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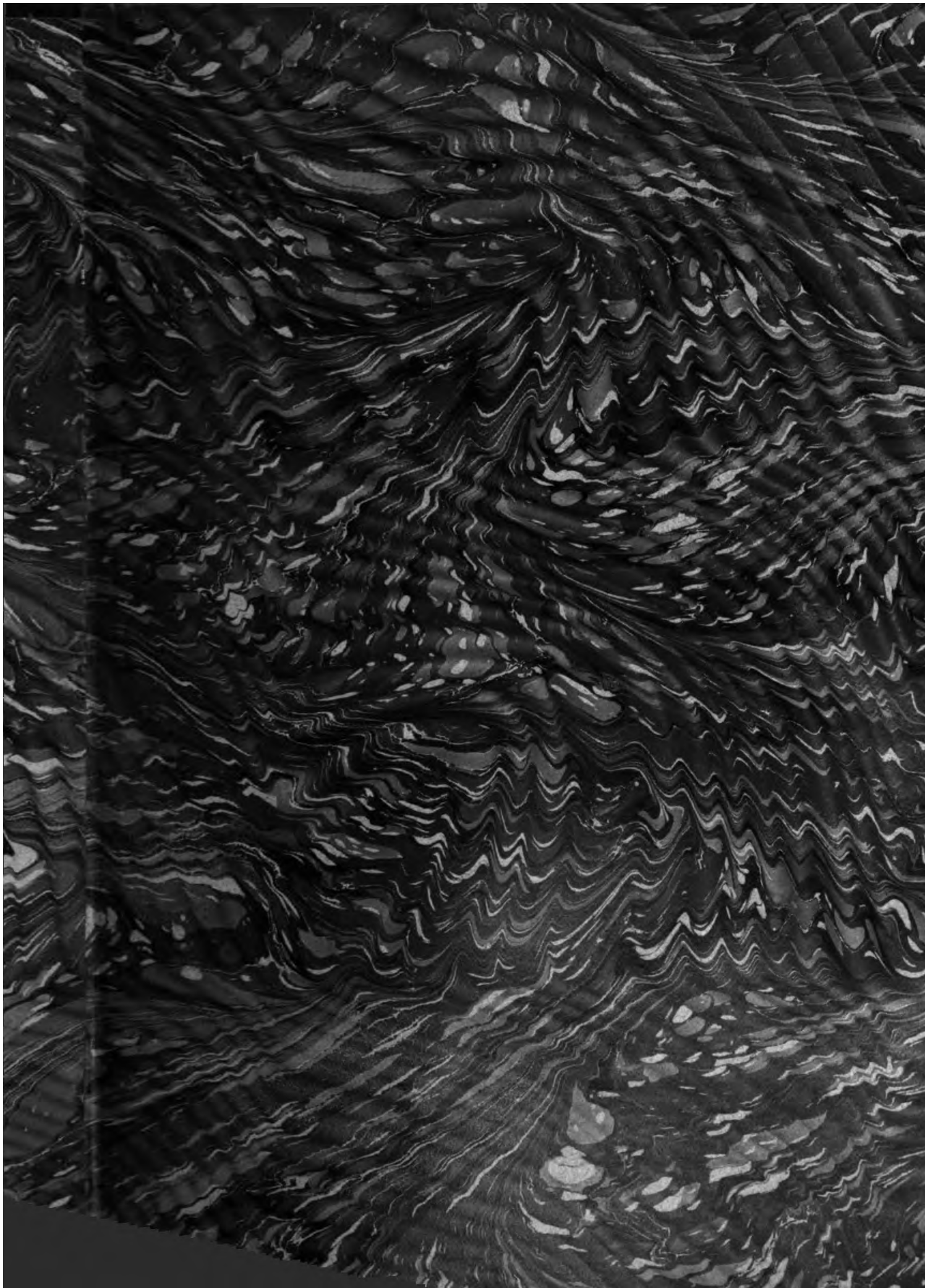
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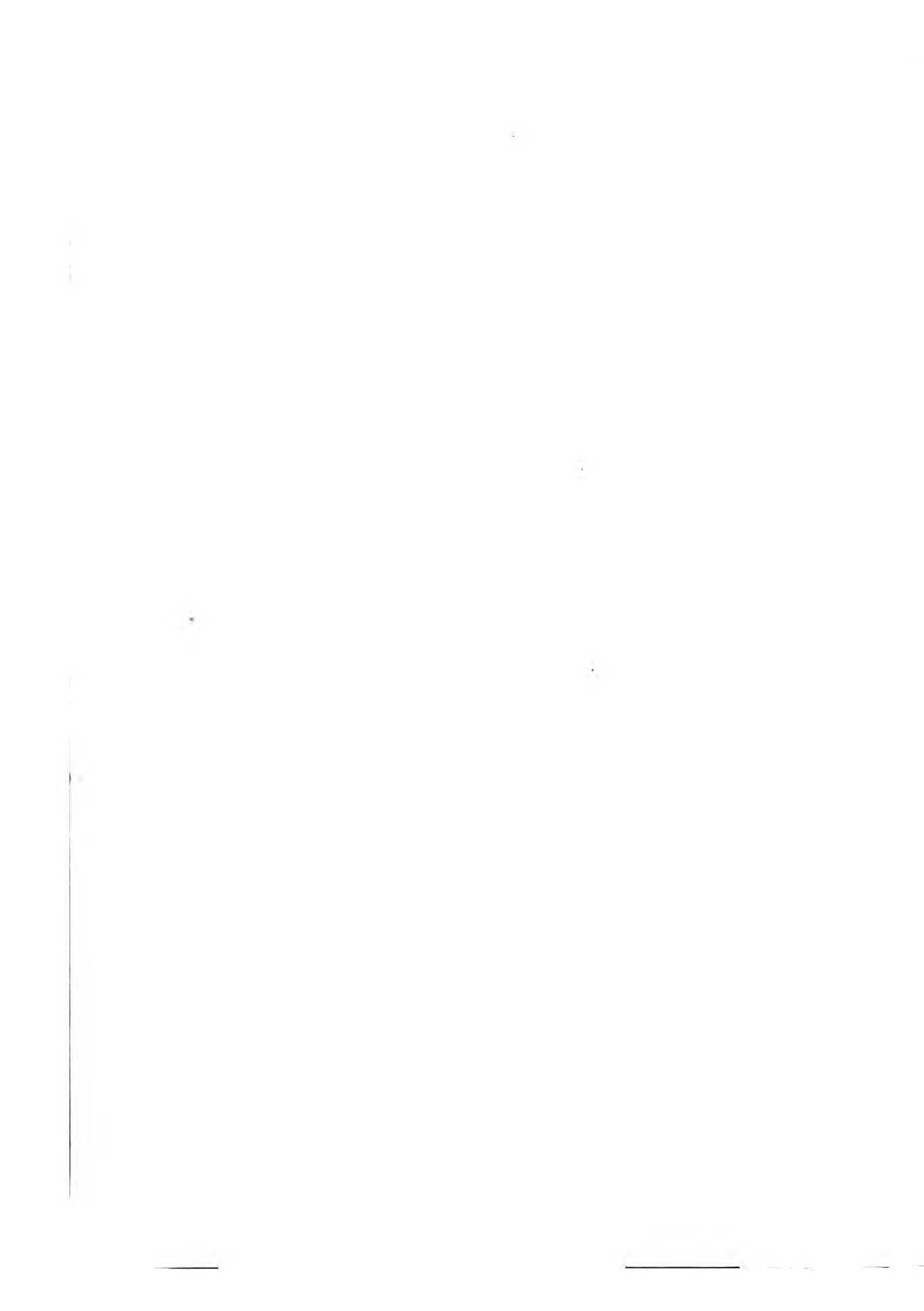


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1569







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# English Reprints.

