicked
living, as it is commonly seen amongst men. But
this fault, if it be not amended, shall have a griev-
ous punishment.

Now some men will say, seeing it is so that
" those which know God's word, and do not the
" same, shall be beaten with many stripes ; " then
I will keep me from it, and so when I am damned
I shall have the easier punishment. No, no, my
friend ; " Wilful ignorance excuseth not." To say,
I will not hear it, or I intend to do as it shall please
me :

me: this is not ignorance, brother, but rather contumacy, or despising of God's word. Those which would fain know, but cannot, for that they have no Teacher, they shall be excused somewhat, for they shall have less pain than others have; as he saith, "Wo unto thee, Chorazin, because if in Sodom," &c. meaning, that the Sodomites shall have easier judgment than the other. But as for those which refuse to hear when they might hear, they are in an ill case, and shall be punished with unspeakable pains. And I tell you, the very ignorant man is not at all excused; for so saith God by his Prophets, "The wicked shall die, though he had never a warning before:" So we see that ignorance excuseth not: but the ignorant are the less punished, because of their ignorance; as there be degrees in hell, one shall be punished more grievously than another according to their deserts. There be some men in England which say, No, I will hear none of them all, till they agree amongst themselves. Such fellows truly shall never come to the gospel. For there shall be contentions as long as the devil is alive, he cannot suffer God's word to be spread abroad. Therefore he doth, and will do till the world's end, what he can to hinder the word of God: then it is like that those fellows shall never come to hear God's word, and therefore worthily be damned as despisers of God's most holy word.

Farther this petition hath an addition, "As it is in heaven." The writers make two manner of heavens, a spiritual heaven, and a temporal heaven. The spiritual heaven is where God's will is fully done, where the Angels be, which do the will and pleasure of God without delay. Now when we say, "As it is in heaven," we pray God that we may do his will as perfectly as the Angels do. Examples in scripture we have many, which teach us

us the diligent service which the Angels do unto the Lord.

When King David fell into presumption, so that he commanded his Captain Joab to number his people; which thing was against the Lord, and Joab did wickedly in obeying the King in such things, he went and numbered eight hundred thousand, and fifty thousand men able to fight, besides women and children. For this act God was angry with David, and sent his Prophet, who told him that God would plague him, and bad him to choose whether he would have seven years hunger, or that his enemies should prevail against him three months long, or to have three days pestilence. He made answer, saying, It is better to fall into the hands of God, than of men: and so chose pestilence. After that, within three days there died threescore and ten thousand.

This story is a great declaration how angry God is with sin. Now David, that good King, seeing the plague of God over the people, said unto God; "Lord, it is not they that have sinned, it is I myself, punish me, and let them alone:" This was a good mind in David; there be but few Kings now that would do so. Now at length God was moved with pity, and said unto the Angel, "It is enough, leave off:" By and by the plague ceased. Where you may see how ready the Angels of God be at the Lord's commandment. After that David was minded to be thankful unto God, and offer a great sacrifice unto him, and so remove the wrath of God. And therefore he made suit to one of his subjects for certain ground to build an altar upon: the same man was willing to give it unto the King freely. But David would not take it at his hands. Where Kings may learn, that it is not lawful for them to take away other mens lands, to their own use. This good King, David, would

would not take it when it was offered unto him. He did not as Ahab, the wicked man, which did Naboth wrong, in taking away his vineyard against his will. Another example, wherein appeareth how diligently the Angels do God's commandments. Sennacherib, King of the Assyrians, having a Captain called Rabshaca, which Captain, after he had besieged Jerusalem, spake blasphemous words against God almighty, saying to the Jews, " Think you " that your God is able to help you, or to defend " you from my hand ?" Now Hezekiah, that good King, hearing such blasphemous words to be spoken against God, fell to prayer, and desired aid of God ; he sent for the Prophet Isaiah, and asked him counsel. The end was, God sent his Angels, which killed One hundred eighty five thousand of the Assyrians in one night : the King himself hardly escaped, and with great danger and fear gat him home. Here you see what a God our God is, whose will we ought to do. Therefore let us endeavour ourselves to do his will and pleasure ; and when we are not able to do it, as we be not indeed, let us call unto him for help and aid.

The other heaven is called a corporal heaven, where the sun and the moon, and the stars are ; which heaven doth God's commandment too. As it appeareth in the books of Joshua, and the Kings, how the sun stood still at the commandment of God : also how the shadow went backward ; like as Job saith, " Thou gavest commandment to the " sun, and it arose not." Therefore at the commandment of God, they kept their ordinary course, as God hath commanded them in the first beginning. Also the rain and the snow come at his commandment : finally, nothing rebelleth in the estate wherein it was set at the first, but man : that man will not be ruled by him, all other things be obedient : rain cometh when God will have it,

and

and snow at his time. We read in Ahab's time, that Elias the Prophet stopt the rain for three whole years and six months, to punish the people; whereof followed a great dearth. Afterward, at the request of the same Elias, God sent rain, which tempered the ground to bring fruits. I think there is some Elias abroad at this time, which stoppeth the rain, we have had no rain a great while. Therefore let us pray to God that we may do his will, and then we shall have all things necessary to soul and body. For what was this Elias? "A " sinful man, born and conceived in sin :" yet God seeing his conscience, granted his request: For he was a man that feared the Lord, and trusted in him: therefore God loved him, and heard his prayer. Therefore, I say, let us do as he did, then God will hear our prayers; but we are fleshly, we are carnal, we can do nothing perfectly as we ought to do: Wherefore we may say with St Augustine, "Lord, do thou with me what thou commandest, and then command what thou wilt." For we of our own strength and power are not able to do his commandments; but that lack our Saviour will supply with his fulfilling, and with his perfectness, he will take away our imperfectness. Now since we have spoken much of prayer, I will desire you that we may pray together, and so make an end; but you must pray with a penitent heart; for God will not hear the prayer that proceedeth from an impenitent heart; it is abominable in his sight: I desire you to say after me, "Our Father, &c." Amen.



S E R M O N XX.

Being the fifth of those upon the Lord's
Prayer.

*By the Reverend Father in Christ Master HUGH
LATIMER Bishop of Worcester.*

M A T T H E W vi. 11.

Give us this day our daily bread.

THIS is a very good prayer, if a body should say no more at one time but that; for as we see our need, so we shall pray; when we see God's name to be dishonoured, blasphemed and ill spoken of, then a man, a faithful man, should say, "Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy Name;" When we see the devil reign, and all the world follow his kingdom, then we may say, "Our Father, which art in heaven, thy kingdom come." When we see that the world followeth her own desires and lusts, and not God's will and his commandments, and it grieveth us to see this, and we are sorry for it; we shall make our moan unto God for it, saying, "Our Father, which art in heaven, thy will be done." When we lack necessaries for the maintenance of this life, and every thing is dear; then we may say, "Our Father, which art in heaven, give us this day our daily bread." Therefore as we see cause, so should we pray. And it is better to say one of these short prayers with a good faith, than the whole psalter without faith.

By

By this now that I have said, you may perceive that the common opinion and estimation which the people have had of this prayer (the Lord's prayer, I say) is far from what it ought to be. For it was esteemed for nothing; for when we be disposed to despise a man, and call him an ignorant fool, we say he cannot say his *Pater-noster*; and so we made it a light matter, as though every man knew it. But I tell you it is a great matter, it containeth weighty things, if it be weighed to the very bottom, as a learned man could do: but as for me, that that I have learned out of the holy scripture, and learned mens books, which expound the same, I will shew unto you; but I intend to be short. I have been very long before in other petitions, which something expound those that follow, therefore I will not tarry so long in these as I have done in the other.

" Give us this day our daily bread." Every word is to be considered, for they have their importance. This word " bread," signifieth all manner of subsistence for the preservation of this life; all things whereby man should live, are contained in this word " bread."

You must remember what I said by that petition, " Hallowed be thy name." There we pray unto God, that he will give us grace to live so, that we may with all our conversations and doings, hallow and sanctify him, according as his word telleth us. Now forasmuch as the preaching of God's word, is most necessary to bring us unto this hallowing, we pray in the same petition for the office of preaching. For the sanctifying of the name of God cannot be, except the office of preaching be maintained, and his word be preached and known; therefore in the same petition, when I say, " Hallowed be thy name;" I pray that his word may be spread abroad and known, through which cometh sanctifying.

So likewise in this petition, “ Give us this day “ our daily bread ;” we pray for all those things which be necessary and requisite to the subsistence of our souls and bodies. Now the first and principal thing that we have need of in this life, is Magistrates ; without a Magistrate we should never live well and quietly. Then it is necessary and most needful to pray unto God for them, that the people may have rest, and apply to their busines, every man in his calling, the husbandman in his tilling and ploughing, the artificer in his busines. For you must ever consider, that where war is, there be all discommodities ; no man can do his duty according to his calling, as appeareth now in Germany, the * Emperor and the French King being at controversy : I warrant you there is little rest, or quietness. Therefore in this petition we pray unto God for our Magistrates, that they may rule and govern this realm well and godly, and keep us from invasions of aliens and strangers, and to execute justice, and punish malefactors : and this is so requisite, that we cannot live without it. Therefore when we say, “ Give us this day our “ daily bread :” we pray for the King, his Counsellors, and all his Officers. But not every man that saith these words, understandeth so much. For it is obscurely included, so that none perceive it but those that earnestly and diligently consider the same. But St Paul expresseth it with more words plainly, saying, “ I exhort you to make supplications “ and prayers for all men, but especially for Kings, “ and for those that be in authority.” Whereto ? “ that we may live godly and quietly, in all ho-“ nesty and godliness.” And when I pray for them,

* Bishop Latimer here puts us in mind of the miseries of a war carried on by two Potentates on the frontiers of each other's country : in which the inhabitants of both nations must unavoidably suffer the greatest calamities.

them, I pray for myself. For I pray for them that they may rule so, that I and all men may live under them quietly, and at rest. And to this end we desire a quiet life, that we may the better serve God, hear his word, and live after it.

For in the rebels time, I pray you what godliness was shewed amongst them? they went so far, as it was told, that they defiled other mens wives: what godliness was this? In what estate think you were those faithful subjects which at the same time were amongst them? they had sorrow enough I warrant you.

So then it plainly appeareth, that where war is, there is right godliness banished and gone. Therefore to pray for a quiet life, that is as much as to pray for a godly life, that we may serve God in our calling, and get our livings uprightly. So it appeareth that praying for Magistrates, is as much as to pray for ourselves.

They that be Children, and live under the rule of their Parents, or have Tutors, they pray in this petition for their Parents and Tutors: for they be necessary for their bringing up; and God will accept their prayers, as well as theirs which be of age. For God hath no respect of persons; he is as ready to hear the youngest as the oldest; therefore let them be brought up in godliness, let them know God. Let Parents and Tutors do their duties to bring them up so, that as soon as their age serveth, they may taste and favour God; let them fear God in the beginning, and so they shall do also when they be old. Because I speak here of Orphans, I shall exhort you to be pitiful unto them, for it is a thing that pleaseth God, as St James witnesseth, saying, " Pure religion, and undefiled before God, " and the Father, is this, to visit the fatherless and " widows in their afflictions, and to keep himself " unspotted from the world."

It is a common speech amongst the people, and much used, that they say, all religious houses are pulled down; which is a very peevish saying, and not true, for they are not pulled down. That man and that woman that live together godly and quietly; doing the works of their vocation, and fear God, hear his word and keep it; that same is a Religious house; that is, the house that pleaseth God. For religion, pure religion, I say, standeth not in wearing of a Monk's cowl, but in righteousness, justice, and well-doing, and as St James faith, in visiting the orphans, and widows that have no husbands, orphans that have no parents to help them when they be poor, to speak for them when they be oppressed; herein standeth true religion, God's religion, I say. The other which was used, was an unreligious life, yea, rather an hypocrisy. There is a text in scripture, I never read it but I remember those religious houses; "There is a way which way seemed to men to be good, whose end is eternal perdition:" when the end is naught, all is naught.

So were these * Monks houses, these religious houses; there were many people, especially widows, which

* For the original of Monks, venerable Bede saith, we may look to the antient Druids; they may be esteemed Monks, since they are said to have lived retired from the world, in woods and groves, and remote from towns and populous places; nor do we read they had wives and families. They had the care of instructing the people in Religion, Philosophy, Astrology and the Geometry of that age. Their Schools were held in fields, in the open air, or under the shade of oaks. Under Christianity, at first he was called a Monk who forsook the world, the honour, grandeur, and business thereof, and retired from the society of men, living a life of nature upon vegetables, serving God day and night. At that time no formal initiation into the Order was required; the resolution and practice of the person himself was sufficient. It was after times that brought forth the Abbot, who at first was only the senior Monk. Eusebius, Bishop of Vercelles, in the West, was the first who brought them out of their woods,

which would give over house-keeping, and go to such houses, when they might have done much good in maintaining of servants, and relieving of poor people, but they went their ways. What a madness was that?

Again, how much cause have we to thank God, that we know what true religion is, that God hath revealed unto us the deceitfulness of those Monks, which had a goodly shew before the world of great holiness, but they were naught within. Therefore
the

woods, from the tops of mountains, and from their private and retired places, into cities and towns, and built and endowed monasteries for them. St Basil, in the fourth century, laid down certain regulations for these Religious Societies, in which he was followed by the Benedictines and others. However, at first monasteries were places of strict discipline and great austerity, and served as public Schools for the instruction and education of youth. During the ravages of the Goths and Vandals, the Huns, Franks, and Almains, monasteries were the only sanctuaries for all sorts of learning and learned men; from whence issued forth great numbers of persons excellently qualified both to govern and to convert others, which gained them the esteem of all ranks and degrees of people; even Princes gave them great privileges and immunities, they, as well as their subjects, receiving their education from them, till about the year of Christ one thousand, when Universities and Colleges for learning the sciences were first erected, and the monasteries more confined to religious observances and restrictions than formerly; so that somewhat of their esteem was eclipsed till about the thirteenth century, when the mendicant Friars endeavoured to restore their former reputation, by mixing Philosophy and School-divinity with their other performances.— In England, the Monks were at first the only Preachers of the gospel, living together in common, and instructing one another in the doctrines and mysteries of the Christian faith; and going forth into their respective neighbourhoods round about, within a day's journey, preaching to the people, converting them to, and establishing them in the faith of the blessed Jesus. The rise of the rural and parochial Priests, and the erection of Parishes, in time rendered them, as to this particular, useless, and then they were mostly confined to perform their devotions in their monasteries; where, in process of time, they became corrupt in their manners; and, like a great number of idle, vicious drones, became a burden to society; which occasioned a dissolution of them and their houses in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, now upwards of two hundred years ago.

the scripture saith, “ That which is highly esteemed before men, is abominable before God.” Therefore that man and woman that live in the fear of God, are much better than their houses were.

