

SERMONS AND REMAINS

OF

HUGH LATIMER,

SOMETIME BISHOP OF WORCESTER,

MARTYR, 1555.

EDITED FOR

The Parker Society,

BY THE

REV. GEORGE ELWES CORRIE, B.D.

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF CATHERINE HALL, CAMBRIDGE,
AND NORRISIAN PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THAT UNIVERSITY.



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THE EIGHTH SERMON OF MASTER DOCTOR LATIMER.
THE SECOND SUNDAY IN ADVENT, 1552.

LUKE XXI. [25—28.]

This gospel is read in the church the second Sunday in Advent.

And there shall be signs in the sun and in the moon, and in the stars, and in the earth: the people shall be at their wit's end through despair; the sea and the water shall roar, and men's hearts shall fail them for fear, and for looking after those things which shall come on the earth, For the powers of heaven shall move: and then shall they see the Son of man come in a cloud with power and great glory. When these things begin to come to pass, then look up and lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth near.

2 Cor. v.

This gospel is read this day in the church, and it shall be for our lesson. It is taken out of the twenty-first chapter of Luke, and it maketh mention of the glorious coming of our Saviour Christ, how and in what manner of form he shall come: for, as the scripture witnesseth, we shall all come before the judgment of Christ, and there receive every one according unto his deserts; after his works he shall be rewarded of Christ, which shall be at that time their judge: and there shall be signs and tokens before his glorious and fearful coming; for then he shall come to judgment. His first coming into this world was to suffer his painful passion, and to deliver mankind out of the bondage and dominion of the devil. But when he cometh again he will come of¹ another manner of wise than he did the first time: for he will come with great power and might, with the host of heaven, with all the angels of God, and so sit at the audit and judge all men. And this is most certain, that he will come; but we cannot tell when, or at what time his coming shall be. For the day of his coming is hidden from us, to that end that we should be ready at all times. Therefore, I desire you, for God's sake, make you ready; put not off your preparation. For seeing that we be certain that danger and peril shall come upon us, all they that be wise and godly will prepare themselves, lest they be taken suddenly

It is certain that Christ shall come.

[¹ after, 1607.]

unawares, or unready. And therefore, I say, this day is hidden from us, to the intent that we ever should be ready. For if we should know the day or the hour, at what time he would come, no doubt we would be careless, we would take our pleasure as long as we might, till at such time as we should depart. And therefore, lest we should be made careless, this day is hidden from us: for the angels of God themselves know not the hour or moment of this great and fearful day. Neither did Christ himself know it as he was man; but as he is God he knoweth all things; nothing can be hid from him, as he saith himself: *Pater commonstrat mihi omnia*; "The Father sheweth me all things." Therefore his knowledge is infinite, else he were not very God. But as concerning his manhood, he knew not that time; for he was a very natural man, sin excepted: therefore like as he was content to suffer heat and cold, to be weary and hungry; like as he was content to suffer such things, so he was content, as concerning his manhood, to be ignorant of that day. He had perfect knowledge to do his Father's commission, to instruct us, and teach us the way to heaven; but it was not his commission to tell us the hour of this day. Therefore he knew not this day, to tell us of it any thing, as concerning when it should be. For as far forth as ignorance is a painful thing unto man, so far forth he was content to be ignorant; like as he did suffer other things.

The cause why the day of judgment is hid from us.

The angels know not that day.

John v.

Christ knew his commission.

I will rather spend the time in exhorting you to make ready against that day, to prepare yourselves, than curiously to recite or expound the signs thereof, which shall go before this fearful day.

"And there shall be signs in the sun and moon, &c." There be some learned men which expound those tokens of the destruction of Jerusalem, but that is not the matter: if they have gone before the destruction of Jerusalem, then they have gone before the end of the world, and so admonish us to make ready, to leave sin, lest we be taken with it. As touching the Jews, our Saviour Christ wept over them, and threatened them what should come upon them, because they despised him, and would not receive God's holy word, and leave their sins; like as we do, which take our own pleasure², care little for him or his word: we cannot suffer

The cause of the destruction of Jerusalem.

[² our pleasure, 1562.]

when our faults are told us; we repine and grudge at it, like as the Jews did. Therefore our Saviour, knowing what should come upon them, wept over the city, prophesying that it should so be destroyed; that one stone should not be left upon another: and so it came to pass according unto his word. For Titus, the son of Vespasian, which was emperor at that time, destroyed that same city Jerusalem utterly, like a forty years after the death of our Saviour Christ. But wherefore were they so destroyed? Because they would not believe the sayings of our Saviour Christ: they would take their pleasures; they would follow their forefathers, as our papists are wont to say. When they cannot defend themselves with scripture, then they will defend themselves with the ignorance of their forefathers; much like unto the Jews, which could not away with the doctrine of our Saviour, because it was disagreeing from the customs and traditions of their forefathers. But what happened? Their destruction fell upon them before they perceived it, and destroyed the most part of them full miserably, God knoweth: and not only that, but, as the story doth shew, they that were left, and not brought to destruction, were so vilely handled, and so despised amongst all men, that thirty were sold for a penny; and so by that means they were scattered throughout all the world; and in every country where they came, they were made slaves and tributaries, and shall be so till to the end of the world. For scripture saith, *Hierusalem calcabitur a gentibus, donec implebuntur tempora gentium*; "Jerusalem shall be trodden under the feet, till the times of the gentiles be fulfilled." By this prophecy is signified that the Jews never shall come together again, to inhabit Jerusalem and Jewry, and to bear rule there, as they have done: for by this word *calcabitur* is signified as much as, it shall be inhabited, it shall be under the dominion of the gentiles.

Titus destroyed the city Jerusalem.

A note for papists.

Thirty Jews for a penny.

Luke xxi.

Who be the gentiles?

Now which are gentiles? Answer; all the people in the whole world are gentiles, be it whatsoever they will, except the Jews: all other are gentiles. We Englishmen are gentiles; so are likewise the Frenchmen, Dutchmen, and other nations; all are gentiles. Now the prophet saith, that Jerusalem shall not be inhabited, *donec implebuntur tempora gentium*, "till the times of the gentiles be ful-

filled;" that is to say, till all they are come into the world which are appointed of God to come; that is to say, they shall never come together again till to the end of the world. Wherefore? Because they were stiff-necked¹, that they would not be ruled by God's most holy word, but despised it, and lived according unto their own phantasies and vanities: like as we do now-a-days the most part of us. Therefore Like sin, like punishment. we may reckon that it shall go with us one day as it went with them, which are made now outcasts of the whole world; every man despiseth them, and regardeth them for nothing, for they have no dominion more; no king, nor ruler, no cities, nor policy. And though Jerusalem be builded again, yet the Jews shall have it no more, they shall never have dominion over it; but the gentiles, they shall have it, it shall be in their hands. And this is the meaning of this The cause why the Jews cannot have Jerusalem. prophecy against the Jews, and this God hath performed hitherto; for the Jews have many times attempted to build it again, yet for all that they were not able to bring it to pass: for God's word will not nor cannot be falsified; for the wrath of God hangeth upon their heads, because of their wickedness, wherewith they have provoked God. Further, you must understand, that not only Jews² were at Jerusalem, but they were scattered throughout all the world; in every country were some; and therefore they were not all destroyed when Jerusalem was destroyed: but for all that they were cursed in the sight of God, so that they should not inhabit any more that city.

We read in stories³, that in the days of the emperor The Jews' vain enterprise. Adrian the Jews gathered themselves together out of all cities, a wonderful number of men, all the Jews which could be gotten, to the intent that they might get Jerusalem again; which Jerusalem was at that time in the emperor's hands, and therefore they made great preparations to have it again: but what doth the emperor? He gathered together a great and strong host, and made against them, and in the end scattered them; so that they were without any hope afterward to recover that city again. After which things the emperor made a proclamation, that not one Jew should come into the city, neither to buy or to sell; yea, and furthermore,

[¹ so stiff-necked, 1607.][² the Jews, 1596.][³ See Euseb. Eccl. Hist. iv. 6, and the Notes of Valesius.]

to the intent that they should be without any hope of recovery, he changed the name of the city, and called it *Ælia*. So that by this story it most manifestly appeareth, that the word of God cannot be falsified by any man's power or cunning; for though they had a strong and mighty host, yet, for all that, God, which is the ruler of things, confounded them, so that they could bring nothing to pass after their minds, as they would have it, but rather were banished further from the city. For they were in worse case after this fighting, than they had been before; for they had an access unto the city before, which liberty afterward they lost.

Julianus an
apostate and
persecutor.

