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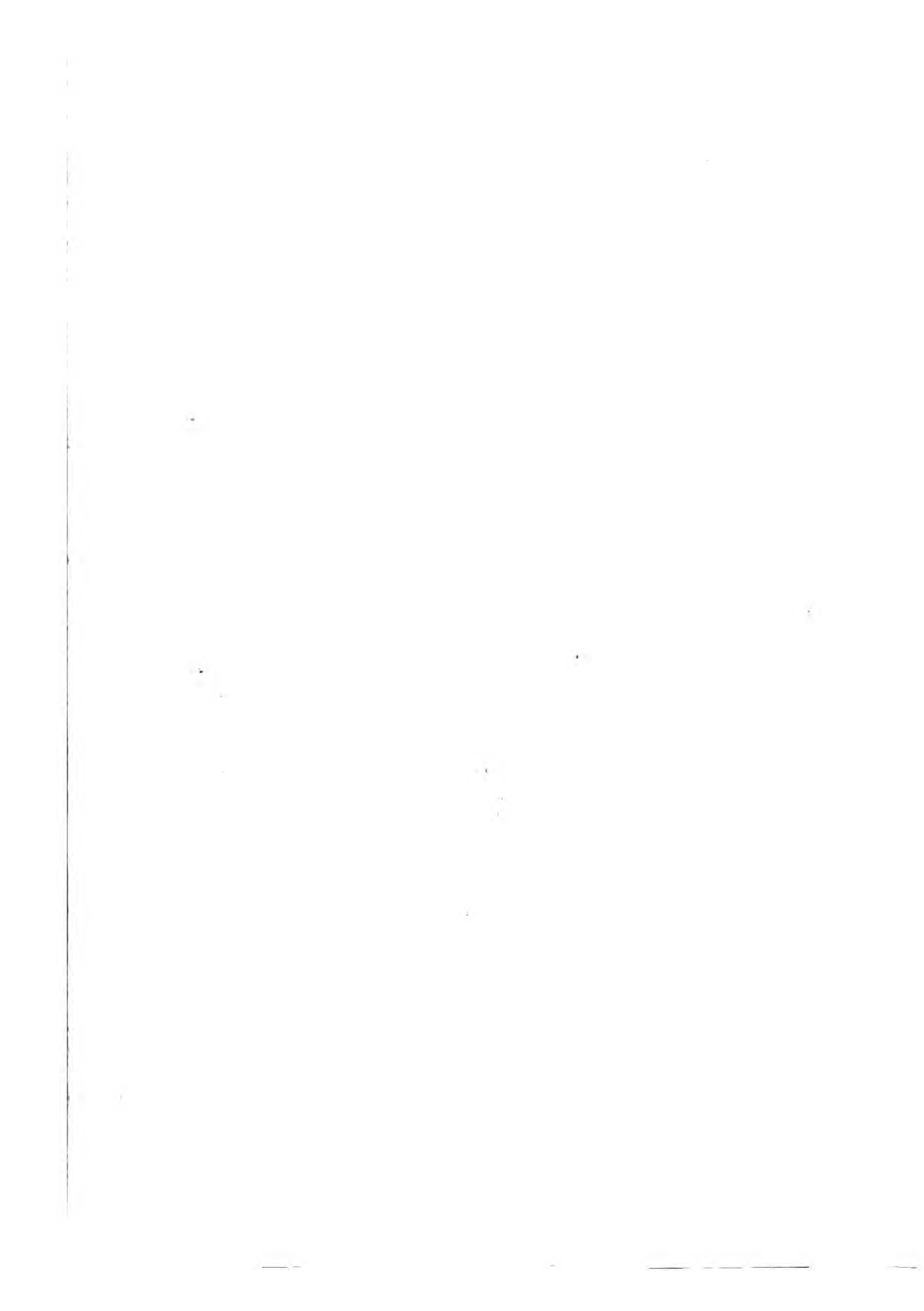


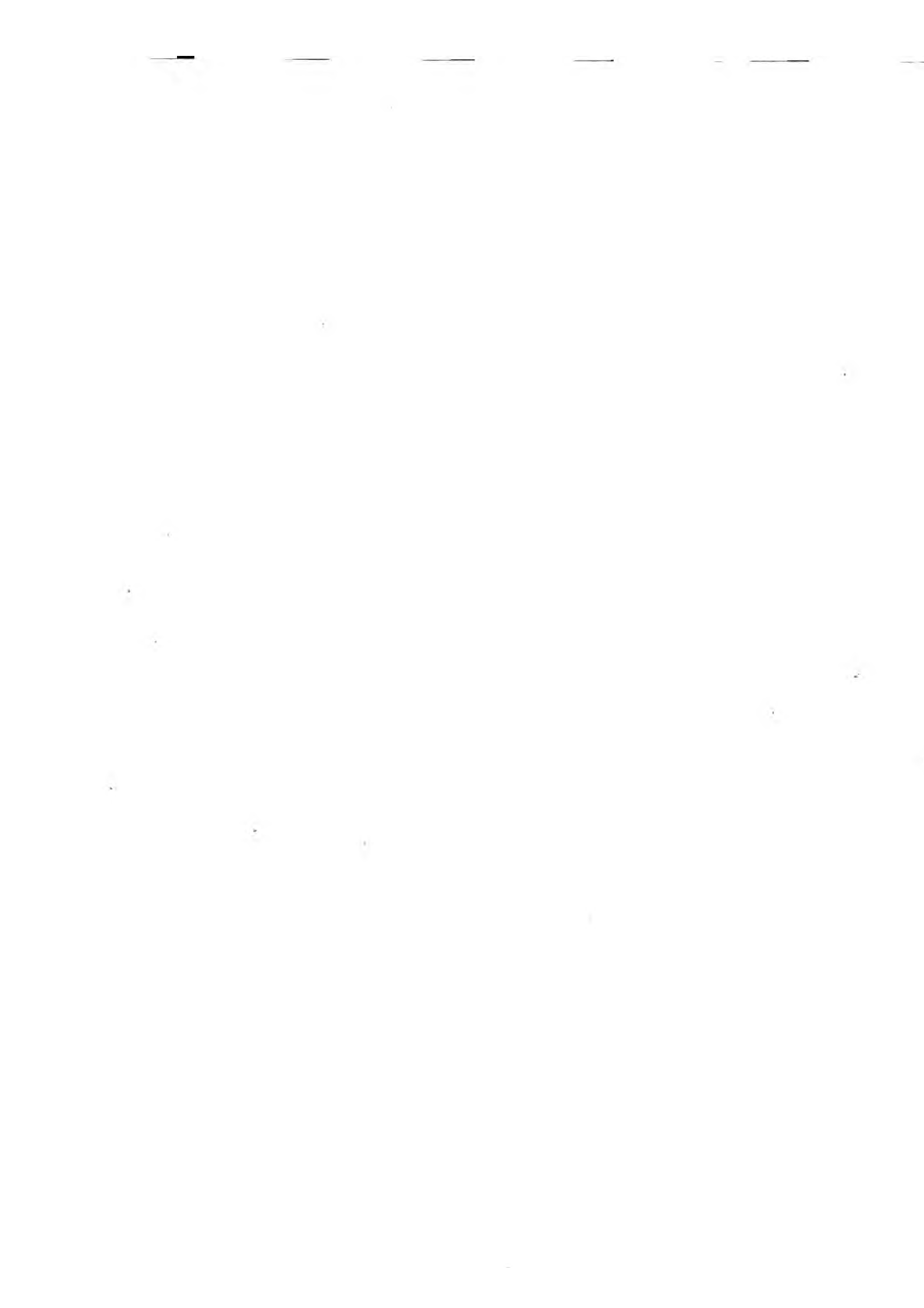
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1569











English Reprints.

MASTER HUGH LATIMER,
Ex-Bishop of Worcester.

Sermon
on
THE PLOUGHERS.
18 January, 1549.

CAREFULLY EDITED BY
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CONTENTS.

CHRONICLE of the Life, Works, and Times of Latimer,	3
INTRODUCTION,	9
BIBLIOGRAPHY,	14
<i>THE PLOUGHERS</i>	
ARGUMENT AND SAYINGS. Who be the ploughers? .	17
‘I never likened our blessed Lady to a faffron bag; in case I had used this similitude it had not been to be reproved,’	18
‘Whom I call a prelate,’	19
‘The preaching of the Word of God unto the people is called meat; not strawberries, that come but once a year and tarry not long,’	20
[This saying gave rise to the epithet ‘strawberry- preachers,’ men who held their livings simply by preaching once a year.]	
The iniquity of London,	21
‘Burgeffes, nay butterflies,’	22
‘Right prelating is bufy labouring and not lording,’	24
Unpreaching prelates,	24
Appeal to England to appoint laymen to fecular offices,	27
‘Let the priest preache, and the noblemen handle the temporal matters,	29
‘Mofes was a marvellous man, a good man. Mofes was a wonderful fellow and did his duty being a married man,’	29
The moft diligent prelate and preacher in all England, Chrift the only and a continual facrifice,	33
‘Our redemption, it is done already, it cannot be better. Chrift has done that thing fo well, that it cannot be amended,’	35
The bakehouse bowl of Waltham Abbey,	35
Pope Alexander’s holy water,	35
The blanchers [temporizing excufers] greatly impede the reformation of abufes,	36
The brazen ferpent, when it had become an idol, was beaten to powder by Hezekiah,	37
The ‘strawberry-preachers’ appoint deputies like unto themselves,	37
‘If you will not learn of God nor of good men, for fhame learn of the Devil,	38
NOTES,	40



CHRONICLE
 of
 some of the principal events
 in the
LIFE, WORKS, and TIMES
 of
Master HUGH LATIMER,
 Preacher, sometime Bishop of Worcester, and a Protestant Martyr.

* Probable or approximate dates.

1485. Aug. 22. Henry VII became King.

* 1497.

HUGH LATIMER is born at Thurcaston, Leicestershire: his father was also named Hugh Latimer. "My father was a Yoman, and had no landes of his owne, onlye he had a farme of iii. or iiii pound by yere at the vttermost, and here vpon he tilled so much as kepte halfe a dosen me[n]. He had walke for a hundred shepe, and my mother mylked xxx. kyne. He was able and did find the king a harnessse, with hym selfe, and hys horsse, while he came to ye place, that he should receyue the kynges wages. I can remembre, yat I buckled hys harnes, when he went vnto Black heeath felde. He kept me to schole, or elles I had not bene able to haue preached before the kinges maiestie nowe. He maryed my systers with v pounce or xx nobles a pece, so that he broughte them vp in godlines, and feare of God."