THOMAS LEVER, M.A.

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

SERMONS.

1550.

CAREFULLY EDITED BY

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

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

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

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

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

*In orationem Dominicam,* Lib. i. *Propter laborem inopum et  
Conciones aliquot* *pauperum.*  
*Atque alia.*

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

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

**1542.** Lever takes his B.A.

**1543.** Is admitted Fellow of his college.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 1550.** DEC. 12. *Second Sunday in Advent.* Lever preaches the Third of these sermons at Paul's Cross.
- DEC. This sermon he immediately publishes with a preface.
- 1551.** APRIL. Sedburgh (Yorkshire) Grammar School refounded by a grant of the King in part the result of Lever's previous exposure of its spoliation: see p. 81.
- 1551.** Lowndes quotes the following work by Lever—  
"A Meditation vpon the Lordes Prayer, made at Sayncte Mary Wolchurche, London. Anno MDLi. Lond. by Iohn Daye. 16mo."
- 1551.** DEC. 10—**1553.** SEPT. 28. THOMAS LEVER, SEVENTH MASTER OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.
- 1552.** He takes his B.D.
- 1552.** JULY 7. Roger Ascham writing to Sir W. Cecil from Villacho in Carinthia: thus refers to the then Master of John's.  
Mr *Leaver* wrote vnto me a ioyfull lettre of Mr. *Cheeks* most happie recouery, praying to god in his lettre that *England* may be thankfull to god, for restoring such a man agein to the King, and well prayed trewlie; but I am thus firmelie perswaded, that god wist and wold we wold be thankfull and therefore bestowed this benefit vpon vs. Gods wroth, I trust, is satisfied in punishing diuers orders of the realme for their disorder, with taking away singular men from them, as Learning by mr. *Bucer*, Counsell by mr. *Denny*, nobilitie by the two yong *Dukes*, Courting by ientle *Blage*, *S. Iohns* by good *Eland*. But if Larning, Counsell, Nobilitie, Courte, *Cambridge* shold haue bene all punisshed at ones, by taking away mr. *Cheke*, then I wold haue thought our mischief had bene so moche, as did crye to god for a generall plage, in taking away such a general and onely man as m<sup>r</sup>. *Checke* is.—  
*Lansdowne MSS.* 3, fol. 1.
- [**1553.**—Notwithstanding the pressures this and other colleges were under in point of maintenance, which Mr. Leaver complains of in his sermons, occasioned by the courtiers' invading church preferments (that were intended as rewards of learning) by racking their tenants, formerly accustomed to easy rents whilst a great part of the lands of the nation were in the hands of the church, by their neglect of hospitality which ought to have been kept up, and by their want of charity which had formerly been maintained, yet the college flourished in learning, and what usually attends it, in the true religion. The reformation nowhere gained more ground or was more zealously maintained, than it did here under this master's example and the influence of his government, as appeared best in the day of trial, when he with twenty-four of his fellows, quitted their preferments to preserve their innocence.—  
*T. Baker, B.D., Hist. of St. John's Coll. i. 132. Ed. by J. E. Mayor, 1869.*]
1553. July 6. Mary succeeds to the crown.
- Lever and twenty-four Fellows resign and leave the country. Roger Ascham thus refers to this exodus in his *Scholemaster*:—  
"Yea *S. Iohnes* did then so florish, as Trinitie college, that Princelie house now, at the first erection, was but *Colonia deducta* out of *S. Iohnes*, not onelie for their Master, fellows, and scholars, but also, which is more, for their whole, both order of learning, and discipline of maners. . . . *S. Iohnes* stodec in this state, vntill those heuie tymes, and that greuous change that chanced. An. 1553. whan mo perfitte scholers were dispersed from thence in one moneth, than many yeares can reare vp againe." p. 135. Ed. 1870.
- 1554.** JULY. John Knox in a 'Comparyson betwixte England and Iuda before their destruction' in his *Godly letter sent too the fayethfull in London | Newcastle | Barwyke | &c.*, thus writes  
'That godly and feruent man mayster Lever / playnlye spake the desolacion off thys common wealthe.'

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

1558. Nov. 17. Elizabeth begins to reign.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**1567.** He is deprived of his Prebendship.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Bi yours at comandment faithfull in *Christ*

THOMAS LEUER.

Addressed on } To the right honorable Lord Robert Erle of Leicestre and Sr  
the back } William Cicell Knight and to either of them, at the Court.  
Endorsed 24 Febr. 1568 Mr. Levor to my L of Leices. and myself.  
Adviseth yat ye refusing or receiving of religion may not depend vpon  
Worldly respects. *Lands. MS. II, Art. 5.*

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

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

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

many of those Bookes so printed, intoo this Realme of Englande.

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

1572.

The revised and corrected edition of these Sermons is published.

1572.

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

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

1575.