After that in Julianus the emperor's time, which emperor was an apostata, for he had been a Christian, and after he came to be emperor, he forsook the christian faith, and all goodness and godliness; and not only that, but he did all that he could to vanquish and pull down Christ's true religion, and therefore he went about to set up the Jews again, and gave them liberties to gather themselves together, and to return again to Jerusalem; and not only gave them this liberty, but also he helped them with all manner of things, that they might bring to pass their purpose; and so upon that the Jews gathered themselves together with¹ an infinite number of people, and went to Jerusalem, and so began to make preparations for the building of the temple, and so finally laid the foundation. The story saith, that this host of the Jews was a wonderful rich host; for their mattocks and spades, and the other instruments which they occupied to² the building of the temple were made of fine silver. So these Jews had the emperor's favour, his aid and help: they were rich, and able to set up their kingdom again, and so falsify the word of God, after man's reason; for they lacked no worldly things. But what doth God? When he saw that no man would withstand them; to verify his word, he sendeth a wind, a strong hurling wind, which blew away all their provisions which were made by them for the building of the temple; all the sand and mortar, and such like things, which men use in such buildings; and after that there came such an earthquake, that they were almost out of their wits. And this was not enough, but there came also fire, and burned up all

God can blow
when he will.

[¹ in, 1562.]

[² about, 1607.]

their works; and so finally they were scattered again one from another³.

So by these stories it manifestly appeareth, that no man's power is able to stand against God, or to disappoint him of his purposes: for Christ our Saviour had told them, that they should never come to their rule again. And so his words are verified till this day, and shall be still to the world's end: for he saith, *Cælum et terra peribunt, verbum autem meum non peribit*; "Heaven and earth shall perish, but my word shall endure for ever." A man would think, that there were nothing so durable as heaven and earth is; yet for all that they shall rather perish than that the word of God should be falsified. And this appeared in the Jews, which though they had the aid and help of this great emperor, and the mighty power of this world, yet for all that they brought nothing to pass at all, for God was able to confound them; and so, no doubt, he will confound all his⁴ enemies till the end of the world: for he is as able to verify his words now, as he was then. I would have you to consider well the causes wherefore they were cast away from God, and were made a mocking-stock unto the whole world. Wherefore, I say? Verily⁵, for their wicked and sinful lives. Seeing then that they were cast out of their land, it shall be meet for us to take heed; for no doubt this is written for our instruction, to give us warning, as the epistle which is read of this day exhorteth us.

Now God hath fulfilled his word as touching the destruction of Jerusalem: he hath made true his word of wrath; think ye not that he will fulfil his word of mercy too? Yes, no doubt; ye may be sure of it, that he which promised that if we believe in Christ we shall be saved, he will as well execute and bring to pass that word, as he hath brought to pass the word of his wrath and indignation over the Jews. The temple which was at Jerusalem, was called the temple of God; the people was God's people: but when they would not come unto him, and live according as he would have them to live, he cast them away, and utterly destroyed their domi-

[³ Theodorit. Hist. Eccl. iii. 20. Paris, 1673. See also, Warburton's Julian, and Fabricius, *Lux Evangelii*, &c. pp. 124 et seq. where all the testimonies bearing on this event are collected.]

[⁴ confound our, 1596.]

[⁵ Marry, 1562.]

nions and kingdoms, and made them slaves and bondmen for ever. And, no doubt, this is written for our instruction and warning: for no doubt, when we follow them in their wickedness, despise God's word, regard it as nothing, but live rather according unto our phantasies and appetites, than after his word, no doubt we shall receive like reward with them. And though God tarry long, yet it shall be to our greater destruction: for his longanimity and long tarrying for our amendment shall increase, augment, and make greater our punishment and damnation. But if we will leave sin and wickedness, and study to live according unto his will and commandments, no doubt he will fulfil his promises which he hath made unto us of everlasting life; for we have his warrant in scripture, therefore we ought not to doubt of it: for so he saith, *Sic Deus dilexit mundum*, "So entirely hath God loved the world, that he sent his only-begotten Son, to that end that all that believe in him should not perish, but have life everlasting." This is now a¹ comfortable thing, and a great promise, which God maketh unto the whole world. And, no doubt, he is as able to fulfil that promise of grace, as he was able to fulfil his wrathful word against the Jews. So likewise he saith, *Vivo ego, dicit Dominus, nolo mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur et vivat*; "As truly as I live, saith the Lord God, I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he shall turn and live." It is not his pleasure when we be damned, therefore he sweareth an oath: we ought to believe him without an oath; yet to satisfy our minds, and to the intent that we should believe him, and be the better assured of his good will towards us, he sweareth an oath². Now therefore, if we will follow him and leave our wicked living, convert and turn ourselves unto him, be³ sorry for that which is past, and intend to amend our life now forward; if we do so, no doubt we shall live with him everlastingly, world without end. Therefore let every one of us go⁴ into his own heart, and where⁵ he findeth that he hath been a wicked man, an ireful man, a covetous or slothful man, let him repent and be sorry for it, and take a good purpose to leave that same sin wherein he hath lain before. Let us not do as the Jews did, which were stiff-necked: they

Deferring of punishment maketh it greater.

John iii.

Ezech. xviii.

The cause why God sware.

[¹ a very, 1607.]

[² this oath, 1562.]

[³ be heartily, 1607.]

[⁴ enter, 1607.]

[⁵ when, 1562.]

would not leave their sins, they had a pleasure in the same, they would follow their old traditions, refusing the word of God: therefore their destruction came worthily upon them. And therefore, I say, let us not follow them, lest we receive such a reward as they had; lest everlasting destruction come upon us, and so we be cast out of the favour of God, and finally lost world without end.

“And there shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars, and in the earth.” There be some which think that there shall be great eclipses, against the course of nature; and ye know that there hath been strange^s things seen in the element divers times. Sometimes men have seen a ring about the sun; sometimes there hath been seen three suns at once; and such like things hath been seen in times past: which no doubt signifies that this fearful day is not far off, in which Christ will come with his heavenly host, to judge and reward every one of us according unto his deserts.

“And the people shall be at their wits’ end through despair:” men shall be wonderful⁷ fearful; they shall pine away for fear: and no doubt they^s shall be good men, which shall be thus troubled, with such a fear of this day: for you know the worldlings care not for that day; yea, they will scant believe that there shall be such a day, that there shall be another world, or at the least way they would not wish that there should be another world. Therefore they shall be godly men which shall be so used, to be tokens unto the world. And no doubt there hath been here in England many already, which have been so vexed and turmoiled with such fear. That same Master Bilney, which was burnt here in England for God’s word sake, was induced and persuaded by his friends to bear a fagot, at the time when the cardinal was aloft and bore the swing. Now when that same Bilney came to Cambridge again, a whole year after, he was in such an anguish and agony, so that nothing did him good, neither eating nor drinking, nor any other communication of God’s

[^s great, 1562.—Many accounts of “strange things seen in the element divers times” are given by Wolff, in his *Lectiones Memorabiles*, &c. See also a treatise, “Of the end of this world,” translated from the Latin of Schelto à Jueren, of Emden, by Thomas Rogers, pp. 9, et seq. London, 1589.]

[⁷ wonderful, 1562.]

[^s these, 1562.]

word; for he thought that all the whole scriptures were against him, and sounded to his condemnation. So that I many a time communed with him, (for I was familiarly acquainted with him;) but all things whatsoever any man could allege to his comfort, seemed unto him to make against him. Yet for all that, afterwards he came again: God endued him with such strength and perfectness of faith, that he not only confessed his faith, the gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, but also suffered his body to be burnt for that same gospel's sake, which we now preach in England. Martin Luther, that wonderful instrument of God, through whom God hath opened the light of his holy word unto the world, which was a long time hid in corners and neglected, he writeth of himself¹, that he hath been sometimes in such an agony of the spirit, that he felt nothing but trembling and fearfulness. And I myself know two or three at this present hour which be in this case.

Martin Luther felt the horror of the end.

But as concerning the ungodly, they say, *Pax et tuta omnia*, all things are well with them; they care for no more but for this world: like as in the flood time, they were careless at all, they thought all things were cock-sure, till at such time when the flood fell upon their heads. And so it is at this time with the ungodly too: they care not for this day of judgment, it grieveth them not, till it fall upon their heads one day. It is said in scripture that God "leadeth into hell, and bringeth up again:" and so it is with such fearful men; for God doth cast them into hell, he hideth himself from them; but at the length he bringeth them out again, and stablisheth them with a constant faith, so that they may be sure of their salvation and everlasting life. I knew once a woman that was seventeen years in such an exercise and fear, but at the length she recovered again; and God endued her with a strong and stedfast faith in the end. Therefore, no doubt, these be warnings wherewith the Almighty God warneth us to make ready against that horrible and fearful day; which day, no doubt, is not far off. For the world was ordained of God to endure, as scripture and all learned men agree, six thousand years: now of this number are gone five thousand five hundred fifty-two, so that there

Before the flood men were careless.