1497. The Cornish insurrection crushed at the battle of Blackheath, June 22.

"He kept hospitalitie for his pore neighbours. And sum almshouse he gave to the poore, and all thys did he of the sayd farme."—*Latimer First Sermon before Ed. VI., 8th March 1549.*

"In my tyme, my poore father, was as diligent to teach me to shote, as to learne anye other thyng, and so I thinke other menne dyd theyr children. He taught me how to drawe, how to laye my bodye in my bowe, and not to drawe wyth strength of armes as other nacions do, but with strength of the bodye. I had bowes boughte me accordyng to my age and strength as I encreased in them, so my bowes were made bigger, and bigger, for men shal neuer shot well, excepte they be broughte vp in it. It is a goodly art, a holsome kind of exercise, and much commended in phisike."—*Sixth Sermon before Ed. VI., 12th April 1549.*

Childhood.

John Foxe, a contemporary, gives this account of Latimer's childhood:—"This worthy and olde practised souldior of Christ, master Hugh Latimer, who was the sonne of one Hugh Latimer, of Thirkesson, in the countye of Leycester, a husbandman, of a good and welthe estimation, where also he was borne and broughte vp, vntyl he was of the age of four or thereabout. At which tyme his parents, (hauing hym as then left for theyr only sonne, with 6 other daughters) seyng his ready, prompt, and sharp wyt, purposed to trayne hym vp in erudition and knowledge of good literature, wherein he so profited in hys youth, at the common schooles of his owne countrey, that at the age of fourteene yeares, he was sente to the universitye of Cambridge."—*Actes and Monumentes, p. 1297. Ed. 1563.*

æt 4.

æt 14

CHRONICLE.

*1505. æt 14. Goes to Cambridge. Is educated at Clare Hall. *Bp. Ridley, Cal. State Papers, 1547. Ed by R. Lemon, 1856.*

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

1509. Autumn, æt 18. Latimer is elected Fellow of his college, while yet an undergraduate.

1510. Jan. æt 18. Graduates B.A. *University Register.*

1514. July. æt 22. Graduates M.A. *University Register.*

1510. æt 24. Is the Professor of Greek at the University. Approves of Erasmus' Latin translation of the Greek text in his "New Testament." *Eras. Epist. lxxxvii App See Schohm's "Oxford Reformers," p. 324*

Is ordained a priest at Lincoln. "I never preached in Lincolnshire afore, nor came here afore, saue once when I went to take orders at Lincoln, which was a good while agoe"—*Sermon at Stamford, 9th Oct 1550.*

Mr. Ralph Morice, secretary to Archbishop Cranmer, in a paper now in the British Museum, Harl MS., No 422, Art 12, gives the following sketch of Latimer's early career at Cambridge:—

"When as it pleased Almighty God to call Mr. Hugh Latimer unto the knowledge of the truth of God's holy word by the godly lecture of divinity, read by Mr George Stafford in the university school at Cambridge, and of a Saul had, as it were, made him a very Paul; for otherwise, all the days of his life he had bestowed his time in the labyrinth study of the school-doctors, as in Dunce [Duns Scotus], Dorbell [Nicholas Dorbell], Tho. of Aquine [Thomas Aquinas], Hugo de Victore, with such like; in-somuch that, being mightily affected that way, he of purpose (perceiving the youth of the university inclined to the reading of the scriptures, leaving off those tedious authours and kinds of study being a bachelor of divinity, and for his gravity and years preferred to the keeping of the University Cross, which no man had to do withal but such an one as in sanctimony of life excelled other,) came into the Sophany school among the youth, there gathered together of daily custom to keep their sophanis and disputations; and there most eloquently made to them an oration, dissuading them from this new-fangled kind of study of the scriptures, and vehemently persuaded them to the study of the school-authors, which he did, not long before that he was so mercifully called to the contrary."—*Modernized from the Original by Strype. Reprinted in Rev. G. E. Corrie's Ed. of Latimer's Works.*

*1521 or *1522.
at 30.

Graduates B.D.

"Maister Bynney (or rather Saint Bilney that suffred death for Gods worde sake) the same Bilney was the instrument whereby God called me to knowledge, for I may thanke him, next to God, for that knowledge that I haue in the word of God. For I was as obstinate a Papist as any was in England, in so much that when I should be made Bachelor of Diuinitie, my whole Oration went agaynst Philip Melancthon, and agaynst his opinions. Bilney heard me at that tyme, and perceiued that I was zealous without knowledge, and hee came to me afterward in my study, and desired me for Gods sake to heare his confession, I did so. And to say the trueth, by his confession I learned more then before in many yeares. So from that time forward I began to smell the word of God, and forsooke the Schoole Doctours and such fooleries."

At Cambridge.	This personal declaration fixes Latimer's birth not earlier than 1491.	<p>—<i>First Sermon upon the Lordes Prayer at Grimsthorpe, 1552.</i> "And this the chiefest cause wherfore Christ would fulfill the law. But all the Papistes thinke them selues to be saued by the law: and I my selfe haue bene of that daungerous, perilous, and damnable opinion, till I was xxx. yeares of age: so long I had walked in darckense and in the shadow of death."—<i>Sermon on Twelfth day, at Grimsthorpe, 1553.</i></p>
	1529. Christmas.	<p>After Maister Latimer had thus trauailed in preachyng and teachyng in the Uniuersitie of Cambridge, about the space of three yeares, at length he was called vp to the Cardinall for heresie, by the procurement of certain of the sayd Uniuersitie, where he was content to subscribe and graunt to such Articles, as then they propounded vnto him &c.—<i>Fox Actes, p. 1736. Ed. 1583.</i> Two <i>Sermons on the Cards</i> the earliest extant, preserved in substance in <i>Fox Actes, p. 1731. Ed. 1583.</i></p>
A royal chaplain, at court.	1530. Mar. 12. (Sunday) æt. 39.	<p>"Immediately after this, I was cauled to preach before the kyng, which was my first Sermon that I made before his maiestie, and it was done at Windsore: where his maiestie after ye sermon was done, did most familiarly taulke with me in the gallery."—<i>First sermon upon the Lordes prayer.</i> Latimer, then and there, obtained a pardon for a woman in Cambridge prison. He received £5 for his services.—<i>Nicolas, Privy Purse Expenses.</i> By the meanes of D[octo]r Buttes the kynges Phisition, a singuler good man, and a special fauorer of good procedyngs, he was in the number of them which laboured in the cause of the kyngs supremacie. Then went he to the Court, where he remayned a certayne tyme in the sayd D. Buttes chamber, preaching then in London very often.—<i>Fox Actes, p. 1736. Ed. 1583.</i></p>
	Dec 1	<p>Writes his famous letter 'for restoring agayne the free liberty of reading the holy Scriptures,' to Henry VIII.</p>
Rector of West Kington, in Wilshire.	1531 æt. 40.	<p>At the suit of Cromwell and Doctor Butts, the king makes him rector of West Kington, Wilts; then in the diocese of Salisbury, which Latimer 'weary of the Court' gladly accepts.</p>
	Aug. 19.	<p>Bilney is burnt, at the Lollard's pit, without the Bishop's gate, Norwich.</p>
	1532. Jan. 29.	<p>Latimer gives great offence by his preaching. Is summoned to appear before Stokesiey, Bp. of London, at St. Pauls on this day.</p>
	Mar. 11	<p>Is before Convocation. Is excommunicated and imprisoned: but, at the special request of the king, and his own submission, is absolved, and allowed to return home.</p>
	Aug. 1533 Mar. 30.	<p>Warham Archbishop of Canterbury dies. Cranmer consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. He befriends Latimer.</p>
Ep. of Worcester.	1534. Feb. 18, 25. Mar. 4, 11, 18, 25. Apr. 1.	<p>Latimer preaches every Wednesday in Lent before Henry VIII. These sermons are not preserved.</p>
	1535.	<p>Cardinal Jerome de Ghinuccii, an Italian, having been deprived, by Act of Parliament, of his bishopric of Worcester, for being a non-resident; Latimer was elected, about the middle of August, bishop in his stead; was consecrated by Cranmer in September, and received the temporalities of his see from the king on October 5.—<i>Green, History of Worcester, p. 200. Ed. 1796.</i></p>
	Aug. Sept. æt. 44. Oct. 5.	

1535. Oct. 4. The printing, abroad, of the first English Bible, by Coverdale, finished. It was imported into England in the next year.
1536. June 9. Two *Sermons before Convocation*, in Latin, afterwards translated into English.
1537. July. Latimer is engaged with other prelates on the Bishops' book, 'The Institution of a Christian man.'
- Aug. At the request of Cranmer, the king licences Matthew's Bible—two-thirds of which consists of Tyndale's version, the other third being based on Coverdale's—printed abroad by Grafton, to be 'sold and read by every person,' &c.
1538. Mar. 10. Latimer preaches at Paul's Cross.
Dec. 24. He sends Cromwell an account of his receipts and expenses, since he had been a Bishop. *See note 1.*
1539. June.æt.48. 31. Hen VIII. c 14 'An Acte abolishing diversity in opynions'!! commonly called 'The Act of the Six Articles'; and in that day, by the Protestants 'The whip with the six strings'; passed. The articles were 1. in favour of Transubstantiation. 2. against the Communion in both kinds 3. against the mariage of priests 4. in favour of vows of chastity, which, in the laity, were limited to persons of 21 years and upwards. 5. in favour of private masses. 6. in favour of auricular confession.
- July 1. Latimer cannot accept this Act. He resigns his bishoprick. When before the Council in 1546 he said he was deceived into this resignation. "For he was ones deceyued that way, when he left his Bishoprich, being borne in hande by the Lord Crumwel, that it was His Majestes pleasure he should resign it, which His Majeste aftredeneyed, and pitied his condition."—*State Papers I. 849.*
- "When I was in trouble [evidently about the Six Articles] it was obiected an[d] said vnto me, yat I was singular, that no manne thought as I thought, that I loued a syngularyte in all that I dyd, and that I took a way, contrary to the kynge, and the whole parliamente, and that I was trauayled with them, that had better wyttes then I, that I was contrari to them al. Marye syr thys was a sore thunderbolte I thought it an yrksome thinge to be alone, and to haue no fellowe. . . .—*Third Sermon before Ed. VI.*
- For a litle after he had renounced his bishoprick, first he was almost slayne, but sore brused with the fall off a tree. Then comming vp to London for remedye, he was molested and troubled of the bishops, wherby he was again in nollittle daunger.—*Foxe, Acts, &c., p. 1737. Ed. 1583.*
- Is placed in custody of Doctor Sampson, Bishop of Chichester. Is in daily expectation of death. "When I was wyth the byshop of Chechester in ward (I was not so wyth him but my frendes might come to me, and talke with me) I was desirous to heare of execution done (as ther was cueri weke, some in one place of the citey or other) for there was thre weekes sessions at newgate, and fourthnyghte Sessions at the Marshialshy, and so forth."
- "I was desirous I saie to heare of execution, bycause I loked that my part shoulde haue bene in, I loked euery daye to be called to it my selfe."—*Fourth sermon before Ed. VI.*

Bishop of Worcester.