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

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

1577. JULY.

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

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

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

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

## INTRODUCTION.

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But yet this is not only the necessary cause of steafing. There is an other, whych, as I suppose, is p[ro]pper and peculiar to you Englishmen alone. What is that, quod the Cardinal? forsoth my lorde (quod I) your shepe that were wont to be so meke and tame, and so smal eaters, now, as I heare saye, be become so great deuowerers and so wylde, that they eate vp, and swallow downe the very men them selves. They consume, destroye, and deuoure whole fieldes, howses, and cities. For looke in what partes of the realme doth growe the fynest, and therfore dearest woll, there noble men, and gentlemen: yea and certeyn Abbottes, holy men no doubt, not contenting them selves with the yearly reuenues and profytes, that were wont to grow to theyr forefathers and predecessours of their landes, nor beyng content that they liue in rest and pleasure nothinge profiting, yea much noyinge the weale publike: leaue no grounde for tillage, thei inclose al into pastures: thei throw doune houses: they plucke doune townes, and leaue nothing standyng, but only the churche to be made a shepewse. And as thoughe you loste no small quantity of grounde by forestes, chases, laundes, and parkes, those good holy men turne all dwellinge places and all that glebeland into desolation and wildernes. Therfore that on couetous and vnsatiabile cormaraunte and very plage of his natyue contrey maye compasse aboute and inclose many thousand akers of grounde to gether within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust owte of their owne, or els either by coueyne and fraude, or by violent oppression they be put besydes it, or by wronges and iniuries thei be so wried, that they be compelled to sell all: by one meanes therfore or by other, either by hooke or crooke they muste needes departe awaye, poore, selye, wretched soules, men, women, husbands, wiues, fatherlesse children, widowes, wofull mothers, with their yonge babes, and their whole houshold smal in substance, and muche in numbre, as husbandrye requireth manye handes. Awaye thei trudge, I say, out of their knowen and accustomed houses, fyndyng no place to reste in. All their housholdestuffe, whiche i verye little woorth, thoughe it myght well abide the sale: yet beeyng sodainely thruste oute, they be constrayned to sell it for a thing of nought. And when they haue wandered abrode tyll that be spent, what can they then els doo but steale, and then iustly pardy be hanged, or els go about a beggyng. And yet then also they be caste in prison as vagaboundes, because they go aboute and worke not: whom no man wyl set a worke, though thei neuer so willyngly profre themselues therto. For one Shepheard or Heardman is ynoughe to eate vp that grounde with cattel, to the occupieng wherof aboute husbandrye manye handes were requisite. And this is also the cause why victualles be now in many places dearer. Yea, besides this the price of wolle is so rysen, that poore folkes, which were wont to worke it, and make cloth therof, be nowe hable to bye none at all. And by thys meanes verye manye be forced to for-ake worke, and to geue them selues to idlenesse. For after that so much grounde was inclosed for pasture, an infinite multitude of shepe dyed of the rotte, suche vengeance God toke of their inordinate and vnsaciabile couetousnes, sendinge amonge the shepe that pestiferous morrein, whiche much more iustely shoulde haue fallen on the shepemasters owne heades. And though the number of shepe increase neuer so faste, yet the price falleth not one myte, because there be so fewe sellers. For they be almooste all comen into a fewe riche mennes handes, whome no neade forceth to sell before they lust, and they luste not before they maye sell as deare as they luste." pp. 40-42. Ed. 1869.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But me thynketh I here you whysper that ye be no murtherers / theues / pykers / sacrylegans / nor yet none of all this geare / No ar nat? Well / than I se well we must haue more to do with you. For as moche as ye denye the cryme layde vnto your charge. You shall vnderstande that good and vertuose men before our dayes / whiche loued the wyll of god / whiche loued his holy pleasure / whiche regarded his commaundement / whose medytatyon and studie both daye and nighte was / to set forth his glorie / to auance his blessed worde / and to maynteine the ministers of the same / dyd (no dout of it) with the consent of higher powers of kynges and of princes / and of their most honourable counsels / folowyng (in this behalfe) the olde lawe / for the most easyest waye and spedyst prouisyon / appoynt / assygne and ordeyne (for the same ministers to be maynteyned: decymations or tythes / wyllunge and myndunge by this good prouisyon / that within euery congregation or paryshe / the minister of goddes worde there / shulde be sure at all tymes of a luyng raised and gathered of these sayde decymations / and therein to haue added a certayne name / callynge it a benefyce / personage or vycarage / and lyke wyse turnynge the name of a minister or curate / to the name of a persone or vycare. Furthermore orderynge that one man shall haue authoritie / as patrone / to name this parson / and so to giue this same benefyce: albeijt / peraduenture that other in the same paryshe gyue as moche to the annual luyng of the parson as the patrone doth. Besydes this / they ordeyned him a mansion to dwel in among them / to th[e] entente that for his diligente administration / he shulde haue euery thinge necessarye for him within his owne gouernance: yea / and haue it brought euen home vnto him / to dy: pose at his pleasure / as it shall be mo: it expedyent and necessary for him / that the more quyetyly he mighte studie and apply him selfe to minister vnto them the pure worde of god / and to be euer redy at hande to enstructe them of all thinges necessarye for ye helth of their soules / and to be their trewe watchman and shepherde to take them from the rauysshyng wolfe / and lyke a good trew herdesman / a pastoure to go afore them in spirytuall and vertuose conuersation: and euer when they be scabled to anoynte them gently with the softe and swete salue of goddes worde / all rancoure and stryfe layde a parte. Nowe my maisters impropriated or improper maisters howe saye ye by youre fathers / haue nat you with your crafty collusyon / almooste throughe Englande / dystroyed these holy and godly prouisyons / made for the mayntenance of goddes holy word / and for th[e] administratyon of this most blessed sacramentes / for the helth / welth / and saluatyon of mans soule / for the vpholdynge of the trewe and catholyque fayth / for the supportacyon of vertue / and dyststruction of vyce. Haue nat you (I saye) by th[e] glykyng and gleynyng / snatchyng and scratchyng / tatchyng and patchyng / scapyng and rakyng togyther of almost all the fatte benefyces within this realme and impropriatynge them vnto youre selues / dystroyed this most godlye and holy prouision / bereyued the people of ye worde of god / of ye trew knowlege of ye blessed sacramentes / of their trew beleue and faith in god the father / and the blode of Iesu Christ. For howe can the people haue any faith in god withoute preachyng? Howe shulde they haue any preachyng when ye haue robbed them of their ministers? How shulde the ministers serue them when ye haue robbed them of their luyng? If the people haue no faith how can they haue charyte? If they haue no charyte / what merueyle is it / if they ronne hedlonge and be carryed from one vyce to another / from one mischefe to another? Be nat ye th[e] occasion of all this? Who is elles I praye you? Haue nat ye the impropriations? Be the impropriacions any thinge els sauynge benefyces as parsonages / and such lyke? Do we nat saye such an abbot is parson here / suche a priour is parson here? yea / suche a prioress is parson here?

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

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

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

Some men that faouore these newe founde sectes / wyl peradventure say: Well / yet it is better these monkes / chanons / and suche lyke haue the impropriatyons (whiche though they preche nat / yet they kepe some hospytalyte) rather than the seculer priestes shulde haue them / as they haue had before / which kepe no hospytalytie nor preche nother. To this it is easy to answere: That it is nat mete that any man what soeuer he be / shuld receyue the benefyte or frute of a precher / onles he do his duty therefore. . . .

Is it nat great pitye to se a man to haue thre or foure benefyces: yea peradventure halfe a score or a dosyn / whiche he neuer cometh at / but setteth in euery one of them a syr<sup>1</sup> Iohn lacke laten / that can scarce rede his porteus / orels suche a rauenyng wolfe as canne do nothyng but deuoure the sely shepe with his false doctryne / and sucke their substaunce from them. Lorde / if it be thy pleasure / ones haue mercye vpon vs / and gyue grace that we may haue some remedye founde for thys myschiefe / bothe of impropriatyons / and also of them that minister not the worde of god faythfully vpon their benefyces: as they ought to do: for I haue knowen suche / that whan they hauen rydden by a benefyce wherof they haue ben persone / they coulde natte tell that it was their benefyce. This is a wonderfull blyndnesse.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 FEB. Candlemas Day; also Septuagesima Sunday.

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

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

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

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

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

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

31 MAR. Peace proclaimed between England and France.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## BIBLIOGRAPHY.

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

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

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

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

### ISSUES IN THE AUTHOR'S LIFETIME.

#### I.—As separate publications.

#### Sermon in the Shrouds of St. Paul's.

Septuagesima Sunday, 2 Feb. 1550.

∴ *A dated and an undated edition.*

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

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

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

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

#### Sermon before King Edward VI.

Mid-Lent Sunday, 16 March 1550.

∴ *A dated and an undated edition.*

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

### Sermon at Paul's Cross.

Second Sunday in Advent, 14 December 1550.