1 Sam. ii.

A woman afflicted in conscience.

The time of the world.

[¹ See Melchior Adam, *Vitæ German. Theologorum*, p. 134. Francof. 1653.]

is left only four hundred and fifty lacking two: and this is but a little time; and yet this time shall be shortened, as scripture plainly witnesseth, for the elect's sake: so that peradventure it may come in my days, as old as I am; or in our children's days. Therefore let us begin to strive and fight betimes with sin: let us not set all our hearts and minds upon this world; for, no doubt, this day, whensoever it shall come, will be wonderous² fearful unto all mankind, and specially unto the wicked. There will be great alterations at that day; there will be hurly burly, like as ye see in a man when he dieth. What deformity appeareth; how he stretcheth out all his members; what a winding is there, so that all his body cometh out of frame! So will it be at this fearful, horrible day: there will be such alterations of the earth, and the element; they will lose their former nature, and be endued with another nature.

The end compared to a man's death.

“And then shall they see the Son of man come in a cloud with power and great glory.” Certain it is, that he shall come to judge, but we cannot tell the time when he will come: therefore, seeing that he will come, let us make ready, lest he find us unprepared. And take this for a rule, that as he findeth us, so he shall judge us. St Paul to the Thessalonians, when he speaketh of the resurrection of the good, saith, “That at the same day the trumpet shall blow, and all shall rise which died since the world began; then they that shall be found alive upon the earth shall be changed suddenly, and shall be rapt up into the air, and so meet Christ our Saviour.” All those, I say, that be content to strive and fight with sin, that will not be ruled by sin, these shall in such wise be taken up in the air and meet with Christ, and so shall come down with him again. But as for the other sort, which be wicked, and have a delight in wickedness, and will not leave it, but rather go forwards in all mischief, they shall be left upon the earth with the devils, until they be judged. And after that they have received their sentence, they shall go to hell with the devil and all his angels, and there be punished for their sins in hellish fire, world without end: for so it is written, *Vermis eorum non moritur*; “Their worm dieth not.”

1 Thess. iv.

The manner of our resurrection.

The just shall come with Christ to judge the unjust.

“The sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give

[² wonderful, 1562.]

This interpretation is true, but not the meaning of the place.

her light." Ye shall not take these words so, as though the sun and moon should be obscured or darkened, their light being taken from them. But it is to be understood, that through the brightness of his glory they shall be obscured and darkened. The sun, no doubt, will shine, but her light shall not be seen, because of the brightness of his glory; like as when ye set a burning candle in the sun, the candle burneth indeed, but her light is not seen, because of the brightness of the sun. So it will be at that time with the sun: for though she be the brightest and clearest creature above all others, yet for all that, Christ with his glory and majesty will obscure her; for his light, that he shall bring with him, shall be so bright that the other shall not be seen. And this his coming shall be wonderful comfortable and joyful unto them which are prepared, or chosen to everlasting life: unto them, I say, that be content to leave their sins and wickedness here in this world, and live conformable to God and his holy word; which are not proud or stout; not covetous, or whoremongers; or if they have been so, they will leave it, and do no more so; they are sorry for it from the bottom of their hearts. Also¹, they that forsake all manner of falsehood, or slothfulness, and all manner of vices, as gluttony, lechery, swearing; and all² that be content to wrestle with sin; they, I say³, shall rejoice at that time and be merry beyond all measure. And this is the thing wherefore all godly and faithful people pray in this petition, *Adveniat regnum tuum*; "Thy kingdom come:" they desire of God the Almighty, that his kingdom, that is to say, the last day may come; that they may be once delivered from their sins, and live with him everlastingly world without end.

The end shall be fearful.

Matt. xxv.

As for the other part, this shall be a heavy and fearful coming unto them that intend not to leave their sins and wickedness, but rather will take their pleasures here, in this world: it shall be a heinous sentence unto them, when he shall say unto them, *Ite maledicti in ignem æternum*; "Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, which is prepared for the devil and all his angels. Get you hence from me; for ye might have been saved, but ye would not; ye despised my words and commandments; ye regarded more your own pleasure than

[¹ Item, they, 1562.]

[² they, I say, 1562.]

[³ they shall, 1562.]

that which I had commanded you. Hence, therefore, get you hence to the devil and all his angels, after whose will and commandments ye have lived; his reward therefore ye shall have." Of such manner Christ our Saviour will talk with the ungodly, and in the end send them to everlasting damnation. And this shall be an heavy burthen for them: and though they can cloke and hide their sins in this world, yet for all that God will open their wickedness and filthy living at that day, where all the world shall know it, and where they shall not be able to hide themselves or their sins.

At the end
all shall be
open.

This day will be like unto a parliament. Ye know, when things are amiss in a realm, or out of order, all they that be good-hearted, that love godliness, they wish for a parliament: these would fain have that all the rulers of the realm should come together, and bring all things in good order again. For ye know that parliaments are kept only for this purpose, that things which be amiss may be amended. And so it will be at this last day, at this general parliament, where God himself with all his heavenly power will be present, and oversee all things, and hear all causes, so that nothing shall escape him: for then all these things which the devil hath brought out of order, they shall be amended; and the devil shall not be able afterward to corrupt them any further; but all things shall be well for ever. Let us, therefore, ever have in fresh remembrance this day, that it will be a heavy day unto them that be wicked; and again, a joyful, pleasant day unto them that have no delight in wickedness. Therefore Christ saith, *Erigite capita vestra*, "When ye see these things, then hold up your heads;" that is to say, "Be merry and rejoice:" for ye know, when we be merrily disposed, we hold up our heads, and laugh. So Christ biddeth us to hold up our heads, that is to say, to be merry; "for our redemption is come near." So Christ comforteth us, and maketh us to hold up our heads, for our redemption is come nearer than it was before.

The end shall
be gainful to
the godly.

Luke xxi.

What! Hath he not redeemed us before by his death and passion? How chanceth it then, that our redemption is come nearer? Truly, Christ redeemed us before, indeed, by his death and passion: yet it appeareth not unto us who it is that shall be saved or damned; for we see the good and

[⁴ Marry, 1562.]

the bad bear both the name of Christians. Good and bad, faithful and unfaithful, are baptized in the name of Christ; so likewise they go to the communion; so that there is no great difference here in this world between the elect and reprobate: for the very unfaithful give alms, and do such outward acts which seem unto us to be good, and to be done with a good heart, when it is nothing less. So that, I say, we cannot tell, as long as we be here in this world, which be elect, and which not. But at the last day, then it shall appear who is he that shall be saved; and again, who shall be damned. And therefore Christ saith, "our redemption draweth near;" that is to say, it shall appear unto the whole world that we be the children of God. Therefore his coming will be a glad and joyful coming unto the faithful, for they shall be the children of God; they shall be delivered and rid out of all miseries and calamities. But the unfaithful shall fall to desperation at that day: they that take their pleasures here, they that remember not this day, they shall be condemned with the irrevocable¹ and unchangeable judgment of God. And they shall not need any men of law, to go about to defend or discern their causes. No, no; the men of law shall not be troubled at that day in defending of other men's causes; but rather they themselves shall be called to make an account for their doings, and there they shall be judged; so that they shall not be able to speak any thing against it, for their own hearts and consciences shall and will condemn them.

The meaning
of Christ's
words.

Men of law
shall not be
troubled with
other men's
matters at
the end.

And though this great and general day come not in our time, yet let us consider that we shall die, and that we have but a short time to live here in this world. And as we die, so we shall rise again. If we die in the state of damnation, we shall rise in that same estate: again, if we die in the state of salvation, we shall rise again in that same estate, and come to everlasting felicity, both soul and body. For if we die now in the state of salvation, then at the last general day of judgment we shall hear this joyful sentence, proceeding out of the mouth of our Saviour Christ, when he shall² say, *Venite, benedicti Patris mei, possidete regnum paratum vobis ab exordio mundi*; "Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess that kingdom which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world." And though we have much

There is no
purgatory.

Matt. xxv.

[¹ irrefragable, 1562.]

[² will, 1562.]

miserie here in this world, though it goeth hard with us, though we must bite on the bridle, yet for all that we must be content; for we shall be sure of our deliverance, we shall be sure that our salvation is not far off. And, no doubt, they that will wrestle with sin, and strive and fight with it, He that will fight shall have help. they shall have the assistance of God; he will help them, he will not forsake them; he will strengthen them, so that they shall be able to live uprightly: and though they shall not be able to fulfil the laws of God to the uttermost, yet for all that God will take their doings in good part for Christ his Son's sake, in whose name all faithful people do their good works; and so for his sake they be acceptable unto God, and in the end they shall be delivered out of all miseries and troubles, and come to the bliss of everlasting joy and felicity.