A prisoner in Dr. Sampson's house.

1540. Apr. Dr. Sampson is himself committed to the Tower, for a while. Sadleyr writes from the king to Cromwell, then Earl of Essex:—"Touching Latymer, His Majestee wold haue him yet to remayne in the Bisshoppes house, till he may speke with you, and devise what is best to do with him: sayeng, that he was sure ye wolde not yet dissolve the Busshoppes house."—*State Papers*, I. 627
- In Tower. Silenced. A prisoner. }
 July 28. Cromwell is beheaded on Tower Hill.
 [A gap of about six years now occurs in our knowledge of Latimer. Stowe says 'he was commanded to silence.']
1546. May 13. Latimer is examined before the Council at Greenwich, about Crome's book, and is 'cast into the Tower, and there to looke dayly for death' [*Bernher* see p. 9.]: where he remains until the kings death.
1547. Jan. 29. Edward VI. ascends the throne.
 Latimer is released from the Tower, and soon licensed to preach.
1548. Jan. 1. In the 1 of January doctor Latimer preached at
 act. 57. Paules crosse, which was the first sermon by him preached in almost eight yeeres before, for at the making of the sixe articles, he being bishop of Worcester would not consent vnto them, and therfore was commanded to silence, and gaue vp his bishoprike.—*John Stow. The Annales of England*, p. 1002. Ed. 1603.
- Jan. 8. In the journals of the House of Commons (I. 6.) under this date is the following:—"A note, to require my Lord's Grace, that Mr *Latimer* shall be restored to the Bishoprick of *Worcester*." Latimer declined the preferred preferment.
- Jan. 8. He [Latimer] also preached at Paules crosse on the 8 of January; where he affirmed, that whatsoever the cleargie commanded, ought to be obeyed, but he also declared that the cleargie are such as sit in *Moyes* chaire, and breake not their masters commission: adding nothing thereto, nor taking any thing there from: and such a cleargie must be obeied of all men, both high and lowe. He also preached at Paules on the 15. and on the 29 of January.—*John Stow, idem*.
- Jan 15 & 29. Mar. 7. The 7 of March, being Wednesday, was a pulpit set vp in the kings priuie garden at Westminster, and therein doctor *Latimer* preached before the king, where he mought be heard of more then foure times so manie people as could haue stood in the Kings chappell: and this was the first sermon preached there.—*John Stow, idem*.
- Mar. 25. (Palm Sunday) Latimer preaches again in the same place, and receives the usual remuneration of twenty shillings. This sermon has not been preserved.
1549. Jan. act. 58. He preaches, at St. Pauls, three Sermons on *The Plough*, not now extant.
- Jan. 18. He preaches, at the same place, the Sermon on *The Ploughers*, in continuation.
 Preaches, at Whitehall, the 'famous fryday sermons in Lente' before Edward VI., then eleven years of age.
- Mar. 8. Friday) *First Sermon before Ed. VI.*
 15. Friday) *Second Sermon before Ed. VI.*
 20. (Wednesday) Lord Seymour, of Sudeley, Lord Admiral, beheaded on Tower Hill.
1549. Mar. 22. (Friday) *Third Sermon before Ed. VI.*
- Living at Lambeth Palace with Cranmer: is chiefly occupied with study and preaching.

- Living at Lambeth Palace.
1549. Mar. 28. (Thursday) One notable result of the three first sermons. Latimer paid to the Privy Council £373, being defalcations restored by certain of the king's officers, brought by them to Latimer, and returned by him to the State, on condition of his being allowed to conceal their names. The Council gave Latimer £50 of this amount 'by way of the King's reward . . . in respect of his attendance at Court this Lent.'—*Privy Council Reg: See Nichols, Literary Remains of Ed. VI. Roxburghe Club. 1857.*
- Apr. 5, 12, 19. 29. (Friday) *Fourth Sermon before Ed. VI.*
1550. Lent. æt. 59. (Fridays) *Fifth, Sixth & Seventh Sermons before Ed. VI. Sermon on Covetousness.* Latimer's last sermon before Edw. VI., and which he called his *Ultimum valedictio*.
- At Grimsthorpe.
- Nov. 9. (23 Sunday after Trinity) *Sermon at Stamford.*
1552. Autumn? æt. 61. Seven *Sermons on the Lord's Prayer* preached in the Hall at Grimsthorpe Castle, Lincolnshire, before Lady Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk. These sermons have been preserved to us by Augustine Bernher.
- Oct 28. A series of *Sermons preached . . . in Lincolnshyre*
1553. Feb. 21. æt. 62. (21 in all) on texts out of the lessons for the day. These sermons have also been preserved to us by Bernher.
- Again in the Tower.
1553. July 6. **Mary succeeds to the throne.**
- "Not long after Queen Mary was proclaimed, a pur-suiant was sent downe into the countrey for to call him [Latimer] vp."—*See Bernher's Ded. 2 Oct. 1562.*
- "Thus Mayster Latimer being sent for, and coming vp to London through Smithfield (where merely he sayd that Smithfelde had long groaned for him) was brought before the Counsell, where he pacientlye bearing all the mockes and tauntes geuen him by the scorneful Papistes, was cast agayne into the Tower."—*Foxe, Actes, &c., p. 1740. Ed. 1583.*
- Sept. 13.
- Martyrdom at Oxford.
1554. Apr. æt. 63. Cranmer Ridley and Latimer are taken to Oxford, and imprison in the Bocardo, or common jaol there.
- Apr., May, June. Open disputations at Oxford.
1555. Sept. 28. æt. 64. The Bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Bristol are commissioned by Cardinal Pole to try them.
30. Oct. 1. Latimer is before the Commission, and is condemned.
1555. Oct. 16. æt. 64. Ridley and Latimer are burnt at the stake at Oxford, "upon the Northe syde of the Town, in the Dytych over agaynst Bailly [Balliol] College. . . Then brought they a fagot kindled with fire. and layd the same downe at D. Ridleys feete. To whom Maister Latymer spake in this maner. Be of good comfort maister Ridley, and play the man: we shall this day light such a candle by Gods grace in England, as (I trust) shall neuer be put out." . . .
- . . . Maister Latymer crying as vehemently on the other side: Oh Father of Heauen, receyue my soule: who receyued the flame as it were embrasing of it. After, as he had stroked hys face with hys hands, and (as it were) bathed them a little in the fire he soone died (as it appeared) with very litle payne or none."—*Foxe, Actes, &c., p. 1770. Ed. 1583.*

Amazing to relate. Of this magnificent Man, this godly Divine, this golden-mouthed Preacher, this model Hierarch, this stedfast Martyr; there exists not in the English or any other language—even after the lapse of three entire centuries, and despite a large mass of materials within easy reach—any adequate history, any exact account, any graphic story.

SERMON
ON
THE PLOUGHERS.

INTRODUCTION.



UGUSTINE BERNHER, Latimer's Swiss servant and faithful friend—writing from Southam, on the 2 October 1562, his dedication to the Duchesse of Suffolk, of his collection of Latimer's 'Sermons on the Lord's Prayer'—gives the following sketch of his 'most dear master.'

"How manifold wayes was he troubled, toft, and turmoyled from post to piller, by the popish bishops? whose handes he could not haue escaped, if God had not moued the kinges maiesties hart (that then was) [Henry VIII] to assist him: by whose absolute power diuerse times he was deliuered from the cruell Lyons. And although it did please God in proceffe of time to suffer the kinges maiestie to be deluded and circumvented by the subtil perfwasions of those popish byshops, to establish by lawe fyxe vngodly articles: yet thys faythfull seruante of Christ would rather put hys owne lyfe in daunger, then forsake or depart from that, the which afore most faithfully he had taught out of Gods worde. Wherefore he was contented rather to be cast into the Tower, and there to looke dayly for death, then to be found a wauering reede, or to deceaue his Prince. For they (sayd he) that do allow any thing disagreeing from Gods woord, in respect to

fulfill the appetites of princes, are betrayers and murthers of their princes, because they prouoke the wrath of God to destroy such princes: and these flatterers become guilty of the blood of their princes, and are the chiefe causes of their destructions. Wherefore this faythfull man of God, knowing his prince to be deluded by the false priestes, and being assured the things that were allowed, to be contrary to Gods word, was ready thus to aduenture his life: at the whiche time God mercifully deliuered him to the great comfort of all godly hartes, and singular commodie of his church."

"Now when he was thus deliuered, did he geue himselfe vp to the pleasures of the world: to delicatenes or idlenes? No assuredly, but euen then most of all he began to set forth his plough, and to till the ground of the faythfull messenger of God, being afraid of no man, telling all degrees their duties faythfully and truly, without respect of persons, or any kinde of flattery. In the which his painfull trauayles, he continued all kyng Edwardes tyme, preaching for the most part euery Sunday two Sermons, to the great shame, confusion, and damnation of a great number of our fatbellied vnpreachyng prelates. For hee beyng a fore brused man, and aboue three score and seuen yeares of age, tooke notwithstanding all these paynes in preaching, and also euery morning, ordinarily, winter and summer about two of the clocke in the morning, he was at his booke most diligently. And besides this, how carefull he was for the preferuation of the Church of God, and for the good successe of the Gospell, they can beare record, which at that time were in authoritie, whom continually by his letters, he admonished of their duties, and assisted with his godly counsell."