I read once a story of a holy man, some say it was St Anthony, which had been a long season in the wilderness*, neither eating nor drinking any thing but bread and water; at the length he thought himself so holy, that there should be no body like unto him. Therefore he desired of God to know who should be his fellow in heaven. God made him answer, and commanded him to go to † Alexandria, there

* A famous and holy Eremite, and Abbot of the Monks in Egypt, in the time of the Emperor Constantine the Great. He lived in the City of Thebais, which St Jerom thought to have been the land of Goshen, wherein the Patriarch Jacob and his sons dwelt. In the twentieth year of his age he sold all that he had, giving the one half to his sister, and the rest to the poor. At first he lived in a solitary place, far distant from his own town. When he was about thirty five years old he withdrew himself into the wilderness, living there a most austere life; where, after he had lived twenty years solitarily, he then came abroad, and conversed with other Monks, to whom he often resorted; he came also into the Cities, where he boldly preached the Lord Christ. At last he retired again into a wild desert, where he seated himself on the top of a steep hill, living on slender fare and provision, in the year of Christ 271. From him are derived the Eremites of the Order of St Anthony, who live only on bread, wine and salt. St Athanasius, with whom a while he lived and conversed, wrote a treatise on his life in Greek, which both Evagrius and St Jerom translated into Latin. It is said, that God gave a privilege to St Anthony, or a preservative against fire; not only against the disease called St Anthony’s fire, but also from the fire of hell. He wrought many miracles; and lived to one hundred and five years, and then died on the seventeenth of January, in the year of Christ 358. His body was privately interred by two of his disciples, near Thebais; but in the time of Justinian the Emperor it was found, it is said, by divine revelation, and translated from thence to Alexandria, in the year 529. He was afterwards canonized on account of his holy life and miracles.

† A City in Egypt, built by Alexander the Macedonian, now called Scanderoon.

there he should find a Cobler which should be his fellow in heaven. So he went thither and sought him out, and got acquainted with him, and tarried with him three or four days to enjoy his conversation. In the morning his wife and he prayed together, then they went to their business, he in his shop, and she about her housewifery. At dinner time they had bread and cheese, wherewith they were well content, and took it thankfully. Their children were well taught to fear God, and to say their *Pater-noster*, and the Creed, and the Ten Commandments; and so he spent his time in doing his duty truly. I warrant you he did not so many false stitches as Coblers do now-adays. St Anthony perceiving that, came to the knowledge of himself, and laid away all pride and presumption.

By this example you may learn, that honest conversation and godly living, is much regarded before God; insomuch that this poor Cobler, doing his duty diligently, was made St Anthony's fellow. So it appeareth, that we be not destitute of religious houses, those which apply to their business uprightly and hear God's word, they shall be St Anthony's fellows; that is to say, they shall be numbered among the children of God.

Farther, in this petition, the man and wife pray one for the other. For one is a help unto the other, and so necessary the one to the other; therefore they pray one for the other, that God will spare them their lives, to live together quietly and godly, according to his ordinance and institution; and this is good and needful. As for such as be not married, you shall know that I do not so much praise marriage, that I should think that single life is naught: as I have heard some which will scarce allow of single life. They think in their hearts that all those which be not married be naught: therefore they have a common saying among them: What?

say they, they be made of such metal as we be made of, thinking them to be naught in their living. Which suspicions are damnable before God. For we know not what gifts God hath given unto them, therefore we cannot with a good conscience condemn them or judge them. Truth it is, marriage is good and honourable amongst all men, as St Paul witnesseth; " And the Lord shall and will judge, that is, condemn adulterers, and whoremongers;" but not those which live in single life: when thou livest in lechery, or art a whore, or whoremonger, then thou shalt be damned: but when thou livest godly and honestly in single life, it is well and allowable before God; yea, and better than marriage. For St Paul saith, " I will have you to be without carefulnes," that is, unmarried; and sheweth its usefulness; saying, " they that be unmarried, set their minds upon God, how to please him, and to live after his commandments. But as for the other, the man is careful how to please his wife; and again, the woman how to please her husband;" and this is St Paul's saying of the one as well as the other.

Therefore I will wish you not to condemn single life, but take the one with the other, like as St Paul teacheth us; not so to extol the one, that we condemn the other. For St Paul praiseth as well single life, as marriage; yea, and more too. For those that be single, have more liberty to pray and serve God, than the other: for they that be married, have much trouble and afflictions in their bodies. This I speak, because I hear that some there be which condemn a single life; I would have them to know that matrimony is good, godly and allowable unto all men: yet for all that, the single life ought not to be despised or condemned, seeing that scripture alloweth it; yea, and he affirmeth that

that it is better than matrimony, if it be clean without sin and offence.

Farther, we pray here in this petition for good servants, that God will send unto us good, faithful, and trusty servants, for they are necessary for this bodily life, that our business may be done; and those which live in single life, have more need of good trusty servants than those which are married. Those which are married, can better over-see their servants. For when the man is from home, at the least his wife over-seeth them, and keepeth them in good order. For I tell you, servants must be over-seen and looked to; if they be not over-seen, what be they? It is a great gift of God to have a good servant. For the most part of servants are but eye-servants; when their master is gone, they leave off from their labour, and play the sluggards; but such servants do contrary to God's commandment, and shall be damned in hell for their slothfulness, except they repent. Therefore, I say, those that be unmarried have more need of good servants, than those that be married, for one of them at the least, may always over-see the family. For as I told you before, the most part of servants, be eye-servants; they be good for nothing when they be not over-seen.

There was once a fellow asked a Philosopher a question, saying, "How is a horse made fat?" The Philosopher presently made him answer, saying, "With his master's eye." Not meaning that the horse should be fed with his master's eye, but that the master should over-see the horse, and take heed to the horse-keeper, that the horse might be fed. For when a man rideth by the way, and cometh to his inn, and giveth to the hostler his horse to walk, and so himself sitteth at the table and maketh good cheer, and forgetteth his horse, the hostler cometh and saith, Sir, how much bread

shall I give unto your horse? He saith, give him two penny worth; I warrant his horse shall never be fat. Therefore a man should not say to the hostler, go give him, but he should see himself that the horse has it. In like manner, those that have servants must not only command them what they shall do, but they must see that it be done; they must be present, or else it shall never be done. Another man asked the same Philosopher this question, saying, What dung is it that maketh a man's land most fruitful in bringing forth much corn? Marry, said he, The owner's footsteps. Not meaning that the master should come and walk up and down, and tread the ground; but he would have him to come and oversee the servants tilling of the ground, commanding them to do it diligently, and so to look upon their work: this shall be the best dung, saith the Philosopher. Therefore never trust to servants, except you are assured of their diligence. For I tell you truly, I can come no where but I hear masters complaining of their servants. I think they fear not God, they consider not their duties. Well, I will burthen them with this one text of scripture, and then go forward in my matter: The Prophet Jeremiah saith, "Cursed be he that doth the work of the Lord negligently, or fraudulently," take which you will.

It is no light matter that God pronounceth them to be cursed. But what is cursed? what is it? Cursed is as much as to say, that it shall not go well with them, they shall have no luck, my face shall be against them. Is not this a great thing? Truly consider it as you list; but it is no light matter to be cursed of God, which ruleth in heaven and earth. And though the Prophet speaketh these words of warriors going to war, yet it may be spoken of all servants, yea, of all estates, but especially of servants. For St Paul saith, "You servants,

"servants, you serve the Lord Christ, it ^{is} his "work." Then when it is the Lord's work, take heed you do it not negligently. But where is such a servant as Jacob was to Laban? How painful was he? How careful for his master's profit? Inasmuch that when somewhat perished he restored it again out of his own. And where is such a servant as Eleazer was to Abraham his master? what a journey had he? How careful he was, and when he came to his journey's end, he would neither eat nor drink before he had done his master's message; so that all his mind was given only to serve his master, and to do according to his commandments: insomuch that he would neither eat nor drink till he had done according to his master's will. Much like to our Saviour's saying, "This is my meat, "to do the will of him that sent me." I pray you servants mark this Eleazer well, consider all the circumstances of his diligent and faithful service, and follow it: else if you follow it not, you read it to your own condemnation. Likewise consider the true service which Joseph, a young man, did unto his master Potiphar, Lieutenant of the tower: how faithfully he served, without any guile or fraud; therefore God promoted him so, that he was made afterwards the ruler over all Egypt.

Likewise consider how faithful Daniel was in serving King * Darius. Alack, that you servants be stubborn-hearted, and will not consider this, you will not remember that your service is the work of the Lord, you will not consider that the curse of God hangeth upon your heads for your slothfulness and negligence. Take heed, therefore, and look to your duties. Now further, whosoever prayeth this prayer with a good and faithful heart, as he ought to do; he prayeth for all Plow-men and Husband-

men,

* He was Emperor of Persia during the Jewish Captivity. He was a brave and warlike Prince.

men, that God will prosper and increase their labour, for except he give increase, all their labour and travail is lost. Therefore it is needful to pray for them, that God may send his benediction by their labour, for without corn and such manner of sustenance, we cannot live. And in that prayer we include all artificers; for by their labours, God giveth us many commodities which we could not well do without.

We pray also for wholesome air; likewise for seasonable weather; when we have too much rain, we pray for fair weather: Again, when we lack rain, we pray that God will send rain. And in that prayer we pray for our cattle, that God will preserve them to our use from all diseases: for without cattle we cannot live, we cannot till the ground, nor have meat, therefore we include them in our prayer.

So we see that this prayer containeth innumerable things. For we pray for all such things as be expedient and needful for the preservation of this life. And not this alone, but we have here good doctrine and divers admonitions besides.

For here we be admonished of the liberality of God our heavenly Father, which he sheweth daily unto us. For our Saviour knowing the liberality of God our heavenly Father, commanded us to pray: if he would not give us the things we ask, Christ would not have commanded us to pray. If he had born an ill will against us, Christ would not have sent us to him. But our Saviour knowing his liberal heart towards us, commanded us to pray, and desire all things at his hands.

And here we be admonished of our estate and condition, what we be, namely, beggars. For we ask bread; of whom? Marry, of God. What are we then? Marry, beggars: the greatest Lords and Ladies in England are but beggars before God.

Seeing

Seeing then that we all are but beggars, why should we then disdain and despise poor men? Let us therefore consider that we be but beggars: let us pull down our stomachs; for if we consider the matter well, we are like as they be before God: for St Paul saith, "What hast thou that thou hast not received of God?" Thou art but a beggar whatsoever thou art: and though there be some very rich, and have great abundance, of whom have they it? of God: What saith that rich man? He saith, "Our Father, which art in heaven; Give us this day our daily bread:" then he is a beggar before God as well as the poorest man. Farther, how continueth the rich man in his riches? Who made him rich? Marry, God. For it is written, "The blessing of God maketh rich:" except God bless it, it standeth to no effect; for it is written, "They shall eat, but yet never be satisfied." Eat as much as you will, except God feed you, you shall never be full. So likewise as rich as a man is, yet he cannot augment his riches, or keep that he hath, except God be with him, except he bless him; therefore let us not be proud, for we be but beggars the best of us.

Note here, that our Saviour biddeth us to say, "us." This *us* lappeth in all other men with my prayer. For every one of us prayeth one for another; when I say, "Give us this day our daily bread." I pray not for myself only, if I ask as he biddeth me, but I pray for all others. Wherefore say I not, "Our Father, give me this day my daily bread." For because God is not my God alone, he is a common God. And here we be admonished to be friendly, loving and charitable one to another: for what God giveth, I cannot say, this is my own; but I must say, this is ours. For the rich man cannot say, This is my own, God hath given it unto me for my own use. Nor yet hath

hath the poor man any title unto it, to take it away from him. No, the poor may not do so; for when he doth so, he is a Thief before God and man: but yet the poor man hath title to the rich man's goods; so that the rich man ought to let the poor man have part of his riches to help and comfort him withal. Therefore when God sendeth unto me much, it is not mine, but ours; it is not given unto me alone, but I must help my poor neighbours withal.

But here I must ask you rich men a question. How chanceth it you have your riches? We have them of God, you will say. But by what means have you them? By prayer, you will say: we pray for them unto God, and he giveth us the same. Very well. But pray now tell me, what do other men which are not rich? pray they not as well as you do? Yes, you must say; for you cannot deny it. Then it appeareth that you have your riches not through your own prayers only, but other men help you to pray for them. For they say as well, "Our Father, give us this day our daily bread," as you do; and peradventure they be better than you be, and God heareth their prayers sooner than yours. And so it appeareth most manifestly that you obtain your riches of God, not only through your own prayers, but through other mens too. Other men help you to get them at God's hand? Then it followeth, that seeing you get not your riches alone through your own prayer, but through the poor man's prayer also, it is meet that the poor man should have part of them, and you ought to relieve his necessity and poverty.

But what meaneth God by this inequality, that he giveth to some an hundred pounds, unto this man five hundred pounds, but unto this man in a manner nothing at all? What meaneth he by this inequality? Here he meaneth, that the rich ought to distribute his riches abroad amongst the poor: for

for the rich man is but God's Treasurer, he ought to distribute them according to his Lord God's commandment. If every man were rich, then no man would do any thing: therefore God maketh some rich and some poor. Again, that the rich may have whereon to exercise his charity, God made some poor: the poor he sendeth unto the rich to desire of him in God's name help and aid. Therefore, you rich men, when there cometh a poor man unto you, desiring your help, think no otherwise but that God hath sent him unto you, and remember that thy riches be not thy own, but thou art but a steward over them. If thou wilt not do it, then cometh in St John, who saith, "He that hath the substance of this world, and seeth his brother lack, and helpeth him not, how remaineth the love of God in him?" He speaketh not of them that have it not, but of them that have it: that same man loveth not God, if he help not his neighbour, having wherewith to do it. This is a sore and hard word: There be many which say with their mouth, they love God: and if a man should ask this multitude here, whether they love God or no; they would say, Yes, God forbid else. But if you consider their unmercifulness unto the poor, you shall see, as St John said, "the love of God is not within them." Therefore you rich men ever consider of whom you have your riches, be it a thousand pounds, yet you fetch it out of this petition. For this petition, "Give us this day our daily bread," is God's store-house, God's treasure-house: here lieth all his provision, and here you fetch it. But ever have in remembrance that this is a common prayer, a poor man prayeth as well as thou, and peradventure God sendeth this riches unto thee for another man's prayers * sake,

Nº XVIII.