I pray God, that we may be of the number of those, which shall hear this joyful and most comfortable voice of Christ our Saviour when he will say, *Venite, benedicti Patris*, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom which is prepared for you before the foundation of the world was laid!" There be a great number amongst the christian people, which in the Lord's prayer, when they pray, "Thy kingdom come," pray that this day may come; but yet, for all that, they are drowned in the world: they say the words with their lips, but they cannot tell what is the meaning of it; Some do not know what they ask in prayer. they speak it only with their tongue: which saying indeed is to no purpose. But that man or woman that saith these words, "Thy kingdom come," with a faithful heart, no doubt he desireth in very deed that God will come to judgment, and amend all things in this world, and to pull down Satan, that old serpent, under our feet. But there be a great number of us which be not ready. Some have lived in this world fifty years, some sixty; yet for all that they be nothing prepared towards his coming; they think ever he will not come yet. But I tell you that though his general coming He will come to us by death. be not yet, yet for all that he will come one day, and take us out of this world. And, no doubt, as he findeth us, so we shall have: if he find us ready, and in the state of salvation, no doubt we shall be saved for ever, world without end. Again, if he find us in the state of damnation, we shall be damned world without end: there is no remedy, after we be

once past this world; no penance will help then, nor nothing that man is able to do for us. Therefore it is meet for every one of us to take heed betimes. Let us not tarry too long with our amendment, lest peradventure we shall come too short; for no doubt we shall be rewarded according unto our deserts.

But there be some, and hath been a great number of us, which have trusted in masses and pilgrimages, in setting up candles, and such like foolishness; but I tell you, all this gear will not help, it is to no purpose: for if all the masses which were said in all Christendom since the mass began, if all these masses, I say, were bestowed upon one man to bring him out of the state of damnation, it were all to no purpose and to no effect. Therefore let us not put our hope and trust in such fooleries; for if we do, no doubt we shall deceive ourselves. Again, there be some people which defer and delay their amendments of life, till such time as they shall die; then they take in hand to leave sin, when they are not able to do any more: they will take their pleasure as long as they be able to have it; they think it be time enough to repent at the last hour, when they shall depart, and forsake this world. Such people do very naughtily; and no doubt they be in a dangerous state: for they are not sure whether they shall have at that same last time grace, or not, to repent and be sorry for their sins. Peradventure their hearts shall be so hardened in sin and wickedness, that they shall not be able to repent or be sorry for their faults. Therefore, the best and surest way is to repent betimes, while we have time; and to be sorry for our wickedness, and to take an earnest mind and purpose to leave sin. If¹ we do so, then no doubt we shall be taken up with Christ, and dwell with him in heaven everlastingly, in great honour and glory, where we shall have such joy, which no tongue can express, no eyes hath seen, nor ears hath heard the inestimable felicities and treasures which God hath laid up for his faithful. And like as our pleasure and joy shall be inestimable, if we repent betimes and leave sin; so likewise the pains of them that will not leave sin, but ever go forward in the same, shall be inestimable and intolerable²; their pains shall be intolerable, and yet they shall bear them. There-

The mass is
but a foolery.

The surest
way.

1 Cor. ii.

[¹ when, 1562.]

[² intolerable too, 1562.]

fore let every man take heed how he spendeth his time, how he taketh his pleasure in this world; for like as the general great day shall be uncertain, so also our particular day, when we shall depart this world, shall be uncertain. Our end shall be uncertain. Peradventure some of us shall die to-morrow or the next day: therefore it shall be meet and necessary for us to make ready, lest we be taken suddenly unawares.

“And then shall they see the Son of man come in a cloud with power and great glory.” St Paul to the Thesalonians setteth out the coming of Christ and our resurrection; but he speaketh in the same place only of the rising of the good and faithful that shall be saved. But the holy scripture in other places witnesseth, that the wicked shall rise too, and shall receive their sentence of Christ, and so go to hell, where they shall be punished world without end. Now St Paul’s words be these: “This say we unto you in 1 Thes. iv. the word of the Lord, that we which shall live and shall remain in the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent³ them which sleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, and the voice of the archangel and trump of God, and the dead in Christ shall arise first: then we which shall live, even we which shall remain, shall be caught up with them also in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we ever be with the Lord. Wherefore comfort yourselves one another with these words.” By these words of St Paul it appeareth, that they which died in the beginning of the world shall be as soon by Christ⁴ as they which shall be alive here at the time of his coming. I would have you to note well the manner of speaking which St Paul useth: he speaketh like as if the last day should have been come in his time. Now, when St Paul thought that this day should have been come in his time, how much more shall we think that it shall be in our time! For no doubt he will come, and it is not long thereunto; as it appeareth by all scriptures which make mention of this day. It will come, but it shall come suddenly, unawares, “as a thief in the night.” The last day compared to a thief. For a thief, when he intendeth a robbery, to rob a man’s house, to break up his chests, and take away his goods, he giveth him not warning; he letteth not the good man of the

[³ come before, 1562.]

[⁴ shall as soon be saved by Christ, 1607.]

house know at what time he intendeth to come; but rather he intendeth to spy such a time that no man shall be ware of him. So, no doubt, this last day will come one day suddenly upon our heads, before we be ware of it; like as the fire fell down from heaven upon the Sodomites unlooked for: they thought that all things were well, therefore they took their pleasures, till at such time when the fire fell down from heaven and burned them up all, with all their substance and goods. So likewise as it happened unto the first world, which would not amend their lives, but followed their carnal lusts and appetites; God sent the flood upon their heads, and so destroyed them all together. Therefore let us take heed lest this great day do fall upon us, like as the flood and fire fell upon the world, and upon the Sodomites. St Jerome, that holy man, writeth in a place, that he thought ever he heard this trumpet of God and the archangel blow. I would wish that we would follow the ensample of Jerome in that point; that we would be so fearful lest this day come upon us unawares!

St Jerome
looked for
the end.

“And he shewed them a similitude: Behold the fig-tree, and all the trees; when they shoot forth their buds, ye see and know of your own selves that summer is then near at hand.” So when ye see the tokens which shall go before this fearful day, it is time to make ready. But here a man might ask a question, saying, “I pray you, wherein standeth this preparation? How shall I make me ready?” About this matter hath been great strife; for there hath been an infinite number, and there be some yet at this time, which think that this readiness standeth in masses, in setting up candles, in going of pilgrimage; and in such like gear¹ they thought to be made ready towards that day, and so to be made worthy to stand before the Son of man, that is, before our Saviour Christ. But I tell you, this was not the right way to make ready. Christ our Saviour he sheweth us how we shall make ready ourselves, saying: “Take heed to yourselves, lest at any time your hearts be overcome with surfeiting, and drunkenness, and cares of this world, and so this day come upon you unawares: for as a snare shall it come upon all them that dwell upon the face of the whole world. Watch ye therefore continually, and pray, that ye may escape

A good
doctrine to
teach us to be
ready against
that day of
judgment.

[¹ things, 1607.]

all those things that shall come; and that you may stand before the Son of man." Here Christ sheweth wherein this preparation standeth; namely, in keeping ourselves from superfluous eating and drinking, and in watching and praying. For how cometh it to pass that the whole world is so deceitful and false? Because every man would fain fare well; every one loveth to have good meat and drink, and to go gaily. And when they have not wherewith to get such things, then they fall to picking and stealing, and to falsehood, and so deceive their neighbours. But our Saviour he giveth us warning that we shall eat and drink measurably and soberly, every one according to his estate and measure². Further, we ought not to be careful for this life: we should labour and do our business diligently, every one in that estate in which God hath set him; and let us trust in God, which no doubt will send us increase of our labour.

The right way to make ready for the last day.

Therefore Christ addeth, saying, *Vigilate et orate*, "Watch and pray:" as who say, "Be ever in a readiness, lest ye be taken unawares." But those sluggards, which spend their time vainly in eating and drinking and sleeping, they please not God; for he commandeth us to watch, to be mindful, to take heed to ourselves, lest the devil, or the world, or our own flesh, get the victory over us. We are allowed to take our natural sleep; for it is as necessary for us as meat and drink, and we please God as well in that same as we please him when we take our food. But we must take heed that we do it according as he hath appointed us: for like as he hath not ordained meat and drink to the end that we should play the glutton with it, so likewise the sleep is not ordained, that we should give ourselves to sluggishness or over-much sleeping; for no doubt, when we do so, we shall displease God most highly. For Christ saith not in vain, "Watch and pray." He would have us to be watchers, to have at all times in remembrance his coming, and to give ourselves to prayer, to that end that we may be able to stand before him at this great and fearful day: meaning, that we should not trust in ourselves, but call upon³ God, saying, "Lord God Almighty, thou hast promised to come and judge the quick and the dead! We beseech thee give us thy grace and Holy Ghost, that we may live so according unto thy

Our allowance at God's hands.