This is evidently the testimony of an Eye-witness; of one who, from his position, would have had every opportunity of knowing the exact truth as to Latimer's character; and of one, moreover, writing within fourteen years of Latimer's resumption of public life, after his release from the Tower on the accession of Ed-

ward VI. We may therefore accept it as a true picture; and as such, it must suffice here for general impressions.

Not a tithe of Latimer's sermons have come down to posterity. Except when his mouth was closed by authority, he was constantly preaching. While a Roman Catholic and the Cross-bearer of the University of Cambridge, he declaimed against the new teaching: and from the time of his conversion, he used the pulpit as no other man had done before in this country. He was the greatest preacher in all England: and even in that age of Reformation, when preaching again became a power in the earth, there were but very few who surpassed him as an Oral Teacher. Constantly, on every suitable occasion, Latimer preached. What a body of anecdote, sarcasm, homely wit, simple enunciation of great Truths, and, it must also be added—for his emancipation from his earlier beliefs was not in all points complete—of great Falsehoods likewise; his entire sermons would have made!

Those sermons which have come down to us, are but dislocated skeletons of Latimer's impetuous and eloquent discourses. To Thomas Some—who calls himself the 'humble and faithful orator' of the Dukes of Suffolk—and to Augustine Bernher, we are indebted for nine-tenths of the existing literary remains of Latimer: for which good work, these men should ever be held in grateful remembrance. Thomas Some in his dedication—also to the Dukes of Suffolk, who was Latimer's great patroness—of his collection of "the famous fryday sermons of Mayster Hugh Latimer, which he preached in Lente last past, before our most noble king Edward the syxt, at the new Palaice of Westminster, the third year of his reigne", thus apologizes for the imperfection and incompleteness of his report, or as he himself puts it, of his 'rude laboure of another mans swet':—

"And let no man be greued though it be not so

exactlye done as he did speake it, for in very dede I am not able so to do, to write word for word as he dyd speake, yat passeth my capacitye though I had. xx. mens wittes, and no fewer handes to write with all As it is vnpossible that a litel ryuer should receiue ye recourse of ye mayne sea with in his brymmes, so yat no water should ouerwhelme the sides thereof, In lyke manner is it more unlyke my symple witte to comprehend absolutely the abundante eloquence and learnyng which floweth most abundantly out of godly Latymers mouth."

It was winter tide. Friday, 18 January 1549, probably in the afternoon. The 'Paul's Crosse sermons,' which Latimer had preached in the open air from the Crosse itself twelvemonths ago, and again in the opening weeks of this year, were on this day transferred to the shelter and cover of the adjoining 'shrouds'²

There the congregation await the arrival of the great Preacher: for the most part standing, as was then the custom in Divine worship. That crowd represents England in its then transition state.

As they assemble and wait, their thoughts may have wandered backward to the commencement of the present series of sermons. At the outset, they had been told, that the Preacher purposed to declare unto them two things; God's seed, and God's sowers. He had shown them already—that the seed to be sown in God's plough land, was God's word, to be sown in the faithful congregation. (How he had done this we know not, the sermons being unhappily lost.) It needed not for him to tell them who should be the sowers. Many probably were there, who had heard, in that place, his vigorous onslaughts on the clergy, eleven years back; when—he himself being Bishop of Worcester—he called them all, strong thieves; and then added, that there was not enough hemp grown in the kingdom to hang all the thieves in England. What would he now say of the sowers?

The Preacher—coming from Lambeth Palace, where he resides with the Primate—enters the pulpit. All eyes gaze upon him. What a famous man he is! What a name he is in England! What had that man seen! What had he said! What had he done! Somewhat may be gathered from the foregoing Chronicle. How much, very much more is there unrecorded! What a fight had he waged for eight and twenty years against all forms of opposition, craft, and malignity! Through how many examinations and trials had he passed! How often had he been in prison! How long a time was he in daily expectation of immediate death by violence and injustice, it may have been, of death by torture! Preaching whenever permitted, and standing there, then, ready to preach, under the unalterable conviction “that the preaching of the Gospell would cost him his lyfe to the which thyng he did most cherefully arme and prepare him selfe.”* Yet there he stands, ‘fore bruised’ indeed, older far in appearance than in age; yet there he stands, uncrippled and alive.

What a merry wit he has! What a kind and loving heart! How his daily fighting with craft has made him a subtle spirit! What skill he has in fence and parry! How he relishes the telling of a good story! Dauntless, incorruptible, despising wealth, except as the instrument of charity, an enthusiastic Social Reformer as well as a godly Teacher, a lover of the People; Hugh Latimer stands there and expounds unto them, who be ‘The Ploughers’.

* Bernher. Dedicacion 2 Oct. 1561

The Ploughers BIBLIOGRAPHY.

* Editions not seen.

(a) *Issues in the Author's life time.*

1. 1549. London.
1 vol. 12mo. *Editio princeps*: see title on opposite page. This sermon had originally no short title. In the Collection of 1562 it is styled the "fourth sermon vpon the plough." Successive editors have rung all the changes on this; the variations are noted below. The true title—if a title has any relation to the contents of a work—is "The Ploughers," who Latimer tells us, see p. 17, are the subject of his Sermon.
- There may have been other early editions without dates, which, Herbert says, "I take to have been a general rule, when books took a run." —AMES *Typ. Ant.* iv., p. 57, note. Ed. 1819.

(b) *Issues since the Author's death.*

- I. *As a separate publication.*
17. 1 Feb. 1868. London.
1 vol. 8vo. *English Reprints*: see title at page 1.
- II. *With other works.*
2. *1562. London.
1 vol. 4to. 27 Sermons Preached by Maister Hugh Latimer. 1 Hys sermon Ad clerum 2 Hys fourth sermon vpon the plough &c. B.L. Printed by JOHN DAY. See AMES *Typ. Ant.* iv. 94. Ed. 1819.
3. 1571. London.
1 vol. 4to. Frvtefull sermons preached by the right reuerend father, and constant Martyr of Iesus Christ. M. Hugh Latimer &c. B.L. Printed by JOHN DAY. "The Plough" occupies fol. 13-22.
4. 1575. London.
1 vol. 4to. The same title as No 3. "The Plough" occupies fol. 13-22.
5. 1578. London.
1 vol. 4to. The same title as No 3. "The Plough" occupies fol. 17-25; pagination erratic.
6. 1584. London.
1 vol. 4to. The same title as No 3. "The Plough" occupies fol. 17-25; pagination erratic.
7. 1596. London.
1 vol. 4to. The same title as No 3. Reprinted by VALENTINE SIMS. "The Plough" occupies fol. 16-25; pagination erratic.
8. 1635. London.
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9. 1758. London.
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12. 1824. London.
2 vols. 8vo. The Sermons of Hugh Latimer &c. Ed. by JOHN WATKINS, LL.D. "Sermon on the Plough" occupies i. 55-73.
13. 1830. London.
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14. 1845. Cambridge.
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15. 1857. New York.
2 vols. 8vo. History and Repository of pulpit eloquence, by Rev. H. C. FISH. "Sermon on the Plow" occupies pp. i. 127-144.
13. 1858. London.
1 vol. 8vo. The great sermons of the great preachers. "Sermon of the Plow" occupies pp. 124-137.
- III. *Abridgements, Extracts &c.*
11. 1808. London.
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A nota-
ble Sermon of ye re-
uerende father Maister
Hughe Latimer, whi-
che he preached in ye
Shrouds at pau
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London, on
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of Januarpe.

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[The equivalent passages in the authorized English version, of
the Latin quotations of Scripture, are given in the footnotes.]

The iii. Sermon of Maister Latimer.



*Vecumque scripta sunt ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.**

All thinges which are written are written for our erudition and knowledge. All thinges that are written in Goddes boke, in the Bible boke, in the boke of the holy scripture, are wrytten to be oure doctrine.

I told you in my first sermon honorable audience, that I purposed to declare vnto you. ii. thinges. The one what fede shuld be fowen in Gods field, in Goddes plough land. And the other who should be the sowers. That is to sai, what doctrin is to be taught in Christes church and congregacion, and what men shoulde be the teachers and preachers of it. The firste part I haue told you in the thre sermons, past in which I haue assaied to sette furth my plough, to proue what I coulde do. And now I shal tel you who be the plowers, for Gods worde is a feede to be fowen in Goddes field, that is the faithful congregacion, and the preacher is the sower. And it is in the gospel. *Exiuit qui seminat feminare semen suum.†* He that soweth, the husbandman, the ploughman went furth to sowe his feede, so that a preacher is resembled to a ploughman, as it is in an other place. *Nemo admota arato manu, et a tergo respiciens aptus est regno Dei.‡* No man yat putteth his hand to the plough and loketh backe is apte for the kingdom of god. That is to say, let no preacher be negligente in doinge his office. Al be it this is one of the places yat hath ben racked,

* Whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning.—Rom. xv. 4.