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which

* This favoureth somewhat of the Romish doctrine of Intercession, which allows that Angels, departed Saints, and even good men,

which prayeth for thee, whose prayer is more effectual than thine own. And therefore you ought to be thankful unto other men, which pray for you unto God, and help you to obtain your riches. Again, this petition is a remedy against the wicked carefulness of men, when they seek how to live, and how to get their livings, in such wise, like as if there were no God at all. And then there be some which will not labour as God hath appointed unto them; but rather give themselves to falsehood, to sell false ware, and deceive their neighbours, or to steal other mens goods, sheep or conies, Those fellows are far wide, let them come to God's treasure-house, that is to say, let them come to God and call upon him with a good faith, saying, "Our Father, give us this day our daily bread;" truly God will hear them. For this is the only remedy that we have here on earth, to come to this his treasure-house, and fetch there such things as we lack. Consider this word "daily," God promiseth us to feed us daily. If ye believe this, why use you then falsehood, and deceit? Therefore good people leave your falsehood, get you rather to this treasure-house; then you may be sure of a living: for God hath determined that all that come unto him, desiring his help, they shall be holpen; God will not forget them. But our unbelief is so great, we will not come unto him, we will rather go about to get our living with falsehood, than desire the same of him.

O what falsehood is used in England, yea, in the whole world? It were no marvel if the fire from heaven fell upon us, like as it did upon the Sodomites, only for our falsehood's sake. I will tell you of a false practise, that was practised in my country

men, may intercede for others, and for those who are of an evil life and conversation. But Latimer is to be excused, since he was born and bred a Roman Catholic.

try where I dwell. But I will not tell it you to teach you to do the same, but rather abhor it. For those which use such deceitfulness, shall be damned world without end, except they repent. I have known some that had a barren cow, and they would fain have had a great deal of money for her, therefore they go and take a calf of another cow, and put it to this barren cow, and so come to the market, pretending that this cow hath brought this calf, and so they sell their barren cow six or eight shillings dearer than they should have done else. The man which bought the cow cometh home, peradventure he hath a number of children, and hath no more cattle but this cow, and thinketh he shall have some milk for his children; but when all things cometh to pass, this is a barren cow, and so this man is deceived. The other fellow that sold the cow, thinketh himself a jolly fellow, and a wise merchant, and he is called one that can make shift for himself. But I tell thee, whosoever thou art, do so if thou durst, thou shalt do it at this price, thou shalt go to the devil, and there be hanged on the fiery gallows world without end; and thou art as very a Thief as when thou takest a man's purse from him going by the way, and thou sinnest against this commandment, "Thou shalt do no theft." But these fellows commonly, which use such deceitfulness and guile, can speak so finely, that a man would think butter should scarce melt in their mouths.

I will tell you another falsehood: I know that some Husbandmen go to the market with a quarter of corn: now they would fain sell the worst dear, as well as the best, therefore they use this policy; they go and put a strike of fine malt or corn in the bottom of the sack, then they put two strikes of the worst they had, then a good strike at top in the sack's mouth, and so they come to

the market. Now there cometh a buyer, asking, Sir, is this good malt? I warrant you, saith he, there is no better in this Town; and so he selleth all the malt or corn for the best, when there be but two strikes of the best in his sack. The man that buyeth it, thinketh he hath good malt, he cometh home: When he putteth the malt out of the sack, the strike which was in the bottom covereth the ill malt which was in the middle, and so the good man shall never perceive the fraud, till he cometh to the using of the corn: the other man that sold it, taketh this for a policy, but it is theft before God, and he is bound to make restitution of so much as those two strikes which were naught, were sold too dear; so much he ought to restore, or else he shall never come to heaven, if God be true in his word.

I could tell you of one other falsehood, how they make wool to weigh much, but I will not tell it you. If you learn to do those falsehoods whereof I have told you now, then take the clause with it; namely, that you shall never see the bliss of heaven, but be damned world without end, with the devil and his angels: Now go when it please you, use falsehood. But I pray you, wherefore will you deceive your neighbour, whom you ought to love as well as your own self? Consider the matter, good people, what a dangerous thing it is to fall into the hands of the ever-living God: leave falsehood: abhor it, be true and faithful in your calling, " Seek ye the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof: then all things necessary for you, shall come unto you unlooked for."

Therefore in this petition, note first God's goodness, how gentle he is towards us, insomuch that he would have us to come unto him and take of him all things. Then again, note what we be, namely, beggars,

beggars, for we beg of him ; which admonisheth us to leave stoutness and proudnes, and to be humble.

Note what is “ our ; ” namely, that one prayeth for another, and that this storehouse is common unto all men.

Note again, what we be when we be false, the children of the devil, and enemies to God.

There be some men which would have this petition not to import and contain these bodily things, as things which be too vile to be desired at God's hand : therefore they expound it altogether spiritually, of things pertaining unto the soul only, which opinion truly I do not greatly like ; for that I trust God for my soul, and shall I not trust him for my body ? Therefore I take it that all things necessary to soul and body are contained in this petition : and we ought to seek all things necessary to our bodily food, only in this storehouse.

But you must not take my sayings after such sort, as though you should do nothing but sit and pray ; and yet you should have your dinner and supper made ready for you. No, not so ; but you must labour, you must do the work of your vocation. “ Seek the kingdom of heaven ; ” you must set those things together, Work and Prayer. He that is true in his vocation and calling, doing according as God willeth him to do, and then prayeth unto God ; that man or woman may be assured of their living ; as sure, I say, as God is God. As for the wicked, God of his exceeding mercy and liberality findeth them ; and sometimes they fare better than the good man doth : but for all that the wicked man hath ever an ill conscience ; he doth wrong unto God, he is an usurper, he hath no right unto it : the good and godly man he hath right unto it, for he cometh by it lawfully, by his prayer and pains. But these covetous men, think ye, they say this prayer with a faithful heart ? “ Our

“ Father,

“ Father, which art in heaven ; Give us this day “ our daily bread :” Think ye they say it from the bottom of their hearts ? No, no ; they do but mock God, they laugh him to scorn, when they say these words. For they have their bread, their silver and gold in their chests, in their bags or budgets ; therefore they have no favour of God ; else they would shew themselves liberal unto their poor neighbours, they would open their chests and bags, and lay out and help their brethren in Christ. They be as yet but scorners ; they say this prayer like as the Turks might say it.

Consider this word “ Give ;” certinly we must labour, yet we must not so magnify our labour as though we got our living by it. For labour as long as thou wilt, thou shalt have no profit by it, except the Lord increase for thy labour. Therefore we must thank him for it ; he doth it, he giveth it : to whom ? “ unto him that laboureth and pray- “ eth :” that man that is so disposed shall not lack, as he faith, “ He will give the holy Ghost unto “ them that desire the same.” Then we must ask ; for he giveth not to sluggards. Indeed they have his benefit ; they live wealthily ; but I told you before, they have it with an ill conscience, not lawfully. Therefore Christ saith, “ He suffers his sun “ to rise upon the just and unjust.” Also, “ We “ cannot tell outwardly by these worldly things, “ which be in the favour God, and which be not :” for they be common unto good and bad ; but the wicked have it not with a good conscience. The upright good man hath his living through his labour and faithful prayer ; beware that you trust not in your labour, as though you got your living by it : for, as St Paul saith, “ Neither he that planteth is “ ought, nor he that watereth, but God that giv- “ eth the increase.” Except God give the increase, all our labour is lost. They that be the children
of

of this world, as covetous persons, extortioners, oppressors, caterpillers, and usurers, think you they come to God's storehouse? No, no, they do not; they have not the understanding of it; they cannot tell what it meaneth. For they look not to get their livings at God's storehouse, but they rather think to get it with deceit and falsehood, with oppression, and wrong doings: For they think, that all things be lawful unto them; they therefore think that though they take other mens goods through subtlety and craft, it is no sin.

But I tell you, those things which we buy, or get with our labour, or are given us by inheritance, or otherwise, those things be ours by the law, which maketh *mine* and *thine*. Now all things gotten otherwise are not ours; as other things which be gotten by those crafty conveyances, by guile and fraud, by robbery and stealing, by extortion and oppression, by hand-making, (or however you come by it beside the right way) it is not yours; insomuch that you may not give it for God's sake, for God hateth it.

But you will say, What shall we do with the goods gotten by unlawful means? Marry, I will tell thee, make restitution; which is the only way that pleaseth God. O Lord, what bribery, falsehood, deceiving, false getting of goods is in England? And yet for all that, we hear nothing of restitution; which is a miserable thing. I tell you, none of them which have taken their neighbour's goods from them by any manner of falsehood, none of them, I say, shall be saved, except they make restitution, either in affect or effect; in effect, when they be able: in affect, when they be not able in no wise. Ezekiel saith, " When the ungodly doth " repent, and restoreth the goods wrongfully and " unlawfully gotten." For unlawful goods ought to be restored again; without restitution, look not for

for salvation. Also this is a true sentence used of St Augustine, “ Robbery, falsehood, or otherwise ill gotten goods, cannot be forgiven of God, except it be restored again.” Zaccheus, that good Publican, that common Officer, he gave good example unto all bribers and extortioners; I wish they would all follow his example; he exercised not open robbery, he killed no man by the way, but with crafts and subtleties he deceived the poor. When the poor men came to him, he bad them come again another day; and so delayed the time, till at length he wearied poor men, and so got somewhat of them. Such fellows are now in our time very good cheap; but they will not learn the second lesson. They have read the first lesson, how Zaccheus was a bribe-taker; but they will not read the second; they say A, but they will not say B. What is the second lesson? “ If I have deceived any man, I will restore it fourfold.” But we may argue that there be no such fellows as Zaccheus was, for we hear nothing of restitution; they lack true repentance.

It is a wonderful thing to see, that christian people will live in such an estate, wherein they know themselves to be damned; for when they go to bed, they go in the name of the devil. Finally, whatsoever they do, they do it in his name, because they be out of the favour of God. God alloweth them not, therefore, I say, it is to be lamented that we hear nothing of restitution. St Paul saith, “ He that stole, let him steal no more.” Which words teach us, that he which hath stolen or deceived, and keepeth it, is a great Thief so long as till he restore again the thing taken; and shall look for no remission of his sins at God’s hand, till he hath restored again such goods.

There be some which say, repentance or contrition will serve; it is enough when I am sorry for it. Those

Those fellows cannot tell what repentance meaneth. Look upon Zaccheus, he did repent, but restitution by and by followed. So let us do; let us live uprightly and godly: and when we have done amiss, or deceived any body, let us make restitution: and after beware of such sins, of such deceitfulness, but rather let us call upon God, and resort to his storehouse, and labour truly for our livings. Whosoever is so disposed, him God will favour, and he shall lack nothing: as for the impenitent sluggards, they be usurpers of God's gifts, and therefore shall be punished world without end in everlasting fire.

Remember this word “our,” what it meaneth I told you. And here I have occasion to speak of the properties of things: for I fear if I should leave it so, some of you would report of me wrongfully, and affirm, that all things should be common: I say not so. Certain it is, that God hath ordained proprieties of things, so that that which is mine, is not thine; and what thou hast I cannot take from thee. If all things be common, there could be no theft, and so this commandment, “Thou shalt not steal,” were in vain; but it is not so. The laws of the realm make, *mine* and *thine*. If I have things by those laws, then I have them well. But this you must not forget, that St Paul saith, “Re-“ lieve the necessity of those which have need.” Things are not so common that another man may take my goods from me, for this is theft; but they are so common, that we ought to distribute them unto the poor, to help them, and to comfort them with it; we ought one to help another; for this is a standing sentence: “He that hath the substance “of this world, and shall see his brother to have “need, and shutteth up his entire affection from “him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?

There was a certain manner of having things in common in the time of the Apostles. For some good men, as Barnabas was, sold their lands and possessions, and brought the money unto the Apostles: but that was done for this cause; there was a great many christian people at that time intreated very ill, insomuch that they left all their goods; now such folk came to the Apostles for aid and help. Therefore those which were faithful men, seeing the poverty of their brethren, went and sold what they had, and spent the money amongst such poor as were newly made Christians. Amongst others which sold their goods, there was one Ananias and Saphira his wife, two very subtil persons, they went and sold their goods too, but they played a wise part, they would not stand in danger of the losing of their goods: therefore they agreed together and took the one part of the money and laid it up; with the other part they came to Peter, affirming that to be the whole money. For they thought in their hearts, like as all unfaithful men do, We cannot tell how long this religion shall abide; it is good therefore to be wise, and keep somewhat in store whatsoever may happen.

Now Peter knowing by the Holy Ghost their falsehood, first slew him with one word, and after her too: which indeed is a fearful example, whereby, we should be admonished to beware of lies and falsehood. For though God punish thee not by and by, as he did this Ananias, yet he shall find thee, surely, he will not forget thee. Therefore learn here to take heed of falsehood, and beware of lies. For Ananias, this wilful Ananias, I say, because of this wilful lie, went to hell with his wife; and there shall be punished world without end; where you see what a thing it is to make a lie. This Ananias needed not to sell his lands, he had no such commandment; but seeing he did so, and then came and

and brought but half the price, making a pretence as though he had brought all, for that he was punished so grievously.