A form of prayer.

[² degree, 1607.]

[³ unto, 1562.]

holy commandments, that when thou comest, thou hast not cause to bestow thy fearful anger, but rather thy loving kindness and mercy upon us!" So likewise, when we go to bed, we should desire God that we sleep not in the sleep of sin and wickedness; but rather that we may leave them, and follow his will and pleasure, that we be not led with the desires of this wicked world. Such an earnest mind we should have towards him, so watchful we should be. For I tell you, it is not a trifling matter; it is not a money matter: for our eternal salvation and our damnation hangeth upon it. Our nature is to do all things that is possible for us, to get silver and gold: how much more then should we endeavour ourselves to make ready towards this day, when it shall not be a money matter, but a soul matter! For at that day it will appear most manifestly who they are that shall enjoy everlasting life, and who shall be thrust into hell. Now as long as we be in this world, we have all one baptism; we go all to the Lord's supper; we bear all the name of Christians: but then it will appear who are the right Christians; and, again, who are the hypocrites or dissemblers.

Our corrupt nature is to covet all things in this world, but we covet not heavenly things.

Hypocrites cannot be well espied in this world.

Well, I pray God grant us such hearts, that we may look diligently about us, and make ready against his fearful and joyful coming;—fearful to them that delight in sin and wickedness, and will not leave them; and joyful unto them that repent, forsake their sins, and believe in him: which, no doubt, will come in great honour and glory, and will make all his faithful like unto him, and will say unto them that be chosen to everlasting life, *Venite, benedicti Patris mei*; "Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess that kingdom which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world!" Again, to the wicked, which will not live according unto his will and pleasure, but follow their own appetites, he will say, *Ite, maledicti, in ignem æternum*; "Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire." O, what a horrible thing will this be, to depart from him which is the fountain of all goodness and mercy, without whom is no consolation, comfort nor rest, but eternal sorrow and everlasting death! For God's sake, I require you let us consider this, that we may be amongst them which shall hear *Venite*, "Come to me;" that we may be amongst them which shall enjoy eternal life! And no doubt we shall be amongst them, if we will be content to leave sin and

The commodity that cometh of leaving sin.

wickedness, and strive with it, and let it not have the rule and governance over us. When we have done any man wrong, or have taken away his good from him wrongfully, if we be content to restore it again; (for no doubt restitution must be made, as I told you many a time before: *Restitutions famæ et rerum sunt opera debita*, "Restitution of a man's goods, or his name, must needs be made:" for in that point agree all the writers new and old¹: they say that restitutions must needs be made, either in effect or affect. For this is a sure probation, that this man or woman is not right sorry for his sins and wickedness, that is² not content to make restitution when he hath taken away things unlawfully, against conscience, from his neighbour:) therefore he that is content to leave his sins, and to make restitution of such things which he hath taken away wrongfully from his neighbour, sheweth himself to be a very penitent man: so likewise they that live in soberness, abuse not the gifts of God, but use them with thanksgiving. Item³, he that liveth chastely, keepeth himself from filthiness, and, when he feeleth that he hath not the gift of chastity, marrieth in the fear of God, according unto his ordinance, maketh ready for that day. And as concerning young folks, all the writers agree that, with a mean diligence, young folk may live chaste: when they be well governed and ruled, and kept from idleness, then it is no great matter for them to live chaste, as long as they be in growing. But such young persons must beware, above all things, of foul and filthy talk; for it is as St Paul saith, *Corrumpunt bonos mores colloquia prava*, "Foul and filthy talks destroy good manners and good bringing up." And then, again, young folks must beware of overmuch eating and drinking; for St Jerome saith⁴, "He that is a great drinker of wine, I will never believe that he is a chaste man." Therefore let young unmarried folk

Sobriety, the commendation thereof.

[¹ See Vol. i. p. 414, note: also Gregory Sayer, *Clavis Regia*, pp. 688 et seq. Antwerp. 1619, by whom very many of the "new writers" are referred to.]

[² those men or women are...their...are, in the old editions after 1562.]

[³ Also, 1607.]

[⁴ The preacher seems to have had in mind Jerome's *Epist. ad Eustochium*, Oper. Tom. iv. par. 2. col. 30. edit. Bened. Paris. 1706.]

Idleness is a door for the devil to come in at.

beware of drinking: and then, again, of idleness; for when the devil findeth them idle, he entereth with them, and¹ they are soon overcome. Therefore let them ever be well occupied till they come to age, and then let them be married in the Lord; for the scripture most highly praiseth marriage. St Paul saith, *Honorable conjugium inter omnes*; "Marriage is honourable amongst all men."

Swearing is both lawful and unlawful.

None must be sworn but by God only.

Swearing and lying go together.

Further, let us take heed of swearing: for we may not swear at all, and we may swear by nothing but by God; by whom we may not swear, except it be a great urgent cause; except I be called thereunto by a magistrate; and when I am called so, then I must swear by nobody else, save only by God. Therefore they that are so used to swearing do very naught, and no doubt God's vengeance hangeth over their heads. For certain it is, that he which is a great swearer is also a great liar. But, as I said before, they that will leave such wickedness, and will live conformable unto God's word, and then believe in Christ our Saviour, trust and believe to be cleansed from their sins through his death and passion, no doubt they shall hear this joyful sentence of Christ our Saviour, "Come to me, ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world." We esteem it to be a great thing to have a kingdom in this world, to be a ruler, to be aloft, and bear the swing: how much more then should we regard this kingdom, which Christ our Saviour offereth unto us, which kingdom will be an everlasting kingdom, where there shall be no end of joy and felicity! Therefore all they that will be content to follow our Saviour's steps, to suffer with him here in this world, and bear the cross after him, they shall reign with him in everlasting glory and honour. Which grant us God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost! *Amen.*

[¹ it is done with them, they, 1562.]

THE
LIFE, ACTS, AND DOINGS
OF
MASTER HUGH LATIMER,
THE FAMOUS PREACHER AND WORTHY MARTYR OF
CHRIST AND HIS GOSPEL¹.

[Foxe, Acts and Mon. p. 1297, &c. edit. 1563.]

Now after the life of the reverend father in God, D. *M. Latimer*. Nicolas Ridley, and also his conference with master Latimer, with other his letters written in prison, followeth likewise the life and doings of this worthy and old practised soldier of Christ, master Hugh Latimer, who was the son of one Hugh Latimer, of Thirkesson, in the county of Leicester, a husbandman of a good and wealthy estimation, where also he was born and brought up, until he was of the age of four years or thereabout. At which time his parents (having him as then left for their only son, with six other daughters), seeing his ready, prompt, and sharp wit, purposed to train him up in erudition and knowledge of good literature; wherein he so profited in his youth, at the common schools of his own country, that at the age of fourteen years he was sent to the university of Cambridge: where, after some continuance of exercises in other things, he gave himself to the study of such divinity as the ignorance of that age did suffer. Zealous he was then in the popish religion, and therewith so scrupulous, as himself confesseth, that being a priest and using to say mass, he was so servile an observer of the Romish decrees, that he had thought he had never sufficiently mingled his massing wine with water; and moreover, that he should never be damned, if he were once a professed friar,

[¹ A general sketch of the life and martyrdom of Bishop Latimer has been given in the former volume, but it is thought desirable to prefix to the present (even at the expense of some repetition) the chief part of Foxe's graphic account of the venerable martyr, and also Ralph Morice's account of his conversion, which has been already printed by Strype from the Harleian MSS.]