† A sower went out to sow his seed.—Luke vii

‡ No man, having put his hand to his plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.—Luke ix. 62.

as I tolde you of rackynge scriptures. And I haue ben one of them my selfe yat hath racked it, I crye God mercie for it, and haue bene one of them that haue beleued and haue expounded it, agaynste religious persons that would forsake theyr ordre which they had professed, and woulde go out of their cloyster, whereas in deede it toucheth not monkerie, nor maketh any thyng at all for any such matter. But it is directlie spoken of diligente preachynge of the worde of God. For preachynge of the Gospel is one of Goddes plough workes, and the preacher is one of Goddes plough men. Ye may not be offended wyth my similitude : in that I compare preachynge to the labour and worke of ploughinge, and the preacher to a ploughman. Ye maye not be offended wyth thys my similitude, for I haue ben sclaundred of some personnes for such thynges. It hath ben sayde of me. Oh Latimer, nay as for hym I wil neuer beleue hym whyle I lyue, nor neuer truste hym, for he lykened our blessed Ladye to a saffrone bagge, where in deede I neuer vsed that similitude. But it was as I haue sayde vnto you before nowe, accordinge to that whiche Peter sawe before in the spirite of prophesy and sayde that there shoulde come afterwarde men : *Per quos via veritatis maledictis afficeretur*,* there shoulde come felowes by whom the waye of truth shoulde be yll spoken of and sclaundred. But in case I had vsed this similitude, it had not bene to be reproued, but myght haue bene without reproche. For I might haue sayde thus, as the saffrone bagge that hath bene full of saffron or hath had saffron in it, doth euer after faouere and smel of the swete saffron that it conteyned : so oure blessed Ladye which conteyned and bare Christe in her wombe, dyd euer after resemble the maners and vertues of that precious babe which she bare. And what had oure blessed Ladie bene the worfe for thys? or what dishonour was thys to oure blessed Ladie. But as preachers must be ware and

* By reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of.—2 Peter ii. 2.

circumspect yat they geue not any iust occasion to be sclaundered and yll spoken of by the hearers, so must not the auditours be offended without cause. For heauen is in the gospel likened to a musterde feede. It is compared also to a piece of leauen, and Christ sayth that at the last day, he wyl come lyke a thiefe, and what dishonoure is thys to God? or what derogation is thys to heauen. Ye maye not then, I say, be offended with my similitude, for because I lyken preachyng to a ploughmans laboure and a prelate to a ploughman. But now you wyll aske me whom I cal a prelate. A prelate is that man, what foeuer he be, yat hath a flocke to be taughte of hym, who foeuer hath any spirituall charge in the fayethfull congregation, and who so euer he be that hath cure of soule.

And wel may the preacher and the ploughman be lykened together. Fyrste for their labour of all ceasons of the yere. For there is no tyme of the yere, in whiche the ploughman hath not some speciall worke to do, as in my countrey in Lecestre Shire, the ploughe man hath a tyme to set furth and to affaie hys plough, and other tymes for other necessari workes to be done. And then they also maye be likenede together, for the diuerfitie of workes and varietie of offices yat they haue to do. For as the ploughman first setteth furth hys plough and then tilleth hys lande and breaketh it in furrughes, and sometime ridgeth it vp agayne. And at an other tyme harroweth it, and clotteth it, and somtyme doungeth it, and hedgeth it, diggeth it, and weedeth it, pourgeth and maketh it cleane. So the prelate, the preacher hath mani diuers offices to do. He hath fyrst a busie worke, to bringe his parishioners to a ryght fayth, as Paule calleth it. And not to a swarunge fayeth, but to a fayeth that embraceth Christe, and trusteth to hys merites, a liuely fayth, a iustifyng fayth, a fayth that maketh a man righteous without respecte of workes. As ye haue it, verie well declared and set furth in the Homilie. He hath then a busie worke I say, to bringe his flocke to a

ryght fayth and then to confirme them in the same fayeth, Nowe castynge them downe with the lawe, and with threateninges of God for synne. Nowe ridgyng them vp agayne, with the gospel and with the promyses of Gods fauoure. Nowe weedinge them, by tellinge them their faultes, and makynge them forsake synne. Nowe clottinge them, by breakynge their stonie hertes, and by making them supple herted, and makynge them to haue hertes of fleshe, that is soft hertes, and apte for doctrine to enter in. Nowe teachinge to knowe God ryghtly, and to knowe theyr duetie to God and to theyr neyghbours. Nowe exhorting them when they knowe theyr duety, that they do it and be diligente in it: so that they haue a continuall worke to do. Greate is theyr busines, and therefore greate shoulde be theyre hyre. They haue great laboures, and therefore they ought to haue good liuinges, that they maye comodiouly feade theyr flocke, for the preachynge of the worde of God vnto the people is called meate, scripture calleth it meat. Not strauberies, that come but once a yeare and tary not longe, but are sone gone: but it is meat. It is no deynties. The people muste haue meate that muste be familier and continuall, and dayly geuen vnto them to fede vpon. Many make a strauberie of it, minifringe it but once a yeare, but such do not th[e] office of good prelates. For Christe fayeth.

*Quis putas est seruus prudens et fidelis? qui dat cibum in tempore.** Who thynke you is a wyfe and a faythful seruaunt? He that geueth meate in due time. So that he must at all times conuenient preache diligentelie. Therefore fayeth he? who trowe you is a faythfull seruaunte? He speaketh it as though it were a rare thyng to fynde suche a one, and as though he shoulde saye, there be but fewe of theym to fynde in the world. And howe fewe of them there be throughout this realme that geue meate to their flocke

* Who then is a faithful and wise ruler over his household, to give them servant, whom his lord hath made meat in due season. — Matt. xxiv. 45.

as thei should do: the visitours can beste tell. To fewe, to fewe, the more is the pittie, and neuer so fewe as nowe. By thys then it appeareth that a prelate or anye that hath cure of soule must diligentlie and substancially worke and labour. Therefore sayeth Paule to Timothe. *Qui episcopatum desiderat, hic bonum opus desiderat.** He that desireth to haue th[e] office of a byshop, or a prelate, that man desyreth a good worke. Then if it be good worke, it is worke. Ye can make but a worke of it. It is Gods worke, Gods ploughe, and that plough, God woulde haue styll going. Suche then as loyter and liue idelly are not good prelates or ministers. And of suche as do not preache and teache, nor do not theyr dueties: God sayth by hys Prophet Hieremie. *Maledictus qui facit opus dei fraudulentem.†* Gilefullie or deceyterfully some bokes haue *Negligenter*, negligentli, or slacklie. Howe manye such prelates, howe many such byshops, Lorde for thy mercie, are there nowe in England? And what shall we in thys case do? S[h]all we companie wyth them? O Lorde for thy mercie shal we not companie with them? O Lorde whither shall we flie from them? But curffed be he that doeth the worcke of God negligentli or gilefullie. A soore word for them that are neglygent in dyschargeinge their office, or haue done it fraudulentlye, for that is the thyng that maketh the people yll. But true it must be that Christ sayeth, *Multi sunt vocati, pauci vero electi.‡* Manye are called, but fewe are chosen.

Here haue I an occasion by the way fomwhat to faye vnto you yea, for the place that I alledged vnto you before oute of Hieremy the xlviij. Chapter. And it was spoken of a spirituall worcke of God, a worke that was commaunded to be done, and it was of sheddyng bloude and of destroying the cities of Moab. For (sayeth he) curffed be he yat kepeth

* If a man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work.— Jer. xlviii 10.
 † Cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully.— Jer. xlviii 10.
 ‡ Many are called, but few are chosen.— Matt. xxii. 14.

backe hys sworde frome shedyng of bloud.* As Saule when he kepte backe the sworde from shedding of bloude, at what tyme he was sent agaynst Amalech, was refused of God for beinge disobedient to Goddes commaundementes, in that he spared Agag ye kyng. So that, that place of ye prophet was spoken of them that wente to the distruction of the cityes of Moab, amonge the which there was one called Nebo, whyche was muche reprovded for idolatrie, supersticion, pryde, auarice, crueltie, tyranny, and for hardenes of herte, and for these finnes was plaged of God and destroyed. Nowe what shall we saye of these ryche citizens of London? What shall I saye of them? shal I cal them proude men of London, malicious men of London, mercyleffe men of London. No, no, I may not faie so, they wil be offended wyth me than. Yet must I speake. For is there not reygning in London, as much pride, as much coueteousnes, as much crueltie, as much opprission, as much supersticion, as was in Nebo? Yes, I thinke and muche more to. Therefore I saye, repente O London. Repent, repente. Thou heareste thy faultes tolde the, amend them amend them. I thinke if Nebo had had the preachynge yat thou haste: they wold haue conuerted. And you rulers and officers be wise and circumspect, loke to your charge and see you do your dueties and rather be glad to amend your yll liuyng then to be angrye when you are warned or tolde of your faulte. What a do was there made in London at a certein man because he sayd, and in dede at that time on a iust cause. Burgesse quod he, nay butterflies. Lorde what a do there was for yat worde. And yet would God they were no worfe then butterflies. Butterflies do but theyre nature, the butterflye is not couetouse, is not gredye of other mens goodes, is not ful of enuy and hatered, is not malicious, is not cruel, is not mercileffe. The butterflye glorieth not in hyr owne dedes, nor preferreth the tradicions of men before Gods worde; it committeth not idolatry nor wor-

* Jer. xlviii. 10.

shyppeth false goddess. But London can not abyde to be rebuked fuche is the nature of man. If they be prycked, they wyll kycke. If they be rubbed on the gale: they wil wynce. But yet they wyll not amende theyr faultes, they wyl not be yl spoken of. But howe shal I speake well of them. If you could be contente to receyue and folowe the worde of god and faouere good preachers, if you coulde beare to be toulde of youre faultes, if you coulde amende when you heare of them: if you woulde be gladde to reforme that is a misse: if I mighte se anie fuche inclinacion in you, that leaue to be mercileffe and begynne to be charytable I would then hope wel of you, I woulde then speake well of you. But London was neuer so yll as it is now. In tymes past men were full of pytie and compassion but nowe there is no pitie, for in London their brother shal die in the strectes for colde, he shall lye fycke at theyr doore betwene stocke and stocke. I can not tel what to call it, and peryshe there for hunger, was there any more vnmercifulnes in Nebo? I thynke not. In tymes paste when any ryche man dyed in London, they were wonte to healp the pore scholers of the vniuersitye wyth exhibition. When any man dyed, they woulde bequeth greate summes of money towarde the releue of the pore. When I was a scholer in Cambrydge my selfe, I harde verye good reporte of London and knewe manie that had releue of the rytche men of London, but nowe I can heare no such good reporte, and yet I inquirye of it, and herken for it, but nowe charitie is waxed colde, none helpeth the scholer nor yet the pore. And in those dayes what dyd they whan they helped the scholers? Mary they maynteyned and gaue them liuynges that were verye papists and professed the popes doctrine and nowe that the knowledge of Gods word is brought to lyght, and many earnestelye studye and laboure to fet it forth now almost no man healpeth to maynteyne them. Oh London London, repente repente, for I thynkē God is more displeasēd wyth London then euer he was with the