O what lies are made now-adays in England, here and there in the markets ; truly it is a pitiful thing that we nothing consider it. This one example of Ananias and Saphira, their punishment, is able to condemn the whole world. You have heard now how men had things in common in the first church : but St Paul he teacheth us how things ought to be common amongst us, saying, “ Help “ the necessity of those which be poor.” Our goods are not so ours, that we may do with them what we lust ; but we ought to distribute unto them which have need. No man, as I told you before, ought to take away my goods from me, but I ought to distribute what I can spare, and help the poor withal. St Paul saith, “ distribute them “ to the poor, let them lack nothing ; but help “ them with such things as you can spare.” For so it is written, “ He that hath much, must make “ account for much ; and if he have not spent it “ well, he must make the heavier account.” But I speak not this to hinder poor men from labour ; for we must labour and do the works of our vocation, every one in his living ; for so it is written, “ Thou shalt eat thy hand-labour, and it shall go “ well with thee.” That is to say, every man shall work for his living, and shall not be a sluggard, as a great many be : every man shall labour and pray, then God will send him his living. St Paul saith, “ He that laboureth not, let him not “ eat.” Therefore those lubbers which will not labour, and might labour, it is a good thing to punish them according unto the King's most godly statutes. For God himself saith, “ In the sweat of “ thy face thou shalt eat thy bread.” Then com- eth in St Paul, who saith, “ Let him labour the

"sorer, that he may have wherewith to help the poor." And Christ himself saith: "It is better to give, than to take." So Christ and his Apostles, yea the whole scripture admonisheth us ever of our neighbour, to take heed of him, and be pitiful unto him: but God knows there be a great many which care little for their neighbours. They do like as Cain did, when God asked him, "Cain, where is thy brother Abel? What, saith he, am I my brother's keeper?" So these rich franklings, these covetous fellows, they scrape all to themselves, they think they should care for no body else but for themselves: God commandeth the poor man to labour the sorer, to the end that he may be able to help his poor neighbour; how much more ought the rich men to be liberal unto them?

But you will say, here is a marvellous doctrine, which commandeth nothing but Give, give; if I should follow this doctrine, I should give so much, that at length, I shall have nothing left for myself. These be the words of infidelity; he that speaketh such words, is a faithless man. And I pray you tell me, Have ye heard of any man that came to poverty, because he gave unto the poor? Have you heard tell of such a one? No, I am sure you have not. And I dare lay my head to pledge for it, that no man living hath come, or shall hereafter come to poverty, because he hath been liberal in helping the poor. For God is a true God, and no liar: he promiseth us in his word, that we shall have more by giving the needy. Therefore the way to get, is to scatter that you have. Give, and you shall gain: If you ask me, how shall I get riches, I make thee this answser; Scatter that that thou hast; for giving, is gaining. But you must take heed, and scatter it according unto God's will and pleasure; that is, to relieve the poor withal,

to scatter it amongst the flock of Christ ; whosoever giveth so, shall surely gain ; for Christ saith : " Give, " and it shall be given unto you :" This is a sweet word, we can well away with that ; but how shall we come by it ? Why, Give.

This is the way to get, to relieve the poor. Therefore that is a false and wicked proposition, to think that with giving to the poor, we shall come to poverty. What a giver was Lot, that good man ; came he to poverty through giving ? No, no ; he was a great rich man. Abraham, the father of all believers, what a liberal man was he ? insomuch that he sat by his door watching when any body went by the way, that he might call him, and relieve his necessity. What, came he to poverty ? No, no ; he died a great rich man. Therefore let us follow the example of Lot and Abraham : let us be liberal, and then we shall augment our stock. For this is a most certain and true word, Give, and it shall be given unto you ; but we believe it not, we cannot away with it. The most part of us are more given to take from the poor, than to relieve their poverty. They be so careful for their children, that they cannot tell when they be well ; they purchase this house and that house, but, saith the Prophet, " Wo be unto you that join house " to house ; " the curse of God hangeth over your heads. Christ saith, " He that loveth father or " mother, or children more than me, he is not " meet for me." Therefore those which scrape and gather ever for their children, and in the mean season forget the poor, whom God would have relieved, those, I say, regard their children more than God's commandments. For their children must be set up, and the poor miserable people is forgotten in the mean season.

There is a common saying amongst the worldlings ; Happy is that child whose father goeth to the

the devil: but this is a worldly happiness. The same is seen when a child can begin with two hundred pounds, whereas his father began with nothing; it is a wicked happiness, if the father got those goods wickedly. And there is no doubt but many a father goes to the devil for his child's sake; in that he neglecteth the commandments of God, scraping for his child, and forgets to relieve his miserable neighbour.

We have in scripture, “ Whosoever hath pity over the poor ; he lendeth unto God upon usury ;” that is to say, God will give it unto him again, with a very profitable increase : this is a lawful and godly usury.

Certain it is, that usury was allowed by the laws of this realm ; yet it followed not that usury was godly, or allowed before God. For is it a good argument, to say, it is forbidden to take ten pounds of the hundred ; therefore I may take five ? Like as a thief cannot say, it is forbidden in the law to steal thirteen-pence half-penny ; therefore I may steal six-pence, four-pence, or two-pence. No, no ; this reasoning will not serve before God. For though the law of this realm hangeth him not, if he steal four-pence, yet for all that he is a thief before God, and shall be hanged on the fiery gallows in hell. So he that occupieth usury, though by the laws of this realm he might do it without punishment, for the laws are not so precise ; yet for all that, he doth wickedly in the sight of God. For usury is wicked before God, be it small or great ; like as theft is wicked.

But I will tell you how you shall be usurers to get much gain : Give it to the poor, then God will give it to thee again ; give twenty pence, and thou shalt have forty pence. It shall come again, thou shalt not lose it, or else God is not God. What needeth it to use such deceitfulness, and falsehood to get

get riches ? Take a lawful way to get them, that is to scatter this abroad that thou hast, and then thou shalt have it again, with great gain ; " four-fold," saith scripture. Now God's word saith, that I shall have again that which I laid out with usury, with gain. Is it true what God saith ? Yes : then let me not think, that giving unto the poor doth diminish my stock, when God saith the contrary ; namely, that it shall increase ; or else we make God a liar. For if I believe not his sayings, then by my infidelity I make him a liar, as much as is in me.

Therefore learn here to commit usury ; and especially you rich men, you must learn this lesson well, for to you it is written ; " Whosoever hath much, must make account for much :" and you have much, not to that end, to do with it what you list, but you must spend it as God appointeth you in his word to do : For no rich man can say before God, This is my own. No, he is but an Officer over it, an Almoner, God's Treasurer. Our Saviour saith, " Whosoever shall leave his field, shall receive it again an hundred fold." As, if I should be examined now of the Papists, if they should ask me, Believe you in the Mass ? I say, No ; according unto the word of God, and my conscience, it is naught, it is but deceitfulness, it is the devil's doctrine. Now I must go to prison, I leave all things behind, wife and children, goods and lands, and all my friends I leave them for Christ's sake, in his quarrel. What saith our Saviour unto it, " I shall have an hundred times so much." Now though this be spoken in such wise, yet it may be understood of alms-giving too. For that man or woman that can find in their hearts for God's sake to leave ten shillings or ten pounds, they shall have an hundred fold again in this life, and in the world to come life ever-

everlasting: if this will not move our hearts, then they are more than stony and flinty; then our damnation is just and well deserved.

For to give alms, is like as when a man cometh unto me, and desireth an empty purse of me: I lend him the purse, he cometh by and by and brings it full of money, and gives it me: so that I have now my purse again, and the money too. So it is to give alms, we lend an empty purse, and take a full purse for it. Therefore let us persuade ourselves in our hearts, that to give for God's sake, is no loss unto us, but great gain. And truly the poor man doth more for the rich in taking things of him, than the rich doth for the poor in giving them. For the rich giveth out only worldly goods, but the poor giveth him by the promise of God all felicity.

“ Daily.” Here we learn to cast away all carefulness, and to come to the storehouse of God, where we shall have all things competent both for our souls and bodies. Farther, in this petition we desire that God will feed not only our bodies but also our souls: and so we pray for the office of preaching. For like as the body must be fed daily with meat, so the soul requireth her meat, which is the word of God. Therefore we pray here for all the Clergy, that they may do their duties, and feed us with the word of God according to their calling. Now I have troubled you long, therefore I will make an end: I desire you to remember to resort to this storehouse; whatsoever ye have need of, come hither, here are all things necessary for your soul and body, only ask for them. But you have heard how you must be apparelled; you must labour to do your duties, and then come, and you shall find all things necessary for you: And especially now at this time let us resort unto God, for there is a great drought,

drought as we think, and we have need of rain. Let us therefore resort unto our loving Father, who promiseth, that when we call upon him with a faithful heart, he will hear us. Let us therefore desire him to rule the matter so, that we may have our bodily sustenance; we have the example of Elias, whose prayer God heard: Therefore let us pray this prayer, which our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ himself taught us, saying, "Our Father, which art in heaven," &c. Amen.



S E R M O N XXI.

Being the sixth of those upon the Lord's
Prayer.

*By the Reverend Father in Christ Master HUGH
LATIMER Bishop of Worcester.*

M A T T H E W vi. 12.

*And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that
trespass against us.*

THIS is a very good prayer, if it be said in faith with the whole heart. There was never any one that did say it with the heart, but he had forgiveness, and his trespasses and all his sins were pardoned and taken from him. As touching the former petitions, I told you that many things were contained in them; which you may perceive partly by what I have said, and partly by gatherings and conjectures. Truly there is a great doctrine in it, yet we think it but a light matter to understand the Lord's prayer, but it is a great thing. Therefore I would have you to mark it well. But especially to keep in your remembrance how our Saviour teacheth us to know the liberality of God, how God hath determined to help us; insomuch that we shall lack nothing, if we come to his treasure-house, where is locked up all things necessary for our souls and bodies.

Farther,

Farther, consider by the same petition that we be but beggars altogether. For the best of us had need to say daily, "Our Father, give us this day our daily bread." I would these proud and lofty fellows would consider this, namely, that they be but beggars, as St Paul saith, "What have ye, that you have not gotten with begging?"

Yet most and above all things, I would have you to consider this word "our," for in that word are contained great mysteries and much learning. All those that pray this prayer, that is to say, all Christian people, help me to get my living at God's hand: and therefore, as I told you before, they ought to be partakers of my substance, seeing they help to get my living at God's hand: for when they say "our," they include me in their prayers.

Again, consider the remedy against carefulness, which is to trust in God, to hang upon him, to come to his treasure-house, and then to labour, and to do the works of our vocation: then undoubtedly God will provide for us, we shall not lack. Therefore learn to trust upon the Lord, and leave this wicked carefulnes, whereof our Saviour admonisheth us.

Especially I would have you to consider what a wicked opinion this is, to fansy that giving to the poor is a diminishing of our goods. I told you of late of the properties of things, how things be ours, and how they be not ours; all those things which we have, either by labour or by inheritance, or else by gifts, or else by buying, all those things which we have by such titles be our own; but yet not so, that we may spend them according to our own pleasure. They be ours upon the condition that we shall spend them to the honour of God, and the relief of our neighbours. And here I spake of restitution; how we ought to make amends unto that man whom we have deceived or taken his

goods wrongfully from him. There be some men which think there is no other theft but only taking of purses, killing men by the way, or stealing other mens goods: Those men are much deceived; for there are divers kinds of thefts.

What was this but a theft, when Isaiah saith, “Thy Princes are infidels, and are companions with Thieves.” This was a theft, but it was not a common theft: it was a Lordly theft: they could tell how to weary men, and so to take bribes of them. Such a one was Zaccheus; he robbed not men by the highway, but he was an oppressor, and forced men to pay more than they ought to pay; which his so doing, was as much a theft, as if he had robbed men by the highway. There be many which will follow Zaccheus in his illness, but there be but few or none at all which will follow him in his goodness. “If I have deceived any man, I will restore it fourfold.” I would wish that all bribers and false tollers would follow his example. But I tell you, without restitution, there is no salvation. This is a certain sentence, allowed and approved, first by the holy scripture; secondly, by all the writers that ever wrote upon holy scripture; yea, the very school Doctors, as bad as they were, yet they never contradicted it, but said, “We ought to make restitution of a man’s good name, and of his goods taken from him wrongfully:” That is to say, when we have slandered any body, we ought to make him amends. Also when we have taken any man’s goods wrongfully, we ought to make him amends; else we shall never be saved; for God abhorreth me, and all things that I do are abominable before him, without restitution.

“Forgive:” who is there in this world which hath not need to say “Lord, forgive me?” No man living, nor never was, nor shall be, our Saviour

viour only excepted ; he was “ an undefiled Lamb.” I remember a verse which I learned almost forty years ago, which is this : “ I pray many times for “ death to come : and again, I pray that he should “ not come.” This verse doth put diversity in *precor* and *deprecor* ; *precor* is, when I would fain have a thing ; *deprecor* is, when I would avoid it. Like as Elias the Prophet, when Jezebel had killed the Prophets of the Lord, Elias being in a hole in the mount, desired of God to die ; and this is *precor*. Now *deprecor* is, when I would avoid the thing, then I use *deprecor*. Now in the Lord's prayer till hitherto, we have been in *precor*, that is to say, we have desired things at God's hands. Now cometh *deprecor*, I desire him to remove such things as may do me harm : as sin, which doth harm ; therefore I would have him to take away my trespasses. Now who is there in this world or ever has been, which hath not need to say this *deprecor*, to desire God to take from him his sins ; to “ forgive “ him his trespasses.” Truly, no Saint in heaven, be they as holy as ever they will, yet had they need of this *deprecor* ; they have had need to say “ Lord, “ forgive us our trespasses.” Now you ask, wherein standeth our righteousness ? Answer, in this, that God forgiveth unto us our unrighteousness. Wherein standeth our goodness ? In this, that God, taketh away our illness ; so that our goodness standeth in his goodness.

In the other petition we desire all things necessary for our bodily life, as long as we be in this world ; “ For every man hath a certain time ap-“ pointed him of God, and God hideth the same “ time from us.” For some die in young age, some in old age, according as it pleaseth him. He hath not manifested to us the time, because he would have us at all times ready : else if I knew the time, I should presume upon it, and so should be

be worse. But he would have us ready at all times, and therefore he hideth the time of our death from us. And it is a common saying; There come as many skins of Calves to the Market, as do of Bulls or Kine. But of that we may be sure, there shall not fall one hair from our head without his will ; and we shall not die before the time that God hath appointed unto us ; which is a comfortable thing, especially in time of sickness or wars. For there be many men which are afraid to go to war, and to do the King service, for they fear ever they shall be slain.