Latimer converted by M. Bilney.

with divers such superstitious fantasies. Whereupon in this blind zeal he was a very enemy to the professors of Christ's gospel, as his oration made, when he proceeded bachelor of divinity in the said university of Cambridge, against Philip Melancthon and his works, did plainly declare. But such was the goodness and merciful purpose of God, that where he thought by that his oration to have utterly defaced the professors of the gospel and true church of Christ, he was himself, by a member of the same, prettily, yet godly, caught in the blessed net of God's word. For master Thomas Bilney (of whom mention is made before), being at that time a trier out of Satan's subtleties, and a secret overthrower of anti-christ's kingdom, and seeing master Latimer to have a zeal in his ways, although without knowledge, was stricken with a brotherly pity towards him, and bethought what means he might best win this his zealous, yet ignorant, brother to the true knowledge of Christ. And therefore, after a short time, he came to master Latimer's study, and desired him to hear him make his confession. Which thing he willingly granted: with the hearing whereof he was, by the good Spirit of God, so touched, that hereupon he forsook his former studying of the school doctors, and other such fooleries, and became a true scholar in the true divinity, as he himself confesseth, as well in his conference with master Ridley, as also in his first sermon made upon the *Pater noster*. So that, whereas before he was an enemy, and almost a persecutor of Christ, he was now an earnest seeker after him, changing his old manner of calumnying into a diligent kind of conferring, both with master Bilney and others, with whom he was often and greatly conversant. After this his winning to Christ, he was not satisfied with his own conversion only, but like a true disciple of the blessed Samaritan, pitied the misery of others; and therefore he became both a public preacher, and also a private instructor to the rest of his brethren within the university, by the space of two years; spending his time partly in the Latin tongue amongst the learned, and partly amongst the simple people in his natural and vulgar language. Howbeit, as Satan never sleepeth, when he seeth his kingdom begin to decay, so likewise now seeing that this worthy member of Christ would be a shrewd shaker thereof, he raised up his children to molest and trouble him. Amongst these there

was an Augustine friar, who took occasion upon certain sermons that master Latimer made about Christenmas, 1529, as well in the church of St Edward, as also in St Augustine's, within the university of Cambridge, to inveigh against him, for that master Latimer, in the said sermons, alluding to the common usage of the season, gave the people certain cards out of the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters of St Matthew, whereupon they might, not only then, but always else, occupy their time. For the chief, as their triumphing card, he limited the heart, as the principal thing that they should serve God withal: whereby he quite overthrew all hypocritical and external ceremonies, not tending to the necessary beautifying of God's holy word and sacraments. For the better attaining hereof he wished the scriptures to be in English, that the common people might thereby learn their duties, as well to God as to their neighbours.

The handling of this matter was so apt for the time, and so pleasantly applied of Latimer, that not only it declared a singular towardness of wit in him that preached, but also wrought in the hearers much fruit, to the overthrow of popish superstition and setting up of perfect religion. For on the Sunday before Christenmas-day, coming to the church, and causing the bell to be tolled to a sermon, entereth into the pulpit. Upon the text of the gospel read that day in the church, *Tu quis es?* &c. in delivering his cards as is above-said, he made the heart to be triumph, exhorting and inviting all men thereby to serve the Lord with inward heart and true affection, and not with outward ceremonies; adding moreover to the praise of that triumph, that though it were never so small, yet it would make up the best coat card beside in the bunch, yea, though it were the king of clubs, &c.; meaning thereby how the Lord would be worshipped and served in simplicity of the heart and verity, wherein consisteth true christian religion, and not in the outward deeds of the letter only, or in the glistening shew of man's traditions, of pardons, pilgrimages, ceremonies, vows, devotions, voluntary works, and works of erogation, foundations, oblations, the pope's supremacy, &c.; so that all these either be needless, where the other is present, or else be of small estimation in comparison thereof.

The difference betwixt trump and false religion.

The copy and effect of these his sermons, although they

were neither fully extracted, neither did they all come to our hands, yet so many as came to our hands, I thought here to set abroad, for that I would wish nothing of that man, which may be gotten, to be suppressed¹.

* * * * *

This preaching of master Latimer, as it was then fruitful and plausible to all honest and good natures, so again, it was as odious to the contrary part, such as were his adversaries, of whom was then in Cambridge a great number, that preached against him, as the bishop of Ely, who then in the King's college preached against him; D. Watson, Master of Christ's college; D. Notaris, Master of Clare hall; D. Philo, Master of Michael-house; D. Metcalfe, Master of St John's; D. Blith, of the King's hall; D. Bullock, Master of Queens' college; D. Cliffe, of Clement hostel; D. Donnes, of Jesus college; D. Palmes, Master of St Nicholas hostel; Bayne of St John's, bachelor of divinity, and after doctor. All these adversaries did master Latimer sustain: but especially a black friar, the prior of our Lady friars, called then *Domine Labia*, was a great doer against him; who about the same time of Christmas, when master Latimer brought forth his christian cards, to deface belike the doings of the said Latimer, he brought out his Christmas dice, casting there to his audience *cinque* and *quatre*; meaning by the *cinque* five places in the New Testament, and the four doctors by the *quatre*; by which his *cinque quatre* he would prove that it was not expedient the scripture to be in English, lest the ignorant and vulgar sort, through the occasion thereof, might happily be brought in danger to leave their vocation, or else to run into some inconvenience: as the ploughman, when he heareth this in the gospel, "No man that layeth his hand on the plough, and looketh back, is meet for the kingdom of God," might peradventure hearing this, cease from his plough. Likewise the baker, when he heareth that "a little leaven corrupteth a whole lump" of dough, may percase leave our bread unleavened, and so our bodies shall be unseasoned. And the simple man, when he heareth in the gospel, "If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee," may make himself blind, and so fill the world full of beggars. These, with other more, this clerkly friar brought out, to the number

D. Buck.

[¹ See Vol. i. pp. 3—24.]

of five, to prove his purpose. To whom master Latimer answereth again briefly, requiring no more but this, that the scripture may be so long in English, until the people thus do as he hath said, and he would ask no more.

Notwithstanding the withstanding of this friar, and the malice of all his enemies, master Latimer, with master Bilney, continued yet in Cambridge a certain space, where he with the said Bilney used much to confer and company together, insomuch that the place where they most used to walk in the fields, was called long after the heretics' hill.

Bilney and
Latimer joint
companions.

The society of these two, as it was much noted of many in that university, so it was full of many good examples to all such as would follow their doings, both in visiting the prisoners, in relieving the needy, in feeding the hungry; whereof somewhat is before-mentioned in the history of master Bilney. In a place of his sermons this master Latimer maketh mention of a certain history which happened about this time in Cambridge between them two, and a certain woman, then prisoner in the castle or tower of Cambridge, which I thought here not unworthy to be touched. The history is this: it so chanceth that after master Latimer had been acquainted with the foresaid master Bilney, he went with him to visit the prisoners in the tower in Cambridge; and being there, among other prisoners, there was a woman which was accused that she had killed her own child, which act she plainly and stedfastly denied. Whereby it gave them occasion to search for the matter; and at length they found that her husband loved her not, and therefore sought all means he could to make her away: the matter was thus.

A story of a
certain
woman con-
demned, who
was saved
by master
Latimer.

A child of hers had been sick a whole year, and at length died in harvest-time, as it were in a consumption: which when it was gone, she went to have her neighbours to help her to the burial, but all were in harvest abroad, whereby she was enforced with heaviness of heart alone to prepare the child to the burial: her husband coming home, and not loving her, accused her of murdering the child. This was the cause of her trouble; and master Latimer, by earnest inquisition, of conscience thought the woman not guilty. Then immediately after was he called to preach before king Henry the Eighth at Windsor; where, after his sermon, the king's

majesty sent for him, and talked with him familiarly. At which time master Latimer finding opportunity, kneeled down, opened his whole matter to the king, and begged her pardon; which the king most graciously granted, and gave it him at his return homeward. The mean time the woman was delivered of a child in prison, whose godfather master Latimer was, and mistress Cheke godmother. But all that while he would not tell her of the pardon, but laboured to have her confess the truth of the matter. At length time came when she looked to suffer; and master Latimer came, as he was wont, to instruct her: unto whom she made great lamentation and moan to be purified before her suffering; for she thought to be damned, if she should suffer without purification. Then master Bilney being with master Latimer, both told her that that law was made to the Jews, and not to us, and how women be as well in the favour of God before they be purified as after; and rather it was appointed for a civil and politic law, for natural honesty sake, than that they should any thing the more be purified from sin thereby, &c. So thus they travailed with this woman till they had brought her to good trade, and then at length shewed her the king's pardon, and let her go.

Purification
of women.

This good act, among many other at this time, happened in Cambridge by master Latimer and master Bilney: but this was not alone, for many more like matters were wrought by them, if all were known, whereof partly some are touched before, such especially as concern master Bilney, mention whereof is above expressed; but as it is commonly seen in the natural course of things, that as the fire beginneth more to kindle, so the more [smoke] ariseth withal, in much like condition it happened with master Latimer, whose towardness the more it began to spring, his virtues seen, and his doings to be known, the more his adversaries began to spurn and kindle against him.

* * * * *

Master Latimer called up to the cardinal.