citie of Nebo. Repente therefore repent London and remembre that the same God liueth nowe yat punyshed Nebo, euen the same god and none other, and he wyl punyshe fynne as well nowe as he dyd then, and he will punishe the iniquitie of London as well as he did then of Nebo. Amende therefore and ye that be prelates loke well to your office, for right prelatynge is busye labourynge and not lordyng. Therefore preache and teach and let your ploughe be doynge, ye lordes I faye that liue lyke loyterers, loke well to your office, the ploughe is your office and charge. If you lyue idle and loyter, you do not your duetie, you folowe not youre vocation, let your plough therefore be going and not cease, that the ground maye brynge forth fruite. But nowe me thynketh I heare one faye vnto me, wotte you what you fay? Is it a worcke? Is it a labour? how then hath it happened yat we haue had so manye hundred yeares so many vnpreachinge prelates, lording loyterers and idle ministers? Ye woulde haue me here to make anfwere and to shoue the cause thereof. Nay thys land is not for me to ploughe, it is to stonye, to thorni, toharde for me to plough. They haue so many thynges yat make for them, so many things to laye for them selues that it is not for my weake teame to plough them. They haue to lay for them selues longe customes Cerimonyes, and authoritie, placyng in parlamente and many thynges more. And I feare me thys lande is not yet rype to be ploughed. For as the faying is, it lacketh wethering this greare lacketh wetheringe at leaste way it is not for me to ploughe. For what shall I loke for amonge thornes but prickyng and scrachinge? what among stones but stumblyng? What (I had almost fayed) among serpentes but stingyng? But thys muche I dare fay, that fence lording and loytryng hath come vp, preaching hath come downe contrarie to the Apof-tells times. For they preached and lorded not. And nowe they lorde and preache not.

For they that be lordes wyll yll go to plough. It is no mete office for them. It is not femyng for their state.

Thus came vp lordyng loyterers. Thus crept in vnpreching prelates, and so haue they longe continued.

For howe many vnlearned prelates haue we now at this day? And no meruel. For if ye plough men yat now be, were made lordes they woulde cleane gyue ouer ploughinge, they woulde leaue of theyr labour and fall to lordyng outright, and let the plough stand. And then bothe ploughes not walkyng nothyng shoulde be in the common weale but hongre. For euer fence the Prelates were made Loordes and nobles, the ploughe standeth, there is no worke done, the people sterue.

Thei hauke, thei hunt, thei card, they dyce, they pastyme in theyr prelacies with galaunte gentlemen, with theyr daunsinge minyons, and with theyr freshe companions, so that ploughinge is set a fyde. And by the lordinge and loytryng, preachyng and ploughinge is cleane gone. And thus if the ploughemen of the countrey, were as negligente in theyr office, as prelates be, we shoulde not longe lyue for lacke of sustinaunce. And as it is necessarie for to haue thys ploughinge for the sustentacion of the bodye: so muste we haue also the other for the satisfacion of the soule, or elles we canne not lyue longe gostly. For as the bodie wasteth and consumeth awaye for lacke of bodily meate: so doeth the soule pyne a way for default of gostly meate. But there be two kyndes of inclosyng to lette or hinder boeth these kyndes of plougheinge. The one is an inclosyng to let or hinder ye bodily ploughyng, and the other to lette or hynder the holiday ploughyng, the church ploughinge. The bodylye plougheyng, is taken in and enclosed thorowe singlar commoditie. For what man wyll lette goe or deminishe hys priuate commoditie for a commune welth? and who wyll susteyne any damage for the respecte of a publique commoditie? The other plough also no man is diligent to sette forward, nor no man wyll herken to it, but to hinder and let it, al mennes eares are open, yea and a greate many of this kynde of ploughmen which are very busie and woulde seme to be verie good worckmen. I

feare me some be rather mocke gospellers then faythful ploughmen. I knowe many my selfe that professe the gospel, and lyue nothyng there after. I knowe them, and haue bene conuersaunt wyth some of them. I knowe them, and I speake it wyth an heauy herte, there is as litle charitye and good liuinge in them as in any other, accordyng to that which Christe sayed in the Gospel to the greate nombre of people that folowed hym, as thoughe they had had an earnest zeale to his doctrine, wher as in deede they had it not. *Non qui vidistis signa, sed quia comedistis de panibus.** Ye folowe me (sayth he) not because ye haue seene the sygnes and myracles that I haue done, but because ye haue eaten the breade and refreshed your bodyes. Therefore you folowe me, so that I thynke manye one nowe a dayes professeth the gospel for the luyunge fake, not for the loue they beare to gods word. But they that wil be true ploughmen muste worke faythfullye for Goddes sake, for the edifynge of theyr bretherne. And as diligentelye as the husband man plougheth for the sustentacion of the bodye: so diligently muste the prelates and ministers labour for the fedinge of the soule: boeth the ploughes muste styll be doynge, as mooste necessarye for man. And wherefore are magistrates ordayned, but that the tranquillitie of the commune weale maye be confirmed limiting both ploughes.

But nowe for the defaulte of vnpreaching prelates me thinke I coulde gesse what myghte be sayed for excufyng of them: They are so troubeled wyth Lordelye luyunge, they be so placed in palacies, couched in courtes, ruffelynge in theyr rentes, daunceyng in theyr dominions, burdened with ambassages, pamperyng of theyr panches lyke a monke that maketh his Jubilie, mounchyng in their maungers, and moylyng in their gaye manoures and mansions, and so troubeled wyth loyteryng in theyr Lordehyppes: that they canne

* Not because ye saw the miracles, but because ye did eat of the loaves.—
John vi. 26.

not attende it. They are otherwyse occupied, fomme in the Kynge matters, some are ambassadoures, some of the pryue counsell, some to furnyshe the courte, some are Lordes of the Parliamente, some are presidentes, and some comptroleres of myntes. Well, well.

Is thys theyr duetye? Is thys theyr offyce? Is thys theyr calling? should we haue ministers of the church to be comptrollers of the myntes? Is thys a meete office for a prieste that hath cure of soules? Is this hys charge? I woulde here aske one question: I would fayne knowe who comptrolleth the deuyll at home at his parishe, whyle he comptrolleth the mynte? If the Apostles mighte not leaue the office of preaching to be deacons, shall one leaue it for myntyng?

I can not tell you, but the sayinge is, that since priests haue bene minters, money hath bene wourse then it was before. And they saye that the euylnes or money hath made all thinges dearer. And in thys behalfe I must speake to England.

Heare my contrey England, as Paule fayed in his firste epistle to the Cor. vi. Chap. for Paule was no sittinge bishoppe, but a walkinge and a preachinge byshop. But when he wente from them, he lefte there behind hym the ploughe goynge styll, for he wrotte vnto them and rebuked them for goynge to lawe and pleadyng^e theyr causes before heathen Judges, is there, (fayeth he) vterlye amonge you no wyse manne, to be an arbitraoure in matters of iudgement? What? not one all that canne iudge betwene brother and brother? But one brother go to lawe wyth an other, and that vnder heathen Judges? *Constituite contemptos qui sunt in ecclesia: et cete.** Appoynte them Judges that are moost abiecte, and vyle in the congregation, whyche he speaketh in rebukynge them for (fayth he) *Ad erubescenciam vestram dico.†* I speake it to youre shame. So England I speake it to thy shame. Is there neuer a noble man to be a Lorde president, but

* Set them to iudge who are least esteemed in the church —v. 4. † I speake to your shame —v. 5.

it muste be a prelate? Is there neuer a wyse man in the realme to be a comptroller of the minte? I speake it to your shame, I speake it to youre shame. Yf there be neuer a wyse man, make a water bearer, a tinker, a cobler, a slaue, a page, comptroller of the mynte. Make a meane gentylman, a groome, a yeoman, make a poore begger Lorde president: Thus I speake not that I would haue it so, but to your shame. Yf there be neuer a gentleman meete nor able to be Lorde presidente. For whye are not the noble men and yong gentlemen of England so brought vp in knoweledge of God and in learnynge that they maye be able to execute offices in the commune weale? The Kynge hath a greate meanye of wardes and I trowe there is a courte of wardes, why is there not a schole for the wardes, as well as there is a courte for their landes? Whye are they not set in scholes, where they maye learne? Or why are they not sent to the vniuersities, that they maye be able to serue the kyng when they come to age? Yf the wardes and yonge gentlemen were well brought vp in learnynge and in the knowledge of God, they woulde not when they come to age, so much geue them felues to other vanities.

And if the nobilitie bewel trayned in godly learnynge, the people would folowe ye same traine. For truly such as the noble men be, suche wyll the people be. And nowe the onely cause, why noble men be not made Lord presidentes, is because they haue not bene brought vp in learninge: Therefore for the loue of God, appoynte teachers and f[c]holemaisters, you that haue charge of youth, and giue the teachers stipendes worthy their paynes, that they maye brynge them vp in grammer, in Logike, in rethorike, in Philosophe, in in the ciuile lawe, and in that whiche I can not leaue vnspoken of, the word of God. Thankes be vnto God the nobilitie, other wyse is verie well broughte vp in learninge and godlines, to the great ioye and comfort of England, so that there is nowe good hope in the youth, that we shal an other day haue a flourishinge

common welth, considering theyr godly education. Yea, and there be al ready noble men ynough (though not so many as I woulde wishe) able to be Lorde presidentes, and wyse men ynough, for the mynte. And as vnmeete a thyng it is for byshoppes to be Lorde presidentes or priestes to be mynters, as it was for the Corrhinthians to pleade matters of variaunce before heathen Judges. It is also a sclaunder to the noble men, as though they lacked wyfedome, and learninge to be able for suche offices, or elles were no men of consciences, or elles were not meete to be trusted, and able for suche offices: And a prelate hath a charge and cure other wyse, and therefore he can not discharge his dutie, and be a Lorde president to. For a presidentshippe requireth a whole man, and a byshoppe can not be two menne. A bishoppe hath his office, a flocke to teache, to loke vnto, and therefore he can not meddle wyth an other office, which alone requireth a whole man. He should therefore gyue it ouer to whome it is meete, and laboure in his owne busines, as Paule writeth to the Theffalonians. Lette euerie man do his owne busines, and folow his calling.* Let the priest preache, and the noble men handle the temporal matters. Moyfes was a meruelous man, a good man. Moyfes was a wonderful felowe, and dyd his dutie being a married man. We lacke suche as Moyfes was. Well, I woulde al men woulde loke to their dutie, as God hath called them, and then we shoulde haue a florishyng christian commune weale. And nowe I would aske a straung question. Who is the most diligent bishoppe and prelate in al England, that passeth al the reste in doinge his office I can tel, for I knowe him, who it is I knowe hym well. But nowe I thynke I fe you lysting and hearkening, that I shoulde name him. There is one that passeth al the other, and is the most diligent prelate and preacher in al England. And w[y]l ye knowe who it is? I wyl tel you. It is the Deuyl. He is the moste dyligent preacher of al other, he is neuer