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

#### II.—Collected together.

- 6.** 1572. FIRST TITLE. ¶ Three fruitfull Sermons, made by Thomas Leuer. Anno domini. 1550. ¶¶ And now newlie perused by the aucthour. London. Imprinted by I. Kyngston, for Henry Kirckham, 1572.  
TITLE TO SECOND SERMON. A Sermon preached the iiii. Sondaie in Lente, before the kynges Maiestie and his honorable Counsaile, by Thomas Leuer. Anno Domini. 1550.  
TITLE TO THIRD SERMON. A Sermon preached at Paules crosse the xiiii. daie of December, by Thomas Leuer. Anno Domini 1550.  
COL., as at *p.* 144.  
LAMBETH LIBRARY: ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, (See Rev. C. H. Hartshorne's *Book Rarities of the University of Cambridge*, *p.* 443. Ed. 1829.)

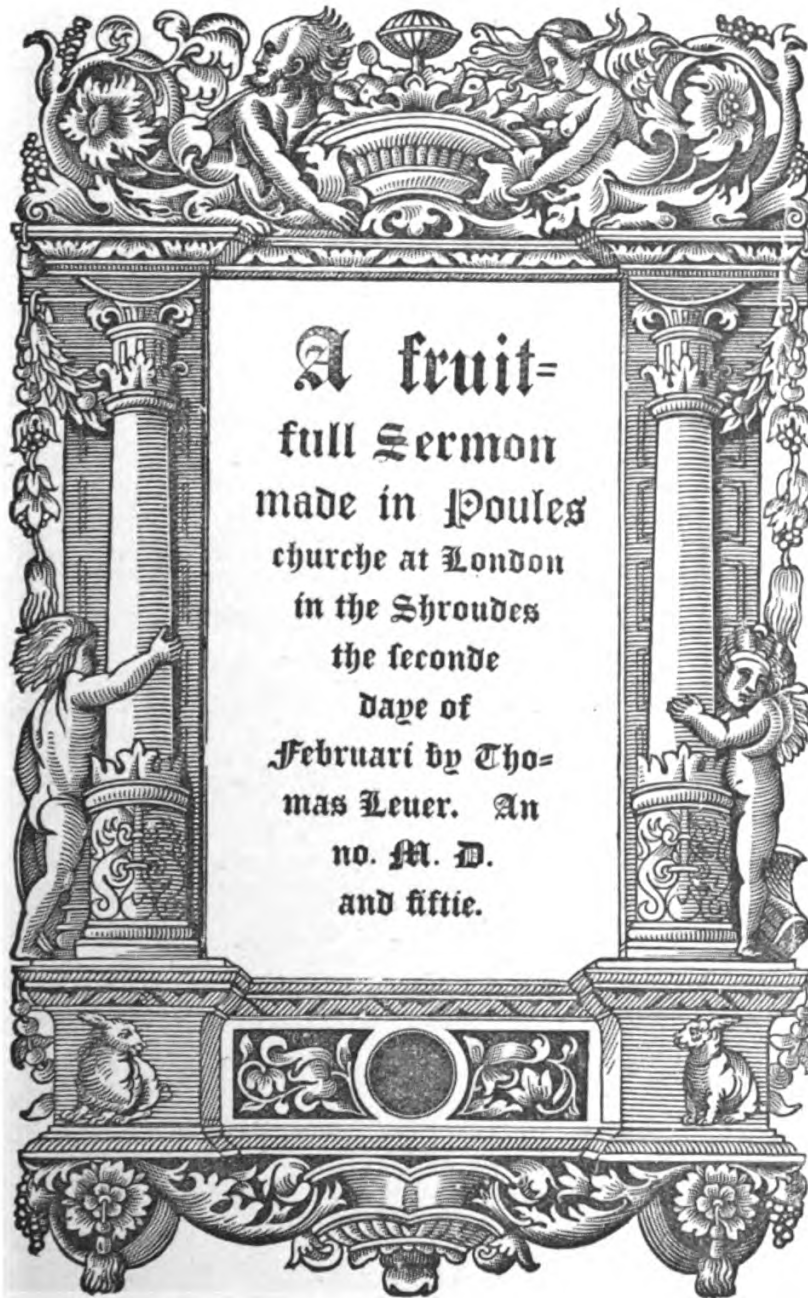
∴ The principal variations of this edition are shown within [ ], words omitted in it that are in the earlier impressions are asterisked \*. One characteristic of the revision is the prefix of *Saint* to the Apostles' names.

### ISSUES SINCE THE AUTHOR'S DEATH.

#### I.—Collected together.

- 7.** 1870. Nov. 15. 8vo. *English Reprints*: see title at *p.* 1.

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



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





God be merciful unto vs.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> in the Shroudes in London. 1572.

<sup>2</sup> Prou. i. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Wis. of Solomon, i. 13.

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

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

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

fence,] wold make oure corage to fall, and oure hertes to ryue in peces, for wofull forowe, feare, and heuineffe.

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xiii. 25.

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

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

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

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



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



praise of it. But if thou do euill, feare: for he beareth not the sward without a cause, for he is the minister of God to auenge in wrath, hym that doeth euyl.

Wherefore ye must nedes be subiecte, not only for wrathe, but also for conscience sake. For thys do ye paye tribute: For they are the ministers of God attending to thys same thyng. Geue therefore vnto euery one dueties: tribute to whome trybute is due, custome to whome custum is due, feare to whom feare is due, honoure to whom honoure is due.

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

Nowe for the better vnderstandyng of thys matter, here in thys texte, fyrst is to be noted, how that *Anima*, the soule, for as mucche as it is the chiefe parte of man, is taken for the whole man: as we in oure englyshe tonge, take the bodye beyng the worfe part for the whole. As if I saye, euery bodye here, I meane euerye man or woman here. So in the fourthe of Leuiti. *Anima quæ peccauerit, ipsa morietur.*<sup>1</sup> The soule that sinneth, it shall dye: meanyng the man or woman that synneth. And euen so here Paule by the Ebrue phraze and maner of speche, commaundeth euery soule, whych is by the englyshe phraze euery bodye, that is to saye, euerye person, man, woman, and child to be subiect. As thou art in dede, so acknowledge thy selfe in thine own mynde *Hypotassestho* [*ὑποτασσεσθαι*], yat is to saye, fet or placed vnder the hygher powers, yea and that by God. For as there is no power of authorithy but of god, so is there none put in subieccion vnder theym but by God. Those powers whiche be are ordeyned of God. As is the power of the father euer hys chylde of the husband ouer hys wyfe, of the master ouer hys seruautes, and of the kynge ouer hys

<sup>1</sup> Ezech. xviii. 4.

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Acts 27. 34.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. ix. 14.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Thess. iii. 10.

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

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

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

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

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

Then some wyll aske thys questyon: Seynge there is



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

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

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

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

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

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

and feuen Chapter of Hieremye. *Gens et regnum. et cetera.*<sup>1</sup>

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Jer. xxvii. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Jer. xlviii. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Ezek. xxxiv. 8.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Ps. cvii. 13.

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

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

these wayes toke effecte, there was immediatly further commiffions dyrected to put fuche men in authoryty, as could eafelye, and woulde gladly, and were purpofed fpedely to haue layed vnlawfull inclofed landes abrode agayne, in fuch quiet forte as shoulde haue bene moft to the kynges honour, to ye wealth of thys realme, and to the greateft comforte of thofe whyche were moft greued. Now howe the people dyd take or rather how they dyd refyfte and wythftand thys, ye know.