Also Vicars and Parsons be afraid when there cometh a sickness in the Town ; therefore they were wont commonly to get themselves out of the way, and send a Friar thither, which did nothing else but rob and spoil them : Which doings of the Vicar was damnable ; for it was a diffidence and a distrust in God : Therefore, ye Vicars or Curates, what name soever you bear, when there cometh any sickness in your Town, leave not your flock without a Pastor, but comfort them in their distress ; and believe certainly that with your well-doings you cannot shorten your lives. Likewise thou subject, when thou art commanded by the King, or his Officers, to go to war, to fight against the * King's enemies ; go with a good heart and courage, not doubting but that God will preserve thee, and that thou canst not shorten thy life with well-doing. Peradventure God hath appointed thee to die there, or to be slain ; happy art thou when thou diest in God's quarrel: For to fight against the King's enemies, being called unto it by the Magistrates, it is God's service :

* This is entirely agreeable to the doctrine of the thirty seventh Article of Religion, which says, " It is lawful for Christian Men, " at the commandment of the Magistrate, to wear weapons, and " serve in the wars."

service: therefore when thou diest in that service with a good faith, happy art thou.

There be some which say, when their friends are slain in battle, O, if he had tarried at home, he should not have lost his life. These sayings are naught: for God hath appointed every man his time. To go to war in presumptuousness, without any ordinary calling, such going to war I allow not: but when thou art called, go in the name of the Lord; and be well assured in thy heart, that thou canst not shorten thy life with well-doing.

“ Forgive us;” Here we sue for our pardon: and so we acknowledge ourselves to be offenders. For the unguilty needeth no pardon. This pardon, or remission of sins, is so necessary, that no man can be saved without it. Therefore of remission standeth the christian man's life; for so saith David, “ They are blessed of God, whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered.” He saith not; blessed be they which have never sinned: For where dwelleth such fellows * which never sinned? Marry, no where; they are not to be gotten. Here the Prophet signifieth, that we all are sinners; for he saith, “ whose sins are pardoned.” And here we be painted out in our true colours, else we should be proud; and so he saith in the Gospel; “ Forasmuch as we be all evil.” There he giveth us our title and name, calling us wicked and ill. There is neither man nor woman that can say they have no sin; for we be all sinners. But how can we hide our sins? Certainly the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ hideth our sins and washeth them away. And though one man had done all the world's sins since

* Master Latimer is here entirely of the opinion of the ninth Article, “ That man is very far from Original Righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh always lusteth against the spirit; and therefore in every person born into this world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation.”

since Adam's time, yet he may be redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ *: if he believe in him, he shall be cleansed from all his sins. Therefore all our comfort is in him, in his love and kindness. For St Paul saith; "Charity covereth the multitude of sins." So it doth indeed; the love of our Saviour Jesus Christ, his love towards us, covereth and taketh away all our sins; insomuch that almighty God shall not condemn us, nor the devil shall not prevail against us. Our nature is ever to hide sin, and to cloak it: but this is a wicked hiding, and this hiding will not serve: for, "He seeth our wickedness, and he will punish it;" therefore our hiding cannot

* "The condition of man, saith our Church, after the fall of Adam, is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works to faith, and calling upon God; wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will. We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore, that we are justified by Faith only, is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort." See ART. X, and XI. -- Agreeable to which saith an eminent Prelate, "Whoever views mankind in their present state, into which they came by no voluntary act of their own, but placed in it by him who is their Maker, and will be their Judge; subject to ignorance and superstition by a kind of necessity of birth and education; surrounded with many natural infirmities and passions, arising from no crime of which they are conscious. -- God would not have suffered the world to have been filled with weak miserable creatures, had he not intended them for objects of his mercy. -- The religion and morality which nature teaches, is such as nature in the present weak condition cannot perform. -- And we are fallen from the state (*the Bishop means the state of nature*) in which God first placed us. -- The Almighty permitted men to come into this condition, that they might be objects of his mercy, and for the clear manifestation of his goodness, and that every one should stand in need of his pity and compassion, and call upon him for assistance, mercy, and pardon." *Mosaic Account of the Fall*, p. 30, &c.

not serve us. But if you be disposed to hide your sins, I will tell you how you shall hide them.

First, Acknowledge them, and then believe in our Saviour Christ, put him in trust withal ; he will pacify his Father ; for, “ to that end he came into ‘‘ the world, to save sinners.” This is the right way to hide sins, not to go and excuse them, or to make them no sins. No, no ; the Prophet saith, “ Blessed is the man to whom the Lord im-“ puteth not his sins :” He saith not, Blessed is he that did never sin ; but blessed is he to whom sin is not imputed.

And so here in this petition we pray for remission of our sins, which is so requisite to the beginning of the spiritual life, that no man can come thereto, except he pray for remission of sins ; which standeth in Christ our Redeemer : he hath washed and cleansed us from our sins, by him we shall be clean. But how shall we come to Christ ? How shall we have him ? I hear that he is beneficial, as scripture witnesseth, “ There is full and plenteous “ redemption by him.” But how shall I get that ? How shall I come unto it ? By faith : Faith is the hand wherewith we receive his benefits ; therefore we must needs have faith. But how shall we obtain faith ? Faith indeed bringeth to Christ, and Christ bringeth remission of sins : But how shall we obtain faith ? Answer, St Paul teacheth us this, saying, “ Faith cometh by hearing God's word.” Then if we will come to faith, we must hear God's word : if God's word be not necessary to be read, then we must have Preachers which be able to tell us God's word. And so it appeareth, that in this petition we pray for Preachers ; we pray unto God, that he will send men amongst us, which may teach us the way of everlasting life.

Truly it is a pitiful thing to see Schools so neglected, Scholars not maintained, every true christian ought

to lament the same. But I have good hope, since God hath done greater things in taking away and extirpating all Popery, that he will send us a remedy for this matter too. I hope he will put into the Magistrates hearts, to consider these things; for by this office of preaching God sendeth faith. This office is salvation; "for it hath pleased God, by "the foolishness of preaching to save the believers." So we pray for the office which bringeth faith; faith bringeth to Christ; Christ bringeth remission of sins, remission of sins bringeth everlasting life.

O this is a godly prayer, which we ought at all times to say; for we sin daily, therefore we had need to say daily, forgive us our trespasses; and as David saith, "Lord, enter not into judgment with thy servant;" for we be not able to abide his judgment; if it were not for this pardon, which we have in our Saviour Jesus Christ we should all perish eternally. For when this word "Forgive," was spoken with a good faith, and with a penitent heart, there was never man but he was heard. If Judas, that Traitor, had said it with a good faith, it should have saved him; but he forgot the point; he was taught it indeed, our Saviour himself taught him to pray so, but he forgot it again: Peter, he remembered that point; he cried "Lord, forgive "me;" and so he obtained his pardon, and so shall we do: for we be ever in that case, that we have ever need to say "Lord, forgive us;" for we ever do amiss.

But here is one addition, one hanger on; "As we "forgive them that trespass against us." What meaneth this? Indeed it soundeth after these words, as though we might or should merit remission of our sins with our forgiving: As for an example; That man hath done unto me a bad turn, he hath wronged me; and at length he acknowledgeth his folly, and cometh to me, and desireth me to forgive

give him ; I forgive him. Do I now, in forgiving my neighbour his sins which he hath done against me, do I, I say, deserve or merit at God's hand forgiveness of my own sins ? No, no ; God forbid : for if this should be so, then farewell Christ, it taketh him clean away, it diminisheth his honour, and it is very treason wrought against Christ. This hath been in times past, taught openly in the pulpits, and in the schools, but it was very treason against Christ ; for in him only, and in nothing else, neither in heaven nor earth, is our remission of sins ; unto him only pertaineth this honour. For remission of sins, wherein consisteth everlasting life, is such a treasure, that passeth all mens doings : it must not be our merits that shall serve, but his ; He is our comfort, he is the Majesty of God, and his blood-shedding it is that cleanseth us from our sins. Therefore, whosoever is minded contrary unto this, " he robbeth Christ of his majesty," and so casteth himself into everlasting danger. For though the works which we do be good outwardly, and God be pleased with them, yet they be not perfect ; for we believe imperfectly, we love imperfectly, we suffer imperfectly, not as we ought to do ; and so all things that we do, are done imperfectly. But our Saviour he hath so remedied the matter, and taken away our imperfections, that they be counted now before God most perfect and holy ; not for our own sakes, but for his sake ; and though they be not perfect, yet they be taken for perfect : And so we come to perfectnes by him. So you see as touching our salvation, we must not go to work to think to get everlasting life by our own doings. No, this were to deny Christ's salvation, and remission of sins, and his own and free gift. As touching our good works which we do ; God will reward them in heaven, but they cannot merit heaven. Therefore let every man do well, for it

shall be well rewarded; but let them not think that they with their doings may merit heaven; for so doing is robbing of Christ.

What shall we learn now by this addition, where we say, "As we forgive them that trespass against us?" I tell you, this addition is put unto it not without great cause; for our Saviour, being a wise and perfect Schoolmaster, would speak no words in vain. This addition is put unto it, to be a certain and sure token unto us, whether we have the true faith in our hearts or no. For faith, the right faith, I say, consisteth not in the knowledge of stories, to believe the stories written in the New and Old Testament, that is not the lively faith, which bringeth salvation with her. For the devil himself believeth the stories, and yet is, and shall be damned world without end. Therefore we must have the right faith, the lively faith, the faith that bringeth salvation, which consisteth in believing that Christ died for my sins sake. With such a faith I draw him unto me, with all his benefits: I must not stand in generalities, as to believe that Christ suffered under Pontius Pilate, but I must believe that that was done for my sake, to redeem with his passion my sins, and all theirs which believe and trust in him. If I believe so, then I shall not be deceived.

But this faith is a hard thing to be had, and many a man thinketh himself to have that faith, when he hath nothing less. Therefore I will tell you how you shall prove whether you have the right faith or no, lest you be deceived with a fansy of having faith, as many be. Therefore prove thyself on this wise; here is a man which hath done me wrong, hath taken away my living or my good name, he hath slandered me, or otherwise hurt me; now at the length he cometh unto me, and acknowledgeth his faults and trespasses; and desireth me

me to forgive him : if I now feel myself ready and willing to forgive him, from the bottom of my heart, all things that he hath done against me, then I may be assured that I have the lively faith ; yea, I may be assured that God will forgive me my sins, for Christ his Son's sake. But when my neighbour cometh unto me, confessing his folly, and desireth forgiveness ; if I then be sturdy and proud, my heart flinty, and my stomach bent against him, insomuch that I refuse his request, and have an appetite to be revenged on him ; if I have such a sturdy stomach, then I may pronounce against myself, that I have not that lively faith in Christ which cleanseth my sins. It is a sure token that I am not of the number of the children of God, as long as I abide in this sturdiness.

There is no good body but he is slandered or injured by one means or other, and it is commonly seen, that those which live most godly, have in this world the greatest rebukes ; they are slandered and back-bitten ; and divers ways vexed of the wicked. Therefore thou, whosoever thou art, that sufferest such wrongs, either in thy goods and substance, or in thy name and fame ; examine thyself, go into thy heart, and if thou canst find in thy heart to forgive all thy enemies whatsoever they have done against thee, then thou mayst be sure that thou art one of the flock of God ; yet thou must beware, as I said before, that thou think not to go to heaven by such remitting of thy neighbour's ill-doings ; but by such forgiving, or not forgiving, thou shalt know whether thou have faith or no. Therefore if we have a rebellious stomach, and a flinty heart against our neighbour, so that we are minded to avenge ourselves upon him, and so taking upon us God's office, which faith ; " Yield unto me the vengeance, and I shall recompence them ;" as I told you, we be not of the flock of Christ. For it is

is written ; “ Whosoever saith, I love God, and “ hateth his brother, that man or woman is a liar.” For it is impossible for me to love God and hate my neighbour. And our Saviour saith, “ If you “ will pray, forgive first;” else it is to no purpose, you get nothing by your prayer. Likewise we see in the parable of that King which called his servants to make an account, and pay their debts, where he remitted one of them a great sum of money, now that same fellow, whom the Lord pardoned, went out and took one of his fellow-servants by the neck, and handled him most cruelly, saying, “ Give “ me my money.” He had forgotten, it is like, that his Lord had forgiven him.

Now the other servants seeing his cruelty, came unto the King, and told him how that man had cruelly used his fellow : The Lord called him again, and after great rebukes cast him in prison, there to lie till he had paid the last farthing. Upon that our Saviour saith, “ Thus will my heavenly “ Father also do with you, if ye forgive not “ every one his brother even from your hearts.” Therefore let us take heed by that wicked servant which would not forgive his fellow servant when he desired of him forgiveness, saying, “ Have patience “ with me, saith he, and I will pay thee all my “ debts.” But we cannot say so unto God ; we must only call for pardon.

There be many folk which when they be sick say, O that I might live but one year longer, to make amends for my sins ; which saying is very naught, and ungodly. For we are not able to make amends for our sins ; only Christ, he is “ the Lamb of “ God which taketh away our sins.” Therefore when we be sick we should say ; Lord God, thy will be done ; if I can do any thing to thy honour and glory, Lord suffer me to live longer, but thy will

will be done. As for satisfaction, we cannot do the least piece of it.

You have heard now, how we ought to be willing to forgive our neighbours their sins, which is a true token that we be the children of God: to this our Saviour exhorteth us, saying, " If thou offerest therefore thy gift upon the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath somewhat against thee, leave thy gift there before the altar, and go first and be reconciled unto thy brother." Leave it there, saith our Saviour, if thy brother have any thing against thee: Go not about to sacrifice to me, but first and above all things go and reconcile thyself unto thy brother. On such wise St Paul exhorteth us, saying, " I would have men to pray without anger, and carefulness." There be many wranglers and brawlers now-adays, which do not well; they may well know that they be not in the favour of God, God is displeased with them: let us therefore give ourselves to prayer, so that we may both love God and our neighbour. It is a very godly prayer to say, " Lord, forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us."

But there be peradventure some of you, which will say, The Priest can absolve me and forgive me my sins. Sir, I tell thee, the Priest or Minister, call him what thou wilt, he hath power given unto him from our Saviour, to absolve in such wise as he is commanded by him; but I think Ministers be not greatly troubled therewith; for the people seek their carnal liberties, which indeed is not well, and a thing which God misliketh. For I would have them that are grieved in conscience, to go to some godly man, which is able to minister God's word, and there to receive his absolution, if he cannot be satisfied in the public Sermon; it were truly a thing which would do much good. But to say the

the truth, there is a great fault in Priests, for they, for the most part, be unlearned and wicked ; and seek rather means and ways to wickedness than to godliness : but a godly Minister, which is instructed in the word of God, can and may absolve in open preaching ; not of his own authority, but in the name of God : for God saith, “ I am he that ‘‘ cleanseth thy sins.” But I may absolve you as an Officer of Christ, in the open pulpit in this wise ; “ As many as confess their sins unto God, ac-“ knowledging themselves to be sinners, and be-“ lieve that our Saviour though his passion hath “ taken away their sins, and have an earnest pur-“ pose to leave sin ; as many, I say, as be so af-“ fectioned, *I*, as an Officer of Christ, and his “ Treasurer, *absolve you*, in his Name.” This is the absolution that I can make by God’s word.