* 1 Thess. iv. 11.

out of his dioces, he is neuer from his cure, ye shal neuer fynde hym vnoccupied, he is euer in his parishe, he keepeth residence at al tymes, ye shal neuer fynde hym out of the waye, cal for him when you wyl, he is euer at home, the diligenteste preacher in all the Realme, he is euer at his ploughe, no lordynge nor loytringe can hynder hym, he is euer applynge his busynes, ye shal neuer fynde hym idle I warraunte you. And his office is to hinder religion, to mayntayne supersticion, to fet vp Idolatrie, to teach al kynde of popetrie, he is readye as can be wished, for to fette forthe his ploughe, to deuise as manye wayes as can be, to deface and obscure Godes glory. Where the Deuyl is residente and hath his plough goinge: there awaye with bokes, and vp with candelles, awaye wyth Bibles and vp with beades, awaye wyth the lygte of the Gospel, and vp with the lyghte of candlles, yea at noone dayes. Where the Deuyll is residente, that he maye preuaile, vp wyth al superstition and Idolatrie, fenfing, peintynge of ymages, candles, palmes, affhes, holye water, and newe seruice of menes inuenting, as though man could inuent a better waye to honour God wyth then God him selfe hath apointed. Downe with Christes crosse, vp with purgatory picke purse vp wyth hym, the popish pourgatorie I mean. Awaye wyth clothinge the naked, the pore and impotent, vp wyth deckynge of ymages and gaye garnishinge of flockes and stons, vp wyth mannes traditions and his lawes, Downe wyth Gods traditions and hys most holy worde, Downe wyth the olde honoure dewe to God, and vp wyth the new gods honour, let al things be done in latine. There muste be nothyng but latine, not as much as *Memento homo quod cinis es, et in cinerem reuerteris*. Remembre man that thou arte affhes, and into affhes thou shalte returne. Whiche be the wordes that the minister speaketh to the ignoraunte people, when he gyueth them affhes vpon affhe wensdaye, but it muste he spoken in latine. Goddes worde may in no wyfe be translated into englyshe. Oh that our prelates woulde be as diligente to sowe the corne

of good doctrine as Sathan is, to fowe cockel and darnel. And this is the deuilyſhe ploughinge, the which worcketh to haue thinges in latine, and letteth the fruteful edification. But here some man will faie to me, what fir are ye ſo priuie of the deuils counſell that ye know al this to be true? Truli I know him to wel, and haue obeyed him a little to much in condeſce[n]tinge to ſome follies. And I knowe him as other men do, yea, that he is euer occupied and euer buſie in folowinge his plough. I know bi faint Peter which ſaieth of him. *Sicut leo rugiens circuit querens quem deuoret.** He goeth aboute lyke a roaringe lyon ſeekyng whome he maye deuoure. I woulde haue thys texte wel vewed and examined euerye worde of it. *Circuit*, he goeth aboute in euerye corner of his dioces. He goeth on viſitacion daylye. He leaueth no place of hys cure vnuifited. He walketh round aboute from place to place and ceafeth not, *Sicut leo*, as a Lyon that is ſtrongly, boldly, and proudlye ſtraytelye and fiercelye with haute lookes, wyth hys proude countenaunces, wyth hys ſtatelye braggynges. *Rugiens*, roaringe, for he letteth not flippe any occaſion to ſpeake or to roare out when he feeth his tyme. *Querens*, he goeth about ſeekyng and not ſleepyng, as oure biſhoppes do, but he ſeketh diligently, he ſearcheth diligently al corners, wheras he may haue his pray, he roueth abrode in eueri place of his dioces, he ſtandeth not ſtyl, he is neuer at reſte, but euer in hande wyth his plough that it may go forwarde. But there was neuer ſhuch a preacher in England as he is. Who is able to tel his diligente preachyng? whiche euery daye and euery houre laboreth to fowe cockel and darnel, that he may bryng oute of forme and out of eſtimation and roume, th[e]i[n]ſtitution of the Lordes ſupper and Chriſtes croſſe, for there he loſt his ryghte, for Chriſte ſaied. *Nunc iudicium eſt mundi, princeps ſeculi huius eiicietur foras,† et ſicut exaltauit Moiſes ſer-*

* As a roaring lion, walketh about, ſeeking whom he may devour.— 1 Pet. v. 8.

† Now is the judgment of this world now ſhall the prince of this world be caſt out —John xii. 31.

pentem in deserto, ita exaltari oportet filium hominis, et cum exaltatus fuero, a terra, omnia traham ad meipsum.†* Nowe is the iudgemente of thys worlde and the Prynce of thys worlde shall be caste oute. And as Moyfes dyd lyfte vp the serpente in the wylderneffe, so muste the sonne of manne be lyfte vp. And when I shall be lyfte vp from the earthe, I wyl drawe all thinges vnto my felfe. For the Deuyll was dyfapoynted of hys purpose, for he thoughte all to be hys owne.

And when he had once broughte Christe to the crosse, he thought all cocke sure. But there losste he all his reygning, for Christ saied *Omnia traham ad meipsum*. I wyl drawe all thynges to my felfe. He meaneth drawynge of mans soule to saluacion. And that he sayde he woulde do *per semetipsum*, by his owne felfe, not by anye other bodyes sacrifice. He ment by his own sacrifice on the crosse wheare he offred him felfe for the redemption of mankynd, and not the sacrifice of the masse to be offered by an other. For who can offer him but him felfe? He was boeth the offerer and the offering. And thys is the pricke, thys is the marke at the whyche the Deuyll shooteth, to euacuate the crosse of Chryste and to mingle the institucion of the Loordes supper, the whiche although he canne not brynge to passe: yet he goeth aboute bi his sleightes and subtyle meanes, to frustrate the same, and these fyftene hundreth yeres he hath bene a doar, onelye purposinge to euacuate Christes death, and to make it of smal efficacitie and vertue.

For where as Christe accordyng as the serpent was lyfte vp in wyldernes: so woulde he hym self to be exalted, that thereby as manye as trusted in hym, shoulde haue saluation. But the deuyll would none of that. They would haue vs faued by a daily oblation propitiatorie, by a sacrifice expiatorie, or remissorie.

Nowe if I shoulde preache in the contrye amonge

* And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up.—John iii. 14.

† And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me.—John xii. 32.

the vnlearned, I woulde tell what propitiatorie, expiatorie and remissorie is: but here is a learned auditorie. Yet for them yat be vnlearned I wyll expounde it. Propitiatorie, expiatorie, remissorie, or satisfactorie, for they signifie all one thyng in effecte, and is nothinge elles but a thyng whereby to obteyne remission of synnes, and to haue saluacion. And thys waye the Deuyll vsed to euacuate the death of Chryste, that we myght haue affyaunce in other thynges. As in the daylye sacrifice of the prieste, where as Chryste woulde haue vs to truste in his onelye sacrifice. So he was *Agnus occisus ab origine mundi*,* the lambe that hath bene slayne frome the begynnyng of the worlde, and therefore he is called *Iuge sacrificium*. † A continuall sacrifice, and not for the continuaunce of the Masse as the blaunchers haue blaunched it, and wrested it. And as I my selfe dyd once mystake it. But Paule sayth, *Per semetipsum purgatio facta*, ‡ by hym selfe and by none other, Chryste made purgacion and satisfaction for the whole worlde. Woulde Chryste this woorde (by him selfe) hadde bene better weyghed and looked vpon, and *In sanctificationem*, to make them holye, for he is, *Iuge sacrificium*, a continuall sacrifice, in effecte, fruite and operation, that lyke as they whiche feinge the serpente hange vp in the deserte were put in remembrance of Christes death, in whome as many as beleued were saued: so all men that trusted in the death of Chryste shall be saued, as well they that were before, as they that came after. For he was a continuall Sacrifyce, as I sayed in effecte, fruite, operacion and vertue. As thoughe he had frome the begynnyng of the world and continually should to the worldes ende hange styll on the crosse, and he is as freshe hangyng on the crosse now to them that beleue and truste in hym, as he was fiftene hundreth yeares ago when he was crucyfied, then lette vs truste vpon hys

* The Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.—Rev. xiii. 8.

† A daily sacrifice.—Dan. viii. 11, 12.

‡ When he had by himselfe purged our sins.—Heb. i. 3.

onelye death, and looke for none other sacrifice propiciatorye, then the same bloudye sacrifice, the liuelye sacrifice, and not a drye sacrifice, but a bloudie sacrifice. For Chryste hym selfe said, *Consummatum est*.* It is perfectlie finished. I haue taken at my fathers hande the dispensation of redemyng mankynde. I haue wroughte mannes redemption, and haue dyspatched the matter. Whye then myngle ye hym? whye do ye deuide hym? why make you of hym mo sacrifices then one? Paule sayeth, *Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus*† Chryste our passeouer is offered vp, so that the thyng is done, and Chryste hathe done it, and he hath done it, *femel*, Once for all. And it was a bloudy sacrifice not a drye sacrifice.

Why then it is not the Masse that auaieth or profiteth for the quicke and the dead? Wo worth the, O Deuyll, wo worth the, thou hast preuayled so farre and so longe that thou haste made Englande to worshippe false Goddes forfakyng Chryst their Lorde. Wo worth the Deuyll. Wo worth the Deuyll and all thyne Angelles: if Chryst by his death draweth all thynges to him selfe, and draweth al men to saluation and to heauenlye blisse that trust in him. Then the priestes at the Masse (at the popishe Masse I say) what can thei draw when Chryste draweth all, but landes and goodes frome the ryght heires? The priestes draw goodes and ryches, benefices and promotions to them selues and suche as beleued in their sacrifice they drawe to the Deuyll. But Chryste it is that draweth foules vnto hym by his bloudy sacrifice. What haue we to do then, but *Epulari in domino*,‡ to eat in the Lorde at his Supper. What other seruice haue we to do to hym? and what other sacrifice haue we to offer: but the mortification of our flesh? What other oblation haue we to make, but of obedience, of good liuyng, of good worckes, and of healpyng oure neighbours?