And I fhall rehearfe whan as I haue telled you of one other thyng whyche beyng of longer contynuance in Englande, hath done ferre more harme, and yet the gryef therof fer leffe, yea nothyng at all felt. For the deadely wound therof dyd bryng the people pafte all felyng of gryefe. And the venomous poyfen broughte the people in fuche a Maze, that they dyd not fele and perceyue them felues to be in moft horryble myferable wretchednes, whan as the worde of GOD, the breade of lyfe, the fauyng health in Chrift Iefu, was taken a way, and in a ftraunge language fhut, and clofed vp from theym, fo that they wythout felyng were led from God by mannes tradicions vnto vayne ceremonis, to be moft venemoufly poyfoned wyth dyuelifhe fuperfticion. Therefore whan as the mercyfull goodnes of God beholdyng the miferies of the people, by the prouydence of the kynges maieftye, and his counfell, purpofely ordeined of God to conforte, healpe, and amend the people of thys realme, by the reftoryng of goddes worde, and fettyng it playnelye forthe in the Englyfh tong, with the ryght vfe and dew adminiftracion of hys sacramentes to be imprinted, and confirmed in our hartes: Whan as I faye, by thefe gracyous meanes, and godlye order, God hym felfe dyd offer vnto the people, relyefe, comforte, and profperitye: Then the vngodlye, vngracious and vnhappye people, beyng moofte vnkynde, where as they shoulde haue bene moofte thankfull, dystrufted GOD, dyfpifed hys ordinaunce, and prefumed of their owne wylfulnes

so farre as they coule or myghte, to wythstand the ordynance of God, refused the grace of God, and procured to theym selues the vengeaunce of God. Wherefore we hauynge thys terrible example in fresh memorye, and seyng a gracyous Kyng, and Godly rulars ordeyned of GOD, to amende oure gryefes, althoughe all that cannot be amended in one day, whyche hath bene appayryng manye yeres, yet let vs pacientlye suffer for a tyme, not doubtyng but that that reliefe, comforte, and wealth, whyche God hathe promysed vnto Englande by hys word, offered of hys goodnes, and begon by his ordinaunce, shalbe brought vnto passe, by hys wyfdome and myghte: in suche wyse as shall be mooste for hys glorye, the kynges honoure, the wealth of the realme, and most to the comforte of theym that mooste pacyentlye in hope, truste to [in] goddes goodnes. These examples haue I rehearsed to teach you as it were by experience, howe true this saying of [saincte] Paul is: They whyche wythstande or resyste the powers ordeyned of God, receyue vnto them selues Iudgemente: whyche is vengeaunce, and damnacion. Let vs therfore amend our lyues, and be good men, and we shall not nede to hate and feare, but haue greate occasion to loue, and truste those whyche be nowe our chyefe rulars. For they be as [S.] Paule sayeth, made rulars, not to put them in feare that do good, but them whyche do euyl: so that none nedeth to feare these rulers, but euell doers. Whyche in euyl doynge haue deserued of the rulers to be punyshed, and in resyftyng their power ordeyned of GOD, do hasten, and aggrauate towards theym selues, the fore vengeaunce of GOD. It foloweth: Wouldest thou be wythout feare of power, do that whyche is good, and thou shalt haue prayse of it: for he is the mynyster of God to do the[e] good, but yf thou do euyl, feare. For he beareth not the swearde wythout a cause, but is the mynister of GOD to aduenge in wrath hym that doeth euyl.

All these wordes [sainct] Peter concludeth bryefelye in



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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> 1 Peter ii. 14.

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

<sup>1</sup> Psa. xxiv. 1.<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. iv. 7.<sup>3</sup> Isa. lviii. 7.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Luke vi. 35.

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. x. 17.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Matt. *zv.* 10.

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

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

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



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

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

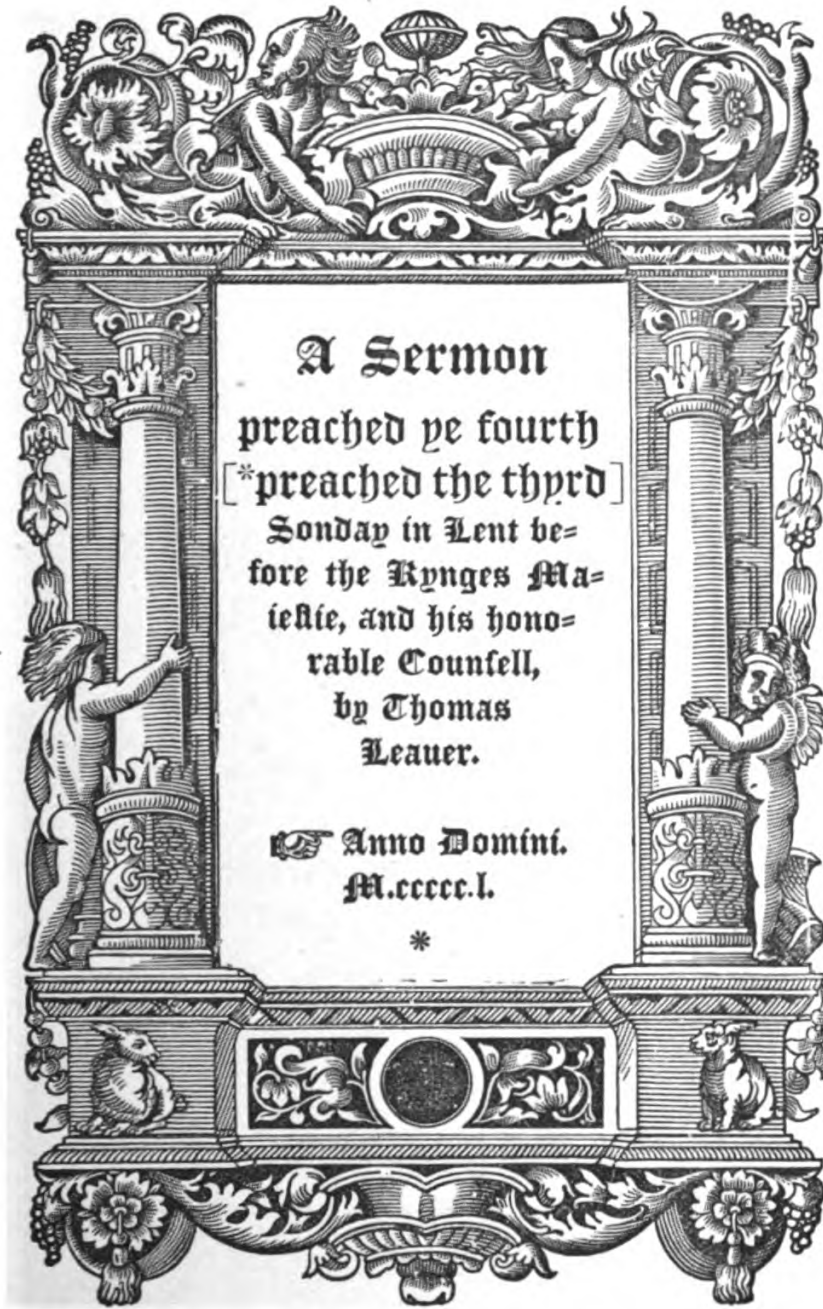
<sup>1</sup> Ps. *xxiii.* 4.