Again, as many as will stand in defence of their wickednesses, who will not acknowledge them, nor purpose to leave them, and so have no faith in our Saviour, to be saved by him through his merit ; to them I say, *I bind you* ; and I doubt not but they shall be bound in heaven : for they be the children of the devil, as long as they be in such unbelief, and purpose to abide in sin.

Here you see how, and in what wise a Preacher may absolve or bind : but he cannot do it of fellowship or worldly respect. No, in no wise ; he must do it according as Christ hath commanded him. If God now command to forgive him “ that ‘‘ sinneth against me,” how much more must I be reconciled to him whom I have offended ? I must go unto him, and desire him to forgive me, I must acknowledge my fault, and so humble myself before him. Here a man might ask a question, saying ; What if a man have offended me grievously, and hath hurt me in my goods, or hath slandered me, and is sturdy in it, standeth in defence of himself

himself and his own wickedness, he will not acknowledge himself, shall I forgive him? Answer, Forsooth, God himself doth not so, he forgiveth not sins, except the sinner acknowledge himself, confess his wickedness, and cry unto him for mercy. Now I am sure, God requireth no more at our hands than he doth himself. Therefore I will say this, if thy neighbour or any man hath done aught against thee, and will not confess his faults, but wickedly defend the same, I, for my own discharge, must put away all rancour and malice out of my heart, and be ready, as far forth as I am able, to help him: If I do so, I am discharged before God, but so is not he. For truly that sturdy fellow shall make an heavy account before the righteous Judge.

Here I have occasion to speak against the * Novatians, which deny remission of sins: their opinion is, that he which cometh once to Christ, and hath received the holy Ghost, and after that sinneth again, he shall never come to Christ again, his sins shall never be forgiven him; which opinion is most erroneous and wicked, yea, and clean against scripture. For if it should be so, there should no body be saved; for there is no man but he sinneth daily. I told you how you should understand those two places of scripture, which seem to be very hard. "There is no sacrifice, &c." As concerning the sin against the holy Ghost, he cannot judge beforehand, but after: I know now that Judas sinned against the holy Ghost, also Nero, Pharaoh, and one † Francis Spira, which man had forsaken Po-

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pery,

* A sect of Heretics, who had one Novatus for their ring-leader, in the year of Christ 215. They condemned second-marriages, and held, that those who had once fallen, ought not to be received again into the Church, although they afterwards repented. Novatus flourished under Decius the Emperor.

† The sufferings of Spira may teach fear and reverence — About the year 1548. in the reign of Edward VI. lived at Padua Francis Spira,

pery, and done boldly in God's quarrel: at length he was complained of, the holy Ghost moved him in his heart to stick unto it, and not to forsake God's word; he, contrary to that admonition of the holy Ghost, denied the word of God, and so finally died in desperation: him I may pronounce to have sinned

Spira, an Advocate or Civil Lawyer; a married man, having a wife and eleven children, esteemed by all people, and in good circumstances. When he was about forty four years of age, he became a convert to Luther's doctrines, openly opposing Popery, and teaching, that "We must wholly and only depend on the free and unchangeable love of God in the death of Christ, as the only sure way of salvation." In short, he argued so strenuously, that he converted great numbers. The popish Priests, who at that time made great gain by selling Pardons, Indulgences, praying people out of Purgatory, &c. finding their trade decay, raised great outcries against Spira, and brought him as an incorrigible heretic before John Caso, the Pope's Legate at Venice; and even his own friends advised him to recant, and save himself and family from impending ruin. The Legate and Priests so craftily managed matters, that Spira, after great struggles, was at length overcome; and persuaded to abjure his former doctrines. Having thus apostatized from the truth, and reconciled himself to Popery before some thousands of witnesses, as he returned, he thought he heard a direful voice, saying. "Thou wicked wretch, thou hast denied me; thou hast renounced the covenant of thy obedience; thou hast broken thy vow: hence, Apostate, bear with thee the sentence of thy eternal damnation." Spira, trembling and quaking, fell down in a swoon, and from that time never had ease, but incessant torment of mind. And now those who advised him to abjure, were sorry they had so done. Spira, being in great horror of mind, was taken with a raging fever, and though quite sensible, was a terror to all who approached him, as his distemper arose from a sense and feeling, as he said, of the pains of hell. Being by his friend exhorted to repentance, and trust in God, from the example of David, Spira replied, "O Brother, I believe all this; the devils believe and tremble. But David was ever elected, and dearly beloved of God; and though he fell, yet God took not utterly away his holy Spirit; and therefore he was heard, when he prayed.—But I am in another case, being ever accursed from the presence of God: neither can I pray as he did, because his holy Spirit is quite gone, and cannot be recalled: and therefore I know I shall live in continual hardness so long

"as

sinned the sin against the holy Ghost. Ask remission of sin in the name of Christ, and then I ascertain you, that you sin not against the holy Ghost. For, “ the mercy of God far exceedeth our sins.”

I have heard tell of some, which when they say this petition, they perceived that they asked of God forgiveness, like as they themselves forgive their neighbours ; and again, perceiving themselves so unapt to forgive their neighbours faults, came to that point, that they would not say this prayer at all ; but took our * Ladies Psalter in hand, and such fooleries,

“ as I live. O that I might feel but the least sense of the love
“ of God to me, though but for one small moment; as I now
“ feel his heavy wrath, that burns like the torments of hell within
“ me, and afflicts my conscience with pangs unutterable : very
“ desperation is hell itself.” He says afterwards, “ It is wonder-
“ ful ; I earnestly desire to pray to God with my heart, yet I can-
“ not. I see my damnation, and I know my remedy is only in
“ Christ, yet I cannot set myself to take hold on it. Such are
“ the punishments of the damned ; they repent of their loss of
“ heaven, yet they cannot mend their ways.” He lay for about
eight weeks a most shocking example of the vengeance of God ;
continually burning: yet neither desiring nor receiving any thing
but by force, and that without digestion ; so spent that he appeared
a perfect anatomy, nothing but sinews and bones ; vehemently
raging for drink, ever pining, yet fearful to live long ; dreadful of
hell, yet coveting death ; in continual torment, yet his own tor-
mentor. And thus consuming himself with grief and horror, im-
patience and despair, like a living man in hell, he at length de-
parted this miserable life : leaving to our remembrance, that “ Se-
“ cret things belong unto the L O R D our God.” See Bacon's *Rela-
tion of the fearful Estate of Francis Spira*, printed 1681.

* The same as the Rosary of the blessed Virgin, a Mass with prayers to the holy Mother, first brought into use by St Dominic ; though the veneration or worship of her was long before decreed and established by the first Council of Nice, held about the year 325. This worship or veneration of the Mother of God, as the Nicene Council stileth the Virgin Mary, was founded on an ancient tradition, “ That at the time of her death all
“ the Apostles dispersed over all the world, were in a moment
“ lifted on high in the air, and brought to Jerusalem, where

fooleries, thinking they might then do unto their neighbour a foul turn with a better conscience, than if they should say this petition : for here they wish themselves the vengeance of God upon their own heads, if they bear grudge in their hearts, and say this petition. But if we will be right Christians, let us set aside all hatred and malice, let us live godly, and forgive our enemy ; so that we may from the bottom of our heart say, “ Our Father, “ which art in heaven, forgive us our trespasses.” There be some when they say “ forgive us our trespasses,” they think that God will forgive their guiltiness only, but not the pain ; and therefore they believe they shall go into Purgatory, and there to be cleansed of their sins : which thing is not so ; and they be liars which teach such doctrine. For God forgiveth us both the pains and the guiltiness of sins ; like as it appeareth in David when he repented, Nathan said unto him ; “ The Lord hath taken away thy wickedness.” But they will say, God

“ they were present at her death ; and that her body being laid in a coffin, was carried to Gethsemane, where a choir of Angels attended on her sacred body three days, with angelical harmony ; which then being ended, the Apostles looking into the coffin, found the body gone, concluding thereupon that she was assumed into heaven.” Whereupon the Church appointed the fifteenth of August yearly to be observed in commemoration of this event. The Roman Catholics now teach, that the Blessed Virgin, both body and soul, is always present before the throne of God, in the company of her Blessed Son, who sitteth on the right hand of his Father, daily interceding for the faithful. Upon the credit of which, Catholics are taught and allowed to pray to the Virgin Mary ; and the Priests have for this end invented a set of Beads, called Fifteens, containing fifteen Pater-nosters, and one hundred and fifty Ave-Maries ; by which rule the devotee addresses the Virgin Mary ten times, to one prayer made to God the Father. It is plain from ecclesiastical History, that the holy fathers of the first ages of Christianity instituted the worship of the Virgin Mary with a good and pious design, *viz.* to supersede and abolish the abominable custom then in practice among the heathens, of worshipping Venus.

God took away the guiltiness of his sins, but not the pain ; for he punished him afterward. Sir, you must understand that God punished him ; but not to that end that he should make satisfaction and amends for his sins, but for a warning. God would give him a check, therefore he punished him. So likewise, whosoever is a repentant sinner, as David was, and believeth in Christ, he is clear, both from the pain and guiltiness of his sins ; yet God punisheth sins, to make us to remember and beware of them.

Now to make an end : You have heard how needful it is for us to cry unto God for forgiveness of our sins ; and you have heard, wherein forgiveness of our sins standeth, namely, in Christ the Son of the living God. Again, I told you how you should come to Christ, namely, by faith, and faith cometh through the hearing of the word of God.

Remember then this addition, “ As we forgive “ them that trespass against us ;” which is a sure token whereby we know whether we have the true faith in Christ or no. And here you learn, that it is a good thing to have an enemy, for we may use him to our great advantage, through him or by him, we may prove ourselves, whether we have the true faith or no.

Now I shall desire you yet again to pray unto almighty God, that he will send such weather, whereby the fruits of the field may increase, for we think we have need of rain. Let us therefore call upon him, which knoweth what is best for us : Therefore say with me the Lord's prayer, as he himself hath taught us ; “ Our Father, which art, &c.”

S E R M O N XXII.

Being the seventh of those upon the Lord's Prayer.

By the Reverend Father in Christ Master HUGH LATIMER Bishop of Worcester.

M A T T H E W vi. 13.

And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.

IN the petition before, wherein we say, “ Forgive us our trespasses,” there we fetch remedies for sins past: For we must needs have forgiveness, we cannot remedy the matter of ourselves, our sins must be remedied by pardon, by remission; other righteousness we have not, but forgiving of our unrighteousness, our goodness standeth in forgiving of our illness.

All mankind must cry pardon, and acknowledge themselves to be sinners, except our Saviour, who was clean without spot of sin. Therefore when we feel our sins, we must with a penitent heart resort hither, and say, “ Our Father, which art in heaven, forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.” Mark well this addition, (as we forgive them that trespass against us) for our Saviour putteth the same unto it, not to the end that we should merit any thing by it, but rather to prove

prove our faith, whether we be of the faithful flock of God, or no. For the right faith abideth not in any man that is disposed purposely to sin, to hate his fellow Christian, or to do other manner of sins. For whosoever purposely sinneth, against his own conscience, he hath lost the holy Ghost, the remission of sins, and finally Christ himself. But when we are fallen so, we must ask them again at God's hand by prayer, which is a storehouse: here we shall find remission of our sins.

And though we be risen never so well, yet when we fall again, when we sin again, what remedy then? What availeth it me to be risen once, and fall by and by into the self-same sin again, which is a renewal of the other sins? For whosoever hath done wickedly against God, and afterward is sorry for it, crieth God mercy, and so cometh to forgiveness of the same sin; but by and by, willingly and wittingly, doth the self-same sin again: he reneweth by so doing all those sins which before times were forgiven him. Which thing appeareth by the Lord, that took reckoning of his servants, where he found one which owed him a great sum of money; the Lord pitied him, and remitted him all the debt. Now that same man afterward shewed himself unthankful and wicked; therefore the Lord called him, and cast him into prison, there to lie till he had paid the uttermost farthing, notwithstanding that he had forgiven him before, &c.

So we see the guiltiness of the former sins turn again, when we do the same sins again. Seeing then that it is so dangerous a thing to fall into sin again, we had need to have some remedy, some help, that we might avoid sin, and not fall thereto again: Therefore here followeth this petition, "Lead us "not into temptation."

Here we have a remedy, here we desire God that he will preserve us from falling into sin. Our Saviour,

viour, that loving Schoolmaster, knew whereof we had need, therefore, he teacheth us to beg preservation of God, that we fall not ; " Lead us not into temptation ;" that is to say, Lord God, lead us not into trial, for we shall soon be overcome, but preserve us, suffer us not to sin again, let us not fall, help us that sin get not the victory over us.

And this is a necessary prayer ; for what is it that we can do ? Nothing at all but sin. And therefore we have need to pray unto God, that he will preserve and keep us in the right way ; for our enemy the devil is an unquiet spirit, ever lying in the way, seeking occasion how to bring us to ungodliness. Therefore it appeareth how much we have need of the help of God : for the devil is an old enemy, a fellow of great antiquity *, he hath endured this five

* As to the antiquity of the devil, ecclesiastics say, that he was at first an Angel ; and not only so, but an Angel of Light, and one of those who attended nearest the throne of God and of the Lamb. He may, not perhaps improperly, be said to have filled the post of Prime Minister in heaven. His name then was Lucifer. This might be ages before the creation of the world. But notwithstanding he was so highly favoured of his Lord and Master, in process of time he apostatised, rebelled against his Master, and then by his interest, artifice, assumed power and cunning, he drew the third part of the Angels, or inhabitants of heaven, into open rebellion : whereupon he obtained the name of the Great Red Dragon ; and then he appeared having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads. In this rebellion, he waged war against God his Sovereign and liege King, and Michael the Archangel, Leader and Captain General of the celestial armies, fought against him, and he prevailed not ; and the Devil and all his Angels were cast out of heaven ; and then there was heard a loud voice, saying, " Now is come salvation, and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ." Ever since which time he hath been called the DEVIL and SATAN, Rev xii. 3—10. All this happened before the creation of the world. Since which period the devil hath assumed divers shapes ; in one of which, in the form of a serpent, he tempted Eve, the Mother of all mankind, to transgress the law of God ; by which means Sin entered into the world, and with it Death ; and so every child of man is born a sinner, and under

five thousand years and more; in which space he hath learned all arts and cunning, he is a great practiser, there is no subtlety but he knoweth the same. Like as an artificer that is cunning and expert in his craft, and knoweth how to go to work, how to do his business the readiest way: so the devil knoweth all ways how to tempt us, and to give us an overthrow: insomuch that we cannot begin or do any thing, but he is at our heels, and worketh some mischief, whether we be in prosperity or adversity, whether we be in health or sickness, life or death; he knoweth how to use the same to his purpose.