After M. Latimer had thus travailed in preaching and teaching in the university of Cambridge, about the space of two years, at length he was called up to the cardinal for heresy, by the procurement of certain of the said university; where he was content to subscribe and grant to such articles and illations as then they propounded unto him, &c. After

that he returned to the university again, where shortly after, by the means of D. Buttes, the king's physician, a singular ^{Dr Buttes.} good man, and a special favourer of good proceedings, he was in the number of them which laboured for the maintenance of the king's supremacy. Then went he to the court, where he remained a certain time in the said D. Buttes' chamber, preaching then in London very often. At last, being weary of the court, having a benefice offered by the king, at the suit of the lord Cromwell and D. Buttes, was glad thereof, seeking by that means to be rid out of the court, wherewith in no case he could agree: so having a grant of the benefice, he was glad thereof, and contrary to the mind of D. Buttes, would needs enjoy the same.

This benefice was in Wiltshire, under the diocese of ^{Latimer's} Sarum, the name of which town was called West Kington. Where this good preacher did exercise himself with much diligence of teaching to instruct his flock; and not only them, his diligence extended also to all the country about. In fine, his diligence was so great, his preaching so mighty, the manner of his teaching so zealous, that there in like sort he could not escape without enemies. So true it is that St Paul doth forewarn us: "Whosoever will live virtuously shall suffer persecution." It so chanced, as he there preaching upon the virgin, Christ's mother, whom we call our lady, had thereupon declared his mind, referring and reducing all to Christ only our Saviour, certain popish priests being therewith offended, sought and wrought much trouble against him, drawing articles against him, both concerning the matter of our lady, as also of other points of doctrine, as of praying to saints, of purgatory, &c. Unto the which articles, thus conceived against him, he answereth again at large.

* * * * *

Amongst many other impugnors and adversaries, whereof there was no small sort, which did infest this good man in sermons, some also there were which attempted the pen against him. In the number of whom was one D. Sherwode, who upon the same occasion of preaching of the Virgin Mary (or, as they thought, against our lady) did invade him with his pen, writing against him¹.

* * * * *

[¹ For Latimer's reply to him, see p. 309, &c. of this volume.]

In this letter you hear mention is made of a citation, sent down to master Latimer, for him to appear at London before the bishop of London.

* * * * *

Upon this citation master Latimer, although he did appeal to his own ordinary, requiring by him to be ordered, yet all that notwithstanding he was had up to London before Warham the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London, where he was greatly molested and detained a long space from his cure at home. There he, being called thrice every week before the said bishops to make answer for his preaching, had certain articles or propositions drawn out and laid to him, whereunto they required him to subscribe. At length he, not only perceiving their practical proceedings, but also much grieved with their troublesome unquietness, which neither would preach themselves, nor yet suffer him to preach and to do his duty, writeth to some one prelate or other, partly excusing his infirmity, whereby he could not appear at their commandment, partly expostulating with them for so troubling and detaining him from his duty-doing, and that for no just cause, but only for preaching the truth against certain vain abuses crept into religion, much needful to be spoken against. Which all may appear by his epistle sent to a certain bishop or archbishop, whose name here is not expressed¹.

* * * * *

In this foresaid epistle, as ye hear, he maketh mention of certain articles or propositions, whereunto he was required by the bishops to subscribe².

* * * * *

Latimer sub-
scribing.

To these articles whether he did subscribe or no, it is uncertain. It appeareth by his epistle above written to the bishop, that he durst not consent unto them, where he writeth in these words: *Hinc ego nudis sententiis subscribere non audeo, quia popularis superstitionis diutius duraturæ, quoad possum, auctorculus esse nolo, &c.* But yet, whether he was compelled afterward to agree, through the cruel handling of the bishops, it is in doubt. By the words and the title in Tonstal's register prefixed before the articles, it may seem that he subscribed: the words of the registers be these:

[¹ See p. 351, &c.]

[² See pp. 218—220.]

Hugo Latimerus in sacra Theologia Bacc. in universitate Cantab. coram Cant. Archiepiscopo, Johan. Lond. Episcopo, reliquaue concione apud Westmonast. vocatus, confessus est, et recognovit fidem suam, sic sentiendo ut sequitur, in his artic. 21. die Martii. Anno. 1531. If these words be true, it may be so thought that he subscribed. And whether he so did, no great matter nor marvel, the iniquity of the time being such, that either he must needs so do, or else abide the bishop's blessing, that is, cruel sentence of death, which he at that time (as himself confessed, preaching at Stamford) was loth to sustain, for such matters as these were, unless it were for articles necessary of his belief; by which his words I conjecture rather that he did subscribe at length, albeit it was long before he could be brought so to do. Yet this by the way, it is to be noted, concerning the crafty and deceitful handling of these bishops in his examinations, what subtle devices they used the same time to entrap him in their snares. The story he sheweth forth himself in a certain sermon preached at Stamford anno 1550, Octob. 9.³

The crafty handling of the bishops in examining master Latimer.

* * * * *

And thus hitherto you have heard declared the manifold troubles of this godly preacher, in the time not only of his being in the university, but especially at his benefice, as by his own sermons and letters here above expressed may appear. Here followeth another letter of his writing unto king Henry⁴, where with most christian boldness he persuadeth the king, that the scriptures and other good wholesome books in the English tongue may be permitted to the people; which books the bishops at that time, wickedly conspiring together, went about by a public and authentic instrument to suppress.

The bishops in king Henry's time inhibited the scriptures and good books in English.

* * * * *

Thus have we discoursed and run over hitherto the laborious travails, the painful adventures, and dangerous hazards, and manifold plunges, which this true-hearted and holy servant of God suffered among the pope's friends, and God's enemies, for the gospel's sake. In the which so great and so many dangers it had been impossible for him to have escaped and to have continued so long, had not the almighty helping hand of the Highest, as he stirred him up, so preserved him

[³ See Vol. I. pp. 282, 294.]

[⁴ See pp. 297—309, of this vol.]

through the favour and power of his prince; who with much favour embraced him, and with his mere power sometime rescued and delivered him out of the crooked claws of his enemies; moreover at length also, through the procurement partly of Doctor Buttes, partly of good Cromwell, whom we mentioned before, avanced him to the degree and dignity of a bishop, making him the bishop of Worcester, which so continued a few years, instructing his diocese according to the duty of a diligent and vigilant pastor with wholesome doctrine, and example of perfect conversation, duly agreeing to the same. It were a long matter to stand particularly upon such parts as might here be brought in to the commendations of his pains, study, readiness, and continual carefulness in teaching, preaching, exhorting, visiting, correcting, and reforming, either as his ability could serve, or else the time would bear. But the days then were so dangerous and variable, that he could not in all things do that he would: yet what he might do, that he performed to the uttermost of his strength; so that although he could not utterly extinguish all the sparkling relics of old superstition, yet he so wrought, that though they could not be taken away, yet they should be used with as little hurt and with as much profit as might be. As, for example, in this thing as in divers other it did appear, that when it could not be avoided, but holy water and holy bread must needs be received, yet he so prepared and instructed them of his diocese with such informations and lessons, that in receiving thereof superstition should be excluded, and some remembrance taken thereby, teaching and charging the ministers of his diocese, in delivering the holy bread and holy water, to say these words following¹.

* * * * *

By this it may be considered, what the diligent care of this bishop was in doing the duty of a faithful pastor among his flock. And moreover it is to be thought that also he would have brought more things to pass, if the time then had answered to his desire: for he was not ignorant how the institution of holy water and holy bread not only had no ground in scripture, but also how full of profane exorcisms and conjurations they were, contrary to the rule and learning of the

[¹ See p. 294.]

gospel. Thus this good man with much diligence behaved himself in his diocese; but as before, both in the university and at his benefice, he was tossed and turmoiled by wicked and evil-disposed persons, so in his bishopric also he was not all clear and void of some that sought his trouble. As among many other evil-willers, one especially there was, and that no small person, which accused him then to the king for his sermons. The story, because he sheweth himself in a sermon of his before King Edward, I thought therefore to use his own words, which be these².

* * * * *

Besides this, divers other conflicts and combats this godly bishop sustained in his own country and diocese, in taking the cause of right and equity against oppression and wrong. As, for another example, there was at that time not far from the diocese of Worcester a certain justice of peace, whom here I will not name, being a good man afterward, and now deceased. This justice, in purchasing of certain land for his brother, or for himself, went about to injure or damnify a poor man, who maketh his complaint to master Latimer: he first hearing, then tendering his rightful cause, writeth to the said gentleman, exhorting him in private letters to remember himself, to consider the cause, and to abstain from injury. The justice of peace, not content withal, as the fashion of men is grieved to be told of their fault, sendeth word again, in great displeasure, that he will not so take it at his hands, with such threatening words, &c. Master Latimer, hearing this, answered again by writing; the copy of which his letter I thought not unworthy here of setting out, either that the virtue of that gracious man may appear more at large, or that other bishops may take by him example of like stomach in like causes, or that injurious oppressors may thereby take some fruit of his wholesome admonition. The tenour of his letter written to the gentleman is this³.