* It is finished.—John xix 30.

‡ To eat the Lord's supper.—

† Chryst our passouer is sacrificed 1 Cor. xi 20.
for us.—1 Cor. v. 7.

But as for oure redemption, it is done alredie, it can not be better. Christe hath done that thyng so well, that it can not be amended. It can not be deuised howe to make that, any better then he hath done it. But the Deuyll by the healpe of that Italian Bishop yonder, his chaplayne: hath labored by al meanes, that he myghte, to frustrate the death of Christe and the merites of his passion. And they haue deuised for that purpose to make vs beleue in other vayne thynges by his pardons, as to haue remission of sinnes for praiynge on hallowed beades, for drynkyng of the bakehouse bole, as a channon of Waltam Abbey, once tolde me, that when foeuer they putte theyr loues of breade into the ouen, as manie as drancke of the pardon boll should haue pardon for drynkyng of it. A madde thyng to geue pardon to a bolle. Then to Pope Alexanders holie water to hallowed belles, palmes, candelles, affhes, and what not?

And of these thynges euery one hath taken awaye some parte of Christes sanctification. Euerie one hath robbed some parte of Christes passion and crosse, and hath mingeld Christes death, and hath bene made to be propitiatorie and satisfactorie, and to put awaye sinne. Yea and Alexanders holie water yet at thys day remayneth in Englande, and is vsed for a remedye againste spirites, and to chafe awaye deuylles, yea and I woulde thys had bene the worste. I woulde thys were the worste. But wo worth the, O Deuyll that haste preuayled to euacuate Christes crosse and to mingle the lordes supper. These be the Italian bishoppes deuices, and the diuyll hath prycked at thys marke to frustrate the crosse of Christe, he shotte at thys marke longe before Christe came, he shotte at thys prycke foure thousande yeres before Christ hanged on the crosse, or suffered his passion.

For the brafen serpente, was set vp in the wyldernes to put men in remembrance of Christes commyng, that lyke as they whiche behelde the brafen serpente were healed of their bodilie diseases: so they that loked spiritually vpon Christe that was to come in hym

shoulde be faued spiritually from the deuyll. The serpent was fet vp in memorie of Christ to come, but the deuyll founde meanes to steale away the memorie of Christes comming and broughte the people to worshyp the serpente self, and to fence hym, to honoure hym, and to offre to hym, to worshyppe hym, and to make an Idoll of hym.

And thys was done by the markette men that I tolde you of.

And the clarke of the markette dyd it for the lucre and aduauntage of his maister, that thereby his honour myghte encrease, for by Christes death, he could haue but small worldly aduauntage. And euen nowe so hath he certeyne blanchers longyng to the markette, to lette and stoppe the lyght of the Gospel, and to hindre the kynges procedynges in setting forth the word and glorie of God. And when the kynges maiestie with the aduise of his honorable counsaile goeth aboute to promote Gods worde and to sette an ordre in matters of religion there shall not lacke blanchers that wyll saye. As for Images wher as thay haue ben vsed to be fenced, and to haue candels offred vnto them: none be so folishe to do it to the stocke or stone, or to the Image selfe, but it is done to God and his honour before the Image. And thoughe they shoulde abuse it, these blanchers wyll be ready to whisper the Kynge in the eare, and to tell hym that thys abuse is but a small matter. And that the same wyth all other lyke abuses in the churche maye be reformed easelie. It is but a litle abuse (saye they) and it maye be easely amended. But it shoulde not be taken in hande at the first for feare of trouble, or further inconueniences. The people wyll not beare sodayne alterations, an infurrection maye be made after sodayne mutation, which maye be to the greate harme and losse of the realme. Therefore al thynges shal be wel, but not out of hand, for feare of further busynes. These be the blanchers yat hitherto haue stopped the worde of god, and hyndered ye true setting furth of ye same. There be so manie put offes, so many put byes, so many respectes, and consideracions

of worldly wisedome. And I dout not but there were blanchers in the olde time to whisper in the eare of good kynge Ezechias for the mayntenaunce of Idolatrie done to the brafen serpent, aswel as there hath ben now of late, and be now that can blanche the abuse of Images and other lyke thynges. But good kynge Ezechias woulde not be so blinded, he was like to Apollos, feruent in spirite. He woulde gyue no eare to the blanchers, he was not moued wyth these worldlie respectes, with these prudente considerations, wyth these policies, he feared not insurrections of the people. He feared not lest his people woulde not beare the glorie of God : but he (without any of these respectes, or policies, or considerations, lyke a good kynge for goddes sake, and for conscience sake) by and by plucked downe the brafen serpente, and destroyed it vtterly, and beate it to powder. He out of hande, dyd caste downe all Images, he destroyed al Idolatrie, and clearly dyd extirpate all superstition. He would not heare these blanchers and worldly wise men, but without delay, foloweth gods cause and destroyeth al Idolatrie out of hande. Thus dyd good kyng Ezechias, for he was lyke Apollo[s], feruent in spirite, and diligente to promote goddes glorie.* And good hope there is that it shall be lykewyse here in Englande, for the Kynges maiestie is so brought vp in knowledge, vertue and godlines, that it is not to be mistrusted, but that we shall haue all thynges well, and that the glorie of God shall be spred abroad thorowout all partes of the realme, if the prelates wil diligently apply their plough and be preachers, rather then Lordes, but oure blanchers, whiche wyll be Lordes, and no labourers, when they are commaunded to go and be residente vpon their cures, and preache in their benefices, they would faye. What, I haue fette a deputie there. I haue a deputie that loketh well to my flocke, and the whiche shall discharge my dutie. A deputi quod he. I loked for that worde all thys wyle. And what a deputie must he be, trowe ye? Euen one lyke him selfe, it muste

* 2 Kings xviii. 4.

be a cannoniste, that is to saye, one that is broughte vp in the studie of the Popes lawes and decrees. One that wyl fet furth papistris afwel as him felse wyl do, and one that wyl mayntayne al superstition Idolatrie.

And one that wyl nothyng at all, cr els verie weakly resist the deuyles plough, yea happie it is if he take not parte wyth the deuyll, and where he shoulde be an enemy to him, it is wel if he take not the Deuilles parte agaynste Christe. But in the meane tyme the Prelates take theyr pleasures. They are Lordes and no labourers, but the Deuill is diligente at his ploughe. He is no vnpreachynge prelate. He is no Lordelie loyterer from his cure, but a busie ploughe man, so that amonge all the prelates, and amonge al the packe of them that haue cure the Deuill shall go for my money. For he styl applyeth his busynes. Therefore ye vnpreachynge prelates, learne of the deuill to be diligent in doing of your office. Learne of the deuill. And if you wyl not learne of God nor good man: for shame learne of the deuill. *Ad erubescenciam vestram dico.** I speake it for your shame. If you wyl not learne of god nor good man to be diligent in your office, learne of the deuill. Howe be it there is nowe verie good hoope that the Kynges maiestie beinge by the healpe of good gouernaunce of his mooste honourable counfaylours, he is trayned and broughte vp in learnynge and knowledge of Goddes word wil shortly prouide a remedye and fet an ordre here in, which thyng that it may so be, lette vs praye for hym.

Praye for hym good people,
 praye for hym, ye
 haue great cause,
 and neede to
 praye for
 hym


(,,)

FINIS.

* I speak to your shame.—1 Cor. vi. 5.

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imprimendum solum.

1. LATIMER'S ACCOUNT OF HIS BISHOPRICK.—In a letter from Hartlebury on 24 Dec., 1538, to Cromwell, now in the State Paper Office [Crom. Corr., Vol. 49, 1. 524], Latimer gives the following account of his stewardship, as Bishop of Worcester, since October, 1535, when he received the temporalities of his see:—"Right honourable and my singular good lord, *salutem plurimam in Christo*. And, fir, to be short with you and not to trouble you, thus is now my state, and in this condition I am. All manner of my receipts, since I was bishop, amounts to four thousand pounds and upward. My first-fruits, reparations and solutions of my debts, amounts to seventeen hundred pounds: there remaineth in ready money now at my last audit, ending upon Christmas even's even, nine score pounds; of the which, five score pound and five is payable forth withal, for my tenths of this year, other twenty goeth to my new year's gift, and so have I left to myself, to keep my Christmas withal, and to come up withal, three score pounds. All the rest is spent: if well, that is my duty; if otherwise, that is my folly. As any man can complain, I must make answer; else, God knoweth all. It is spent, I say, saving that I have provision for household, in wheat, malt, beeves, and muttens, as much as would sustain my house this half year and more, if I should not go forth of my diocese: and in this standeth much the stay of my house; for I am more inclined to feed many grossly and necessarily, than a few deliciously and voluptuously. As for plate and hangings, hath not cost me twenty shillings. In plate, my new year's gifts doth my need with glass and byrral; and I delight more to feed hungry bellies, than to clothe the dead walls. Thus it is, my lord, therefore you may me credit; and as you have been always my good lord, so I desire you to continue, and to take this rude signification of my condition for a new year's gift, and a poor token of my good will toward you for this time. Another year, and I live, it shall be better; for, I thank my Lord God, I am within forty pounds out of debt, which doth lighten my heart not a little. And shortly cometh on my half-year's rent; and then I shall be afloat again, and come clean out of debt."—*Works* II. 412, *Parker Society*, 1845.

2. THE SHROWDS OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, LONDON.—In foul and rainy Weather, these solemn Sermons were preached in a Place called *The Shrowds*. Which was, as it seems, by the side of the Cathedral Church, where was Covering and Shelter. Now, long since, both the Cross and Shrouds are disused, and neither of them extant. But the Sermons are Preached in the Cathedral it self, though they be still called *Paul's Cross Sermons*.—JOHN STRYPE Ed: of STOW'S *Survey of London*, 1720, p. 149.

THE END.

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