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

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

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



 *Cum privilegio imprimendum solum.*

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



**In nomine Iesu Christi.**



**G**OD be mercifull vnto vs: For the tyme is euen nowe comynge, when as God muste needes either of his mercye here in Englande, worke fuche a wonderfull miracle vnto our conforte, as farre passeth mans expectacion: orels of his righteousnes take such vengeance of this lande to th[e]example of all other landes, as shall be to our vtter distruccion.

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

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

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

Wherfore Englande, whiche at this present tyme, by

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

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

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

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

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

God be prayfed, with thankful obedience, and louyng reuerence dewe to your gracious maiestye and honorable counsell, whiche haue surely wyfely prouyded for, diligently kept, and charitably saued this realme, by driuyng away the wylde [wylie] foxe of papisticall supersticion, and by castyng out the vncleane spirit of ignorance, to gods glorye, your honour, and our confort.

<sup>1</sup> Is. i. 20.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yea, the plentye of these people hauyng enough,

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Psa. xxxiv. 10 (Latin).

<sup>2</sup> Psa. xii. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Ezek. xxiv. 23.

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xi. 8.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Isa. i. 10, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Isa. i. 15.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Isa. i. 16.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Isa. i. 16. 17.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

<sup>1</sup> John vi. 9.

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

Heare what foloweth: whan these fifhes and loaues were brought vnto Iefus, make (fayth he) the people to fyt doune. God alwaies beftoweth his benefites vpon them that fyt doune in quietnes, and powreth furth his vengeance vpon thofe that be vnpacient, vnquiet, and full of bufynesse. For as appeareth in Genesis: The people gathered together in the plain of Sannaer [Sanner], and made a great vprere, buyldyng a towre lyke rebels againft god, to get them a name. Howbeit god destroyed their handywork, confounded their langage, and fcattered them abroad.

The Scribes and the Pharifeys came vnquietly, tempting Chrift, and requyred a fygne from heauen. Chrift rebuked them fharpely, and fhewed them no fygne, but called them a frowarde and aduoutrous generacion. So the people in Englande gathered togyther, thei woulde make maifteryes, and bee notable felowes, yea, the towre of their prefumpcion fhuld be buylt vp vnto heauen, in difpite of gentyl men and nobilitie: they haue partlye felte, and we haue ryghte pitifully feene how fore God was therewith offended. Now I heare faye there is as yet remainyng in Englande fume ftiffe necked Iewes, which come prefumptuoufly tem[p]tyng God, and fay: if thefe our rulers be fent of God to take better order then other haue done, well then let theym begynne betyme to gyue vs a notable fygne and token, for els we wyll not bileeue, trust, nor obey them.

Well, I wyl tell you that thus whyfper: Euen as Chrift was *Positus in resurrectionem et ruinam multorum in Ifraell*:<sup>1</sup> Set to refloure and deokay manye in Ifraell: So be Chriften rulers in euerye commune wealth, fet and ordeyned of God, to beate doune and kepe vnder thefe fturdye rebels, whiche be fo euyll

<sup>1</sup> Luke ii. 34.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. xi. 23.

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

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

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

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

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

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

For Gods sake, you that be in auctoritie, loke vpon it.

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



auctoritie, to see at this tyme all suche thynges as yet remain out of ordre, rightously, speedely, and charitably redressed. And as I do perceiue, that the abuse of these thynges afore tyme, hath offended God, troubled the common wealthe, and brought some men towardes shame and confusion: So do I wysh, pray, and truste, that now the redresse of the same, may be to Gods pleasure, the peoples comfort, and to the honor and establisment of theym that be in most hygh auctoritie.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Prov. xi. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Luke vi. 38.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Prov. xi. 28.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Thess. iii. 10

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Isa. v. 20.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

*Dixit Dominus.*

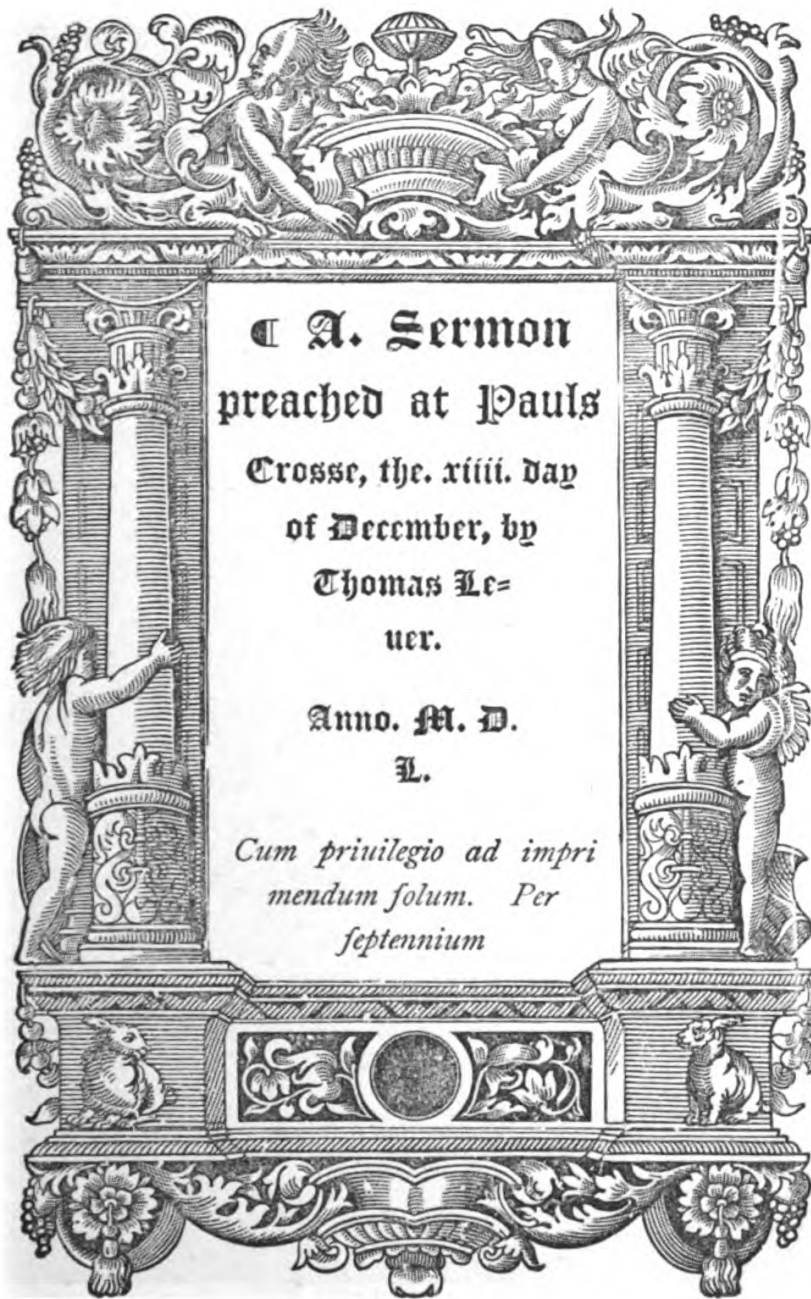
The Lord hath  
spoken it.