As for example; When a man is rich, and of great substance; he by and by setteth upon him with his crafts, intending to bring him to mischief: and so he moveth him to despise and contemn God, to make riches his God. Yea, he can put such pride into the rich man's heart, that he thinketh himself able to bring all things to pass; and so he beginneth to oppose his neighbour with his riches. But God by his holy word warneth us, and armeth us against such crafts and subtleties of the devil, saying, "If riches come upon you, set not your hearts upon them." He commandeth us not to cast them away, but not to set our hearts upon them, as wicked men do. For to be rich is a gift of God, if riches be rightly used; but the devil is so wily, he stirreth up rich mens hearts to abuse them.

Again, when a man falleth into poverty, so that he lacketh things necessary to the sustentation of this bodily life: lo the devil is ever ready at hand to take occasion by their poverty, to bring them to mischief. For he will move and stir up the heart of that man that is in poverty, not to labour and

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under the wrath of God. And even at this day, in all the nations of the earth, he goeth about, like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour. He is the constant and inveterate enemy of God and good men.

call upon God, but rather to steal and rob ; notwithstanding God forbiddeth such sins in his laws ; or else at the least he will bring him to use deceit and falsehood with his neighbour ; intending that way to bring him into everlasting destruction.

Farther, when a man is in honour and dignity, and in great estimation, this serpent sleepeth not, but is ready to give him an overthrow. For though honour be good unto them which come lawfully by it, and though it be a gift of God, yet the devil will move that man's heart which hath honour, to abuse his honour ; for he will make him lofty, and high-minded, and fill his heart full of ambition, so that he will have a desire ever to come higher and higher : and all those which will withstand him, they shall be hated, or ill entreated at his hand : and at length he shall be so poisoned with this ambition, that he shall forget all humanity and godliness, and consequently fall into the fearful hands of God. Such a fellow is the devil, that old Doctor.

If it cometh to pass that a man fall into open ignominy and shame, so that he shall be nothing regarded before the world : then the devil is at hand, moving and stirring his heart to irksomeness, and at length to desperation.

If he be young and lusty, the devil will put in his heart, and say to him : What ? thou art in thy flower, man ; take thy pleasure ; make merry with thy companions ; remember the old proverb, Young saints, Old devils : Which Proverb in very deed is naught and deceitful, and the devil's own invention ; who would have parents negligent in bringing up their children in goodness : he would rather see them to be brought up in illness and wickedness, therefore he found out such a Proverb, to make them careless of their children. But, as I said before, this Proverb is naught, for look commonly where children are brought up in wickednes, they will be wicked

all their lives after ; and therefore we may say thus, Young devil, Old devil ; young saint, old saint. “ The earthen pot will long favour of that liquor “ that is first put into it.” And here appeareth how the devil can use the youth of a young man to his destruction, in exhorting him to follow the fond lusts of that age.

Likewise when a man cometh to age, that old serpent will not leave him, but he is ever stirring him from one wickedness to another, from one mischief to another ; and commonly he moveth old folk to avarice and covetousness : for then old folk will commonly say, by the inspiration of the devil, Now it is time for me to lay up, to keep in store somewhat for me, that I may have wherewith to live when I shall be a cripple ; and so under this colour they set all their hearts and minds only upon this world, forgetting their poor neighbour, which God would have relieved by them. But, as I told you before, this is the devil's invention and subtily, which blindeth their eyes so, and withdraweth their hearts so far from God, that it is scarce possible for some to be brought back again : for they have set all their hearts and fancies in such wise upon their goods, that they cannot suffer any body to occupy their goods, nor they themselves use them not ; to the verifying of this common sentence : “ The covetous man lacketh as well those things which he hath, as those things which he hath not.” So likewise when we be in health, the devil moveth us to all wickedness and naughtiness, to whoredom, lechery, theft, and other horrible faults, putting clean out of mind the remembrance of God and his judgments ; insomuch that we forget that we shall die, and be judged.

Again, when we be in sickness, he goes about like a lion, to move and stir us up to impatience and murmuring against God ; or else he maketh

our sins so horrible before us that we fall into desperation. And so it appeareth that there is nothing either so high or low, so great or so small, but the devil can use the self-same thing, as a weapon to fight against us withal, like as with a sword. Therefore our Saviour, knowing the crafts and subtleties of our enemy the devil, how he goeth about day and night, without intermission, to seek our destruction, teacheth us here to cry unto God our heavenly Father for aid and help, for a subsidy against this strong and mighty enemy, against the Prince of this world; as St Paul disdained not to call him; for he knew his power and subtil conveyances; be-like St Paul had some experience of him.

Here by this petition when we say, “Lead us not into temptation;” we learn to know our own weakness and infirmity; namely, that we be not able of our own selves to withstand this great and mighty enemy the devil. Therefore here we resort to God, desiring him to help and defend us, whose power passeth the strength of the devil. So it appeareth that this is a most needful petition, for when the devil is busy about us, and moveth us to act against God, and his holy laws and commandments, we should ever have in remembrance whither to go, namely, to God, acknowledging our weakness, that we be not able to withstand the enemy. Therefore we ought always to say, “Our Father, which art in heaven; lead us not into temptation.”

This petition, “lead us not into temptation,” the meaning of it is, Almighty God, we desire thy holy Majesty to stand by us, and with us, with thy holy Spirit, so that temptation overcome us not, but that we, through thy goodness and help, may vanquish and get the victory over it; for it is not in our power to do it: thou, O God, must help us to strive and fight.

It is with this petition, “ Lead us not into temptation,” even as much as St Paul faith, “ Let not sin reign in your corruptible body :” He doth not require that we shall have no sin, for that is impossible unto us; but he requireth that we be not servants unto sin, that we give not place unto it, that sin rule not in us. And this is a commandment, we are commanded to forsake and hate sin, so that it may have no power over us. Now we shall turn this commandment into a prayer, and desire of God that he will keep us, that he will not lead us into temptation; that is to say, that he will not suffer sin to have rule and governance over us, and so we shall say with the Prophet, “ Lord, rule and govern thou me in the right way.” And so we shall turn God’s commandment into a prayer, to desire of him help to do his will and pleasure; like as St Augustine faith, “ Give that thou commandest, and then command what thou wilt.” As who would say, if thou wilt command only and not give, then we shall be lost, we shall perish.

Therefore we must desire him to rule and govern all our thoughts, words, acts, and deeds, so that no sins remain in us, we must require him to put his helping hand to us, that we may overcome temptation, and not temptation us. This I would have you to consider, that every morning when you rise from your bed, you would say these words with a faithful heart and earnest mind: “ Lord, rule and govern me so, order my ways so, that sin get not the victory over me, that sin rule me not, but let thy Holy Ghost inhabit my heart.” And especially when any man goeth about a dangerous business, let him ever say, “ Lord, rule thou me; keep me in thy custody.” So this is the first point, which you shall note in this petition, namely, to turn the commandment of God into a prayer. He commandeth us to leave sins, to avoid them, to hate

hate them, to keep our heart clean from them ; then let us turn his commandment into a prayer, and say, "Lord, lead us not into temptation," that is to say, Lord, keep us that the devil prevail not against us, that wickedness get not power over us.

You shall not think that it is any ill thing to be tempted : No, for it is a good thing, and scripture commendeth it, and we shall be rewarded for it. For St James saith, "Blessed is that man that suffereth " temptation patiently." Blessed is he that suffereth ; not he that followeth, not he that is led by them, and followeth the motions thereof. The devil moveth me to do this thing and that, which is against God, to commit whoredom or lechery, or such like things. Now this is a good thing ; for if I withstand his motions, and more regard God than his suggestions, happy am I, and I shall be rewarded for it in Heaven.

Some think that St Paul would have been without such temptations, but God would not grant his request. "Be content, Paul, to have my favour." For temptations be a declaration of God's favour and might : for though we be most week and feeble, yet through our weakness God vanquisheth the great strength and might of the devil. And afterward he promiseth us we shall have "the crown of life ;" that is to say, we shall be rewarded in everlasting life. To whom did God promise everlasting life ? "Unto " them that love him ;" not unto them that love themselves, and follow their own affections ; it is an amphibologia, and therefore Erasmus turneth "unto " them that love him," into these words, "Not they " that love themselves, but they of whom God is "beloved : for self-love is the root of all mischief " and wickedness."

Here you may perceive who are those which love God, namely, they that fight against temptations, and assaults of the devil. For this life is a warfare,

as St John saith ; “ The life of man is but a warfare “ upon the earth :” not that we should fight and brawl one with another. No not so, but we shall fight against the Jebusites that are within us. We may not fight one with another, to avenge ourselves, and to satisfy our anger, but we should fight against the ill motions which rise up in our hearts against the law of God. Therefore remember that our life is a warfare, let us be contented to be tempted. There be some when they fall into temptations, they be so irksome that they give place, they will fight no more. Again, there be some so weary that they rid themselves out of this life, but this is not well done : they do not after St James’s mind, for he saith, “ Blessed is he that suffereth temptation, and “ taketh it patiently.” Now, if he be blessed that suffereth temptation, then it followeth, that he that curseth and murmureth against God, being tempted, that that man is cursed in the sight of God, and so shall not enjoy everlasting life.

Farther, it is a necessary thing to be tempted of God ; for how should we know whether we have the love of God in our hearts or no, except we be tried, except God tempt and prove us ? Therefore the Prophet David saith, “ Lord prove me, and “ tempt me :” This Prophet knew that to be tempted of God is a good thing. For temptations minister to us occasion to run to God, and to beg his help. Therefore David was desirous to have something whereby he might exercise his faith. For there is nothing so dangerous in the world, as to be without trouble, without temptation ; for look when we be best at ease, when all things go with us according to our will and pleasure, then we are commonly farthest off from God. For our nature is so feeble, that we cannot bear tranquillity, we forget God by and by ; therefore we should say, “ Lord, prove me, and tempt me.”

I read once a story of a good Bishop, who rode by the way, and was weary, being yet far off from any Town: therefore seeing a fair house, a great man's house, he went thither, and was very well and honourably received: there was great preparations made for him, and a great banquet, all things were in plenty. Then the man of the house set out his prosperity, and told the Bishop what riches he had, in what honours and dignities he was, how many fair children he had, what a virtuous wife God had provided for him; so that he had no lack of any manner of thing; he had no troubles or vexations, neither inward nor outward. Now this holy man hearing the good estate of that man, called one of his servants, and commanded him to make ready the horses; for the Bishop thought that God was not in that house, because there was no temptation there: he took his leave, and went his ways. Now when he came two or three miles off, he remembered his book which he had left behind him: he sent his man back again to fetch that book; and when the servant came again, the house was sunk and all that was in it.

Here it appeareth, that it is a good thing to have temptation. This man thought himself a jolly fellow, because all things went well with him: But he knew not St James's lesson; "Blessed is he that endureth temptation." Let us therefore learn here, not to be peevish when God layeth his cross upon us. Let us not despair, but call upon him; let us think we be ordained unto it. For truly we shall never have done; we shall have one vexation or other, as long as we be in this world. But we have a great comfort; which is this, "God is faithful, who will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength." If we mistrust God, then we make him a liar: For God will not suffer us to be tempted farther than we shall be able to bear; and

and again he will reward us ; we shall have everlasting life. If we consider this, and ponder it in our hearts, wherefore should we be troubled? Let every man when he is in trouble call upon God with a faithful and penitent heart : Lord, let me not be tempted farther than thou shalt make me able to bear. And this is the office of every Christian man ; and look for no better cheer as long as thou art in this world, but of troubles and vexations thou shalt have thy belly full. And therefore our Saviour, being upon the mount Olivet, knowing what should come upon him, and how his disciples would forsake him, and mistrust him, taught them to fight against temptation ; saying, “ Watch and pray.” As who should say, I tell you what you shall do, resort to God, seek comfort of him, call upon him in my name ; and this shall be the way how to escape temptations without your peril and loss. Now let us follow that rule which our Saviour giveth unto his disciples. Let us watch and pray, that is to say, let us be earnest and fervent in calling upon him, and in desiring his help ; and no doubt he will order the matter so with us, that temptation shall not hurt us, but shall be rather a furtherance, and not an impediment to everlasting Life. And this is our only remedy, to ask help at his hands. Let us therefore watch, and pray, that no temptations may bear rule in us, or govern us.

Now peradventure there be some amongst the ignorant unlearned sort, which will say unto me, You speak much of temptations, I pray you tell us, how shall we know when we be tempted ? Answer, When you feel in yourselves, in your hearts, some concupiscence, or lust towards any thing that is against the law of God rise up in your hearts ; that same is temptation. For all manner of ill motions to wickedness are temptations. And we be tempted most commonly two manner of ways, “ On the

"right hand, and on the left hand." Whosoever we be in honour, wealth, and prosperity, then we be tempted on the right hand: but when we be in open shame, out-laws, or in great extream poverty and penury, then that is on the left hand. There hath been many that when they have been tempted "on the left hand," that is, with adversities and all kind of miseries, they have been hardy, and most godly, have suffered such calamities, giving God thanks amidst all their troubles; and there hath been many which have written most godly books in the time of their temptations and miseries. Some also there were, which heartily and godlily suffered temptations, as long as they were in trouble: but afterward, when they came to rest, they could not stand so well as before in their trouble; yea the most part go and take out a new lesson of discretion, to flatter themselves and the world withal; and so they verify that saying, Honour changes manners. For they can find in their hearts to approve that thing now, which before time they reproved. Aforetime they sought the honour of God, now they seek their own pleasure. Like as the rich man did, saying, "Soul, 'now eat, drink, &c.'" But it followeth, "Thou fool." Therefore let men beware of the right hand; for they are gone by and by, except God with his Spirit illuminate their hearts. I would such men would begin to say with David, "Lord, 'prove me.'" Spur me forward, send me somewhat, that I forget not thee. So it appeareth that a Christian man's life is a strife, a warfare; but we shall overcome all our enemies, yet not by our own power, but through God, who is able to defend us.