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

**I** Imprinted

at London by Ihon  
Daie, dwelling ouer Al-  
dersgate, and Wyl-  
liam Seres dwel-  
ling in Peter  
Colledge.

The yere of our Lorde God  
M. D. L. the nynty  
daye of Apryll.





**U**nto the right honor=  
rable Lordes, and others of the  
Kynge's Magestie hys priue Coun=  
sell, Thomas Leaue wysheth in=  
crease of Grace and godly  
honoure.



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

The enemye of God and man  
alwayes ſekyng lyke a rorynge lion  
whome he may deuoure, is much  
at al tymes, but then eſpecially to  
be taken hede vnto, when as he hym ſelf beyng tranſ=  
formed into the aungell of lyght, doth cloke the minif=  
ters of hys myſchiefe in a pretended ſhew of godlines  
and vertue, ſo that therby they be ſuffered of al men,  
and mayntained of many men, to worcke and brynge  
vnto paſſe a deuilliſhe dyſorder, and ſhamefull dyſ=  
honeſtye in a Chriſten commen wealth.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For papiftry is not banyshed out of Englande by pure religion, but ouerrunne, fuppreffed and kepte vnder within thys realme by couetous ambicion. Papiftrye abufed many thyngs, couetoufnes hath diftroyed more: papiftry is fupercifion, couetoufnes is Idolatry. Papiftrye afore tyme dyd obfcure the Kinges honour, and abufe the wealth of this realme, couetoufnes at thys tyme doth more abufe and decaye them bothe, makynge the kynge bare, the people poore, and the realme miserable.

The Kynges procedynges to be red in his lawes, ftatutes, and Iniunccions be good and godly: but to be fene and knowen in the dedes and practifes of his officers, feruauntes, and fubiectes, be vngodly, fhameful, wicked. For in theyr doynge appeareth no retournynge from euil vnto good, by a godly reformacion: but a procedyng from euyl vnto worfe, by an vncharitable spoyle, and deuylyfhe deftruccion.

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

If ye wyll haue a godlye reformacion effectouflye to procede, truffe not the feruauntes of Mammon, enemyes vnto God, and traitoures vnto the kynge, and fpoylers of the people, wyth the fettyng forthe of your godlye lawes, ftatutes and ordynaunces, which be moft contrary vnto theyr couetous myndes, and wycked dedes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Iesus Christus.*

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



**Y**ou Citizins of London, and all other that be here present marke, note, and remember what ye heare of me this day: for yf I shall say or speake any thyng that is euyl, you muste beare recorde against me of that euyl. But if I do preache well and truelye, then you shall vnderstande and knowe your selues to be in great daunger of haynous treason towards god and the kinges maiesty of this realme, which be by you spoyled, and robbed: god of his glory, the kyng of hys honoure, and the realme of hys wealth. Howbeit the mercyfull goodnes of bothe god and the kyng hath sent me hyther thys daye, to proclame a generall pardon, intendyng thereby to try out and faue them that haue offended by simple ignoraunce, because the force of theyr myghty power is nowe readye and commyng vtterly to destroye all other that continue in wylfull stobernes and rebellyous treason. Wherefore afore the readyng of my commysion, I wyll declare that piece of scriptur whyche appoynted to be red in the churche as thys daye, wyll certyfye you that God by his scriptures hath shewed the kyng, who be hys fayethfull seruauntes, and who be hys ennemyes. Thys scripture is wrytten

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

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

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. iv. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Gal. iv. 19.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 1.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Prov. xx. 9.

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Luke .xii. 42.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Prov. xxvii. 6.

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

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

For yf I lose my lyfe here, I shall fynde it in heauen. But yf you be dampned, and I beyng a watcheman, and feinge your damnacyon comming, do not geue warning, you shal be taken in youre owne synnes, and your bloude requyred at my hands. If I geue warnyng, and you take hede, gods indignacion shalbe appeased, and bothe we saued. Therefore I beyng a watcheman and by the lyghte of goddes worde spying that the abominacion of ydolatrous couetousnes hath kyndled the indygnacyon of God to consume and destroye the people of thys realme, doo crye out agaynst Englande by the voyce of the Prophete: *Abiecerunt legem domini,*<sup>2</sup> they haue cast awaye the lawe of the lorde, euery one framynge hym selfe vnto the fashyon of thys world: *elsquium sancti Israell blasphemauerunt.*<sup>3</sup> They haue blasphemed the word of the holy one of Israell, by

<sup>1</sup> 1 John x. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Isa. v. 24.

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

<sup>1</sup> Isa. vi. 25.<sup>2</sup> Ps. li. 5.



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

<sup>1</sup> Heb. v. 4.<sup>2</sup> Iſa. v. 8.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. vi. 5.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Isa. lvi. 11.<sup>2</sup> 2 Peter ii. 15<sup>3</sup> Num. xxii. 18.

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

<sup>1</sup> Ps. vii. 12.

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

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

If ye had any eyes, ye should see and be ashamed to confesse that yf some of you shoulde not haue manye offyces, there woulde not be menne ynoughe founde, to put in euerye offyce one manne, mete and able by doynge of theyr dewtyes to serue the kyng, and take good order amongest the people, where as there is a greate number too manye of your sorte whyche thyncke your selues mete and worthye by takynge many Offyces in hande, to burden the kyng and the people wyth all fees and charges belongyng vnto euery offyce: yea and furdere more to requyre personages, prebendes, Deanryes and anye manner of luyng due vnto the Ecclesiastycall ministry, to be geuen vnto you for seruyng the Kyng in takynge the vauntage of many, and doynge the dutyes of fewe offyces belongyng vnto ciuyll pollyce.

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Was it not a godly and charitable prouision of the Kyng to geue vnto the vniuersity two hundred poundes yerelye for excellent Readers? three hundred [Thirtie] poundes yerelye in pure almes, and manye hundred poundes also to the foundacyon and ereccion of a newe Colledge? And was it not a deuilische deuysie of you to tourne all thys the kinges bountoufse liberalite into impropereacions of benefices, whyche be papyficall and vncharytable spoyles of most necessarye prouision for pore paryshes? *Intelligite insipientes in populo, et stulti aliquando sapite.*<sup>1</sup>

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Ps. xciv. 9, 10.

and geue agayne all fuche thynges as haue bene wrongfullye taken and abufed. Surelye the Abbeyes dyd wrongfullye take and abufe nothyng so much as the improperacions of benefices. Nothyng is so papyftycall as improperacions of benefices be: they be the Popes darlynges and paramors, whiche by the dyuellyſhe deuyce of wicked Balaamytes, be fet a brode in this realme to caufe the lerned men of the vnyuerſities and all biſhoppes that be godly menne, the Popes enemyes, to commyt ſpirituall fornicacion wyth them. Whye dyd God deſtroye the Madyanytes but for their fynne? Why dyd he plague the Ifraelytes but for ye fame fynne? Why dyd God caufe the Abeyes to be deſtroyed, but for papyftycall abuſes? And why ſhoulde not god plague the vnyuerſityes and Byſhops kepyng and meddelyng wyth improperacions, that bee the fame papyftycall and deuelyſh abuſes?

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

<sup>1</sup> Acts *iii.* 17.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Acts ii. 38; Mark i. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. ix. 22.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Tim. ii. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Luke i. 75.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Sam. xxiv. 1.

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

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

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

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

Some of them kepeth their fermes in theyr owne

<sup>1</sup> Isa. vi. 24, 25.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. xcvi. 7.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Prov. xi. 26.

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Ps. lii. 2.    <sup>2</sup> Jer. vi. 13.    <sup>3</sup> Isa. i. 23.    <sup>4</sup> Ezek. xxxiv. 8, 9.

*mensi fueritis, remeietur uobis:*<sup>1</sup> By [bicaufe] the same meafure that you haue ferued other, ye youre felues fhall alfo be ferued: for as ye haue ferued fuperftycious papiftes, fo fhall you your felues be ferued, beyng couetous Idolaters: yea and haue as muche vauntage at the metynge, as is betwixte fuperfticion and Idolatrye. Howe be it, God geuyng you refpite to loke for amendemente: offers more gentelnes, yf ye wyl take it. For in the. xx. of Jeremy he fayth: *Ecce ego do coram uobis uiam uitæ et uiam mortis:*<sup>2</sup> Behold I fet before you the way of lyfe and the way of death: yf ye repent and amend, lyfe: If ye be ftyll ftifnecked, death: for the Lorde by Efaye. i. fayeth: *Si uolueritis et audieritis:*<sup>3</sup> Yf ye wyl heare to repent and amend, *Bona terræ comedetis,*<sup>3</sup> ye fhall eat the good fruits yat the earth fhall brynge forth, to your comfort. *Si nolueritis, et me ad iracundiam prouocaueritis,*<sup>3</sup> yf ye wyl not, but prouoke me to anger, *gladius deuorabit uos.*<sup>3</sup> The fworde fhall eat you vp. *Quia os domini locutum est.*<sup>3</sup> For it is Gods owne mouthe that hathe fpoken it. For Gods fake beleue it: And do not by an harde hearte voyde of repentance heape vnto your felues the wrathe of god agaynst ye day of vengeance.

But thankfullye enbrafyng the ryches of goddes goodnes, pacience and long fufferyng, acknowlegyng that goddes kyndnes draweth you vnto repentance, yf ye haue fo lytle fpyrituall felyng and ghostlye vnderftandyng that ye can nothyng be perfwaded or moued by the comfortable promyfes, and terrible thretenynges of the inuifible God: yet hauyng corporall eyes and naturall reafon, confyder the decaye of thys Realme, and the towardnes of the kynges mageftye. Note the decaye of thys realme, and thereby ye fhall learne to knowe that nothyng can make a realme wealthe, yf the inhabitauntes therof be couetoufe: for yf [all] landes and goodes coulde haue made a realme happy notwythftandyng mennes couetoufnes, then fhoulde not thys realme foo vnhappylye haue decayed, whenas by the fuppreffion of Abbeis, Colleges and Chauntries, innumerable lands and goodes were gotten.

<sup>1</sup> Matt. vii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Jer. xxi. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Isa. l. 19, 20.

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

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

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

lyuynges, and doth the dutyes of neyther. For to theyr owne pryuate loker they take rentes of tenauntes, and fermes of landlordes: but when by occasyon they shall be requyred to serue the Kyng for a common wealth, then they wyll haue neyther landes nor ferme to do the kyng seruyce. Do not therfore imagyn you that be eyther of the clergie or of the laytye in hyghe or lowe degree, that the Kynges Gracious Magestie and his honourable counsell be so negligent that they do not espye, or so parcyall that they wyll not punyssh those whyche in thys realme hynder the prechyng of gods word, stoppe the adminystracion of iustice and equitye, cause of all thynges a dearthe and scarfytye, and brynge Gentlemenne to pouertye, and husbandmen vnto beggerye. It is spyed and muste be punysshed, although it be delayed for a tyme, to fe yf you of your selues wyllinglye wyll amende it.

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. *iv.* 3, 4, 5.



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

<sup>1</sup> 11. Peter *iii.* 16.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. xii. 6

<sup>2</sup> 1 Peter ii. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Gal. iii. 22.

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

<sup>1</sup> Rom. xi. 32.<sup>2</sup> Act. iv<sup>3</sup> Isa. lviii. 1.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Isa. lviii. 1.

grudgyng agaynst myne ordinaunces: tel the commin-  
 alty yat the oxe draweth, the horse beareth, ye tre  
 bryngeth forth frutes and the earthe corne and grasse  
 to the profyte and comferte of man, as I haue or-  
 dained them: but they of the comminaltye in England  
 bye and fel, make bargaynes, and do al thynges to the  
 grefe and hynderaunce of manne, contrary to my com-  
 maundemente. Tell the commynaltye that they take  
 one anothers ferme ouer their heades, they thruste  
 one an other oute of their houfes, they take leafes vnto  
 them felues, and lette theym dearer vnto other: they  
 bye cornes and wares to make other paye more dere  
 for it: they hurte and trouble, eate vp and deuoure  
 one another. Tell all Englande hye and low, riche  
 and poore that they euerye one prowlynge for them  
 felues, be feruaunts vnto Mammon, ennemies vnto god,  
 disturbers of common wealth, and destroyers of them  
 felues. And for all this lette them knowe that I haue  
 no pleasure in ye death of a finner. *Sed magis vt con-  
 uertatur et uiuat,*<sup>1</sup> but rather I geue him respit and  
 fend him warning yat he may turne and liue, com-  
 fortably here vpon earth, and ioifully in heauen for  
 euer. Therefore if any in Englande do tourne and  
 amende, he shall saue hym selfe. But they which wyll  
 not repent and amend shal not be saued by theyr  
 fathers or frendes, which by repentaunce be as sure  
 them felues to be accepted vnto me as was Noe  
 Danyel and Iob: but and if all or the moost parte of  
 them in England, turne and amend them, say vnto  
 England: *delectaberis super domino.*<sup>2</sup> From henceforth  
 you shalt haue delite and plesure in ye lord, *et sustollam te  
 super altitudines terræ,*<sup>3</sup> and I wil lift the higher in  
 honour welth and power, then any other realme in or  
 vpon the earth, *et cibabo te hereditate Iacobi patris tui,*<sup>2</sup>  
 and so wyll I fede the with the inheritaunce of Iacob  
 thy father. I will restore vnto ye whatfoeuer land or  
 holds in Scotland or in Fraunce dyd at any tyme belonge  
 vnto Iacob thy father, vnto the kings of this realme,  
*os enim domini locutum est,*<sup>2</sup> for the Lordes owne mouth

<sup>1</sup> Ezek xxiii. 11.<sup>2</sup> Isa. lviii. 14.

hath spoken it, which is a better assurance vnto this commission, then though it were signed and seled wyth ten thousande mens handes.

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

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

## God saue the Kynge.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In second edition, 1572. God saue the Queene.

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In the reprint of 1572, the colophon is—

These bookes are to be solde at the litle  
North doore of Paules, at the  
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