Truth it is that God tempteth: Almighty God tempteth to our advantage, to do us good withal; the devil tempteth to our everlasting destruction. God tempteth us for exercise sake, that we should not be slothful; therefore he proveth us diversly. We

We had need often to say this prayer, “ Lord, lead us not into temptation ;” when we rise up in a morning, or whatsoever we do, when we feel the devil busy about us, we should call upon God.

The diligence of the devil should make us watchful, when we consider with what earnest mind he applieth to his business; for he sleepeth not, he slumbereth not, he mindeth his own business, he is careful, and mindful of his matters. To what end is he so diligent, seeking and searching like a hunter? Even to take us at advantage. St Peter calleth him a roaring lion, whereby is expressed his power: for you know, the lion is the Prince of all other beasts. “ He goeth about ;” Here is his diligence: “ There is no power to be likened unto his power :” yet our hope is in God ; for, as strong as he is, our hope is in God, he cannot hurt or slay us without the permission of God; therefore let us resort unto God, and desire him, that he will enable us to fight against him.

Farther, his wiliness is expressed by this word “ serpent ;” he is of a swift nature, he hath such compasses, such fetches, that he knoweth all things in the world. Again, consider how long he hath been a practitioner; you must consider what Satan is, what experience he hath, so that we are not able to match with him. O how fervently ought we to cry unto God, considering what danger and peril we be in ; and not only for ourselves we ought to pray, but also for all others ; for we ought to love our neighbour as ourselves.

Seeing then that we have such an enemy, resist, for so it is needful: For I think that now in this hall, amongst this audience, there be many thousand devils †, which go about to let us from hearing of the word of God, to make hardness in our hearts, and stir up such like mischief within us. But what

N n n 2 remedy?

† This is according to an opinion which had been long before Latimer's time generally received, that the air was full of Demons and evil Spirits.

remedy? withstand, withstand his motions; and this must be done at the first. For, as strong as he is, when he is resisted at the first, he is the weakest; but if we suffer him to come into our hearts, then he cannot be driven out without great labour and travail. As for example, I see a fair woman, I like her very well, I wish in my heart to have her: Now withstand, this is a temptation. Shall I follow my affections? No, no; call to remembrance what the devil is; call God to remembrance and his laws; consider what he hath commanded thee: say to God, "Lord, lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil:" For I tell thee, when he is entered once, it will be hard to get him out again: therefore suffer him not too long, give him no mansion in thy heart, but strike him with the word of God, and he is gone; he will not abide. Another example;

There is a man that hath done me wrong, taken away my living, or hurt me of my good name: the devil stirreth me against him, to requite him, to do him another foul turn, to avenge myself upon him. Now when there riseth up bad motions in my heart, I must resist, I must strive, I must consider what God saith; "Let me have the vengeance: I will punish him for his evil doings."

In such wise we must fight with Satan; we must kill him with the sword of God, "withstand and resist:" Away then Satan, thou movest me to that which God forbiddeth; God will defend me: I will not speak ill of my neighbour; I will do him no harm. So you must fight with him, and farther remember what St Paul saith; "If thy enemy be hungry, let him have meat:" this is the shrewd turn that scripture alloweth us to do to our enemies; and so we shall "cast hot coals upon his head;" which is a metaphorical speech: That ye may understand it, take an example; This man hath done harm

harm unto thee, make him warm with thy benefits, bear patiently the injuries done unto thee by him ; and do for him in his necessities, then thou shalt heat him ; for he is in coldness of charity ; at the length he shall remember himself, and say, What a man am I ? this man hath ever been friendly, and good unto me, he hath born patiently all my wickedness, truly I am much bound unto him : I will leave off from my wrong doings, I will no more trouble him.

And so you see that this is the way to make our enemy good, to bring him to reformation. But there be some, that when they be hurt they will do a foul turn again : but this is not as God would have it. St Paul commandeth us to “ pour hot coals upon our enemies head ;” that is to say, if he hurt thee, do him good, make him amends with well-doing ; give him meat and drink, whereby is understood all things : when he hath need of counsel, help him ; or whatsoever he hath need of, let him have it. And this is the right way to reform our enemy, to amend him, and bring him to goodness : for so St Paul commandeth us, saying, “ Be not overcome of evil.” For when I am about to do my enemy a foul turn, then he hath gotten the victory over me, he hath made me as wicked as himself is. , But we ought to overcome evil with goodness, we should overcome our enemy with well-doing.

When I was in Cambridge, Master George Stafford read a Lecture, there I heard him; and in expounding the Epistle to the Romans, coming to that place where St Paul saith, that “ we shall overcome our enemy with well-doing, and so heap up hot coals upon his head ;” now in expounding of that place, he brought in an example, saying, that he knew in London a great rich Merchant, which Merchant had a very poor neighbour, yet for all his

his poverty, he loved him very well, and lent him money at his need, and let him to come to his table whensoever he would. It was even at that time when Doctor Collet was in trouble, and should have been burnt, if God had not turned the King's heart to the contrary: Now the rich man began to be a scripture man, he began to smell the Gospel; the poor man was a Papist still. It chanced on a time, when the rich man talked of the Gospel, sitting at his table, where he reproved Popery and such kind of things; the poor man being then present, took a great displeasure against the rich man; insomuch that he would come no more to his house, he would borrow no more money of him; as he was wont to do beforetimes; yea, and conceived such hatred and malice against him, that he went and accused him before the Bishops. Now the rich man, not knowing any such displeasure, offered many times to talk with him, and to set him at quiet; but it could not be, the poor man had such a stomach, that he would not vouchsafe to speak with him: yea, if he met the rich man in the street, he would go out of the way. One time it happened that he met him in so narrow a street that he could not avoid, but must needs come near him; yet for all that, this poor man had such a stomach against the rich man, I say, that he minded to go forward, and not to speak with him. The rich man perceiving that, catched him by the hand, and asked him, saying, Neighbour, what is come into your heart, to take such displeasure against me? what have I done against you? tell me, and I will be ready at all times to make you amends.

Finally, he spake so gently, so charitably, so lovingly, and friendly, that it wrought in the poor man's heart, that by and by he fell down upon his knees and asked him forgiveness. The rich man forgave him, and so took him again to his favour, and

and they loved as well as ever they did before. Many a one would have said, set him in the stocks, let him have the bread of affliction, and water of tribulation : but this man did not so. And here you see an example of the practise of God's word, in such sort that the poor man, bearing great hatred and malice against the rich man, was brought, through the lenity and meekness of the rich man, from his error and wickedness, to the knowledge of God's word. I wish you would consider this example well, and follow it.

“ Lead us not into temptation.” Certain it is, that customary sinners have but small temptations: for the devil letteth them alone, because they be fully his already, he hath them in bondage, they be his slaves. But when there is any good man abroad, that intendeth to leave sin and wickedness, and abhorreth the same, that man shall be tempted; the devil goeth about to use all means to destroy that man, and to stop his forwardness. Therefore all those which have such temptations, resort hither for aid and help, and withstand betimes; for I tell thee, if thou withstandest and fightest against him betimes; certainly thou shalt find him most weak; but if thou sufferest him to enter into thy heart, and hast a delight in his motions, then thou art undone, then he hath gotten the victory over thee. And here is to be noted, that the devil hath no farther power than God will allow him; the devil can go no farther than God permitteth him to do; which thing shall strengthen our faith, insomuch that we shall be sure to overcome him.

St Paul, that excellent instrument of God, faith, “ They that go about to get riches, they shall fall “ into many temptations :” in which words he teacheth us to beware. For when we go about to set our minds upon this world, upon riches, then the devil will have a fling at us. Therefore let us

not set our hearts upon the riches of this world, but rather let us labour for our living; and then let us use prayer, and we may be certain of our living. Though we have not riches, yet a man may live without great riches: "When we have meat, and drink, and cloathing," let us be content, let us not gape for riches; for I tell you it is a dangerous thing to have riches: and they that have riches, must make a great account for them: yea, and the most part of the rich men, use their riches so naughtily, and so wickedly, that they shall not be able to make an account for them. And so you may perceive, how the devil useth the good creatures of God, to our own destruction: For riches are good creatures of God, but you see daily how men abuse them, how they set their hearts upon them, forgetting God and their own salvation. Therefore, as I said before, let not this affection take place in your hearts, to be rich: Labour for thy living, and pray to God, then he will send thee things necessary; and though he send thee not great riches, yet thou must be content withal, for it is better to have a sufficient living, than to have great riches. Therefore Solomon, that wise King, desired God that He would send him neither too much, nor too little; not too much, least he should fall into proudness, and to despise God; nor too little, least he should fall to stealing, and so transgress the law of God.

"But deliver us from evil." This word evil, the writers take it for the devil; for the devil is the instrument of all ill; like as God is the fountain of all goodness, so the devil is the original root of all wickedness. Therefore when we say; "deliver us from evil," we mean, deliver us from the devil and all his crafts, subtleties, and inventions, wherewith he intendeth to hurt us. And we of our own selves know not what might let or stop us from everlasting life, therefore we desire him, that he will deliver us from

from all ill : that is to say, that he will send us nothing that might be a let or impediment unto us, or keep us from everlasting felicity.

As for example ; There be many which when they be sick, they desire of God to have their health, for they think if they might have their health they would do much good, they would live godly and uprightly. Now God sendeth them their health, but they by and by forget all their promises made unto God before, and fall unto all kind of wickedness, and horrible sins. So that it had been a thousand times better for them, to have been sick still, than to have their health. For when they were in sickness and affliction, they called upon God, they feared him ; but now they care not for him, they despise and mock him. Now therefore lest any such thing should happen unto us, we desire him " to " deliver us from evil ;" that is to say, to send us such things as may be a furtherance unto us, unto eternal felicity, and take away those things that might lead us from the same.

There be some, which think it a gay thing to avoid poverty, to be in wealth, and to live pleasantly : yet sometimes we see, that such an easy life, giveth us occasion to commit all wickednes, and so is an instrument of our damnation. Now therefore when we say this prayer, we require of God, that he will be our loving Father, and give us all such things which may be a furtherance to our salvation, and take away those things which may let us from the same.

Now you have heard the Lord's prayer, which is, as I told you, the abridgment of all other prayers, and it is the storehouse of God. For here we shall find all things necessary both for our souls and bodies. Therefore I desire you most heartily to resort hither to this storehouse of God; seek here what you lack ; and no doubt you shall find things necessary for

your wealth. In Matthew there be added these words, "For thine is the kingdom, the power and the glory, world without end." Amen. These words are added not without cause; for like as we say in the beginning, "Our Father," signifying that he will fulfil our requests, so at the end we conclude, saying, "Thine is the power, &c." signifying, that he is able to help us in our distres, and grant our requests. And though these be great things, yet we need not to despair, but consider that he is Lord over heaven and earth, that he is able to do for us, and that he will do so, being our Father and our Lord, and King over all things.

Therefore let us often resort hither, and call upon him with this prayer, in Christ's name; for he loveth Christ, and all those which are in Christ; for thus he faith, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I have pleasure." Seeing then that God hath pleasure in him, he hath pleasure in the prayer that he hath made; and so when we say this prayer in his name, with a faithful penitent heart, it is not possible but he will hear us, and grant our requests. And truly, it is the greatest comfort in the world to talk with God, and to call upon him, in this prayer, that Christ himself hath taught us; for it taketh away the bitterness of all afflictions. Through prayer we receive the holy Ghost, which strengtheneth and comforteth us at all times, in all trouble and peril.

"For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory." The kingdom of God is general throughout all the world; heaven and earth are under its dominion. As for other Kings, they are Kings indeed, but to godward they be but Deputies, but Officers; he only is the right King; unto him only must and shall all creatures in heaven and earth obey, and kneel before his Majesly. Therefore have this ever in your hearts, what trouble and calamities soever

soever shall fall upon you for God's word's sake: if you be put in prison, or lose your goods or lands, say always in your hearts, "Lord God, " thou only art Ruler and Governor," thou only canst and will help and deliver us from all trouble, when it pleaseth thee; for thou art the King whom all things obey. For, as I said before, all the other Kings reign by him, and through him, as scripture witnesseth; "Through me Kings rule." To say this prayer with a good faith and penitent heart, is "A sacrifice of thanksgiving." We were wont to have "The sacrifice of the mass," which was the most horrible blasphemy that could be devised, for it was against the dignity of Christ, and his passion; but this sacrifice of thanksgiving, every one may make, that calleth with a faithful heart upon God in the name of Christ.

Therefore let us at all times, without intermission, offer unto God the sacrifice of thanksgiving; that is to say, let us at all times call upon him, and glorify his name in all our livings; when we go to bed-ward let us call upon him; when we rise, let us do likewise. Also when we go to our meat and drink, let us not go unto it like swine and beasts, but let us remember God, and be thankful unto him for all his gifts. But above all things we must see that we have a penitent heart, else it is to no purpose; for it is written, "God will not be praised of a wicked man." Therefore let us repent from the bottom of our hearts, let us forsake all wickedness, so that we may say this prayer to the honour of God, and our own benefit. And, as I told you before, we may say this prayer whole or by parts, according as we shall see occasion. For when we see God's name blasphemed, we may say, "Our Father, hallowed be thy name;" when we see the devil rule, we may say, "Our Father, thy kingdom come;" when we see the world inclined to wickedness, we may say, "Our Father, thy will be done."

And

And when we lack necessary things, either for our bodies or souls, we may say, "Our Father, which art in heaven, give us this day our daily bread." And when I feel my sins to trouble and grieve me, then I may say, "Our Father, which art in heaven, forgive us our trespasses."

Finally, when we would be preserved from all temptations, that they shall not have the victory over us, nor that the devil shall not devour us, we may say, "Our Father, which art in heaven, lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever, world without end." *Amen.*

The End of the FIRST VOLUME.