* * * * *

It were a large and a long process to story all the doings, travails, and writings of this christian bishop, neither have we expressed all that came to our hands; but this I thought sufficient to testify of the goodness of this man. Thus he continued in this laborious function of a bishop the

[² See Vol. I. pp. 134, 5.]

[³ See p. 419.]

space of certain years, till the coming in of the six articles, and altering of religion. Then being distressed through the straitness of time, so that either he must lose the quiet of a good conscience, or else must forsake his bishopric, he did of his own free accord resign and renounce his pastorship. At which time also Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, resigned also with him his bishopric. And so these two remained a great space unbishopped, keeping silence till the time of king Edward of blessed memory. And yet neither did Latimer all this while escape without danger and molestation, as there was no part or portion of his life, in what state soever he stood, clearly free and void of all perturbations. For a little after he had renounced his bishopric, first, he was almost slain, but sore bruised with the fall of a tree. Then coming up to London for remedy, he was molested and troubled of the bishops; whereby he was again in no little danger, and at length was cast into the Tower, where he continually remained prisoner till the time that blessed king Edward entered his crown, by means whereof the golden mouth of this preacher, long shut up before, was now opened again. And so he beginning afresh to set forth his plough again, continued all the time of the said king labouring in the Lord's harvest most fruitfully, discharging his talent, as well in divers other places of this realm, as in Stamford, and before the duchess of Suffolk, whose sermons be extant and set forth in print, as also at London in the convocation-house; and especially before the king at the court, in the same place of the inward garden, which was before applied to lascivious and courtly pastimes, there he dispensed the fruitful word of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, preaching there before the king and his whole court, to the edification of many.

Master Latimer cast into the Tower.

In this his painful travail he occupied himself all king Edward's days, preaching for the most part every Sunday twice, to no small shame of all other loitering and unpreaching prelates, which occupy great rooms, and do little good: and that so much more to their shame, because he being a sore bruised man by the fall of the tree, mentioned a little before, and above sixty-seven years of age, took so little ease and care of sparing himself, to do the people good. Not to speak of here his indefatigable travail and diligence in his own private studies, who, notwithstanding both his years and other

The diligent travelling of master Latimer in king Edward's time.

pains in preaching, every morning ordinarily, winter and summer, about two of the clock in the morning was at his book most diligently. So careful was his heart of the preservation of the church, and the good success of the gospel, his letters can testify, wherewith he continually admonished such as then were in authority of their duty, and assisted them with his godly counsel. As the diligence of this man of God never ceased, all the time of king Edward, to profit the church both publicly and privately; so among other doings in him to be noted, this is not lightly to be over-passed, but worthily to be observed, that God not only gave unto him his Spirit plenteously and comfortably to preach his word unto his church, but also by the same Spirit he did most evidently prophesy of all those kinds of plagues which afterward ensued, so plainly, that if England ever had a prophet, he might seem to be one. And as touching himself, he ever affirmed that the preaching of the gospel would cost him his life, to the which he no less cheerfully prepared himself, than certainly he was persuaded that Winchester was kept in the tower for the same purpose, as the event did too truly prove the same. For after the death of the said blessed king Edward, not long after queen Mary was proclaimed, a pursuivant was sent down, by the doing, no doubt, of Winchester, into the country, to call him up: of whose coming although master Latimer lacked no forewarning, being premonished about six hours before by one John Carless, (whose story hereafter followeth,) yet so far was it that he thought to escape, that he prepared himself towards his journey before the said pursuivant came to his house. At the which thing when the pursuivant marvelled, seeing him so prepared towards his journey, he said unto him: "My friend, you be a welcome messenger to me; and be it known unto you, and to the whole world, that I go as willingly to London at this present, being called by my prince to render a reckoning of my doctrine, as ever I was to any place in the world. And I doubt not, but that God, as he hath made me worthy to preach his word before two excellent princes, so he will able me to witness the same unto the third, either to her comfort or discomfort eternally," &c. At the which time the pursuivant, when he had delivered his letters, departed, affirming that he had commandment not to tarry for him. By whose

Latimer prophesieth what plagues are to come in queen Mary's time.

Latimer called up to London.

sudden departure it was manifest that they would not have him to appear, but rather to have fled out of the realm. They knew that his constancy should deface them in their popery, and confirm the godly in the truth.

Thus master Latimer being sent for, and coming up to London through Smithfield, where merely he said that Smithfield had long groaned for him, was brought before the council; where he patiently bearing all the mocks and taunts given him by the scornful papists, was cast again into the Tower; where being assisted with the heavenly grace of Christ, sustained most patient imprisonment a long time, notwithstanding the cruel and unmerciful handling of the lordly papists, which thought then their kingdom would never fall: yet he shewed himself not only patient, but also cheerful, in and above all that which they could or would work against him; yea, such a valiant spirit the Lord gave him, that he was able not only to despise the terribleness of prisons and torments, but also to deride and laugh to scorn the doings of his enemies. It is not unknown to the ears of many what he answered to the lieutenant, being then in the Tower. For when the lieutenant's man upon a time came to him, the aged father, kept without fire in the frosty winter, and well nigh starved for cold, merely bade the man tell his master, that if he did not look the better to him, perchance he would deceive him.

Latimer
cheerful in
imprison-
ment.

The lieutenant, hearing this, bethought himself of these words, and fearing lest that indeed he thought to make some escape, began to look more straitly to his prisoner. And so coming to him, beginneth to charge him with his words, reciting the same unto him which his man had told him before; how that if he were not better looked unto, perchance he would deceive them, &c. "Yea, master lieutenant, so I said," quod he, "for you look, I think, that I should burn: but except you let me have some fire, I am like to deceive your expectation; for I am like here to starve for cold."

Many such-like answers and reasons, merry, but savoury, proceeding not from a vain mind, but from a constant and quiet reason, proceeded from that man, declaring a firm and stable heart, little passing for all this great blustering of such termagants, but rather deluding the same. Neither is it easy to say whether the doings and proceedings of the papists were more to be lamented for their detestable absurdity of

grave persons, or else more to be scorned and derided for their so trifling and extreme folly. What Democritus or Calphurnius could abstain from laughter, beholding only the fashion of their mass from the beginning to the latter end, with such turning, returning, half turning and whole turning, such kissing, blissing, crouching, becking, crossing, knocking, ducking, washing, rinsing, lifting, touching, fingering, whispering, stopping, dipping, bowing, licking, wiping, sleeping, shifting, with an hundred things more? What wise man, I say, seeing such toyish gauds, can keep from laughter? And what be all the pope's doings, with the whole circumstance of his religion and manner of his popelings, but matters almost to be laughed at, &c.? But to return again where as we left. Thus master Latimer passing a long time in the Tower with as much patience as a man in his case could do, from thence he was transported to Oxford, with doctor Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, and master Ridley bishop of London, there to dispute upon articles sent down from Gardiner bishop of Winchester, as is before touched; the manner and order of which disputations between them and the university doctors is also before sufficiently expressed. Where also it is declared, how and by whom the said Latimer, with his other fellow-prisoners, were condemned after the disputations, and so committed again to the prison, where they continued from the month of April above-mentioned to this present month of October: where they were most godly occupied, either with brotherly conference, or with fervent prayer, or with fruitful writing. Albeit master Latimer, by reason of the febleness of his age, wrote least of them all in this latter time of his imprisonment. But in prayer he was fervently occupied, wherein oftentimes so long he continued kneeling, that he was not able to rise without help; and amongst other things, these were three principal matters he prayed for. First, that as God had appointed him to be a preacher of his word, so also he would give him grace to stand to his doctrine until his death, that he might give his heart-blood for the same. Secondly, that God of his mercy would restore his gospel to England once again; and these words, 'once again,' 'once again,' he did so inculcate and beat into the ears of the Lord God, as though he had seen God before him, and spoken to him face to face. The third

Whether the
papists'
doings are
more to be
lamented, or
to be derided.

Three re-
quests of
master Lat-
imer's prayer.

Once again,
once again.

matter was, to pray for the preservation of the queen's majesty that now is; whom in his prayer he was wont accustomedly to name, and even with tears desired God to make her a comfort to his comfortless realm of England. These were the matters he prayed for so earnestly; neither were these things of him desired in vain, as the good success thereof after following did declare. For the Lord most graciously did grant all these his requests.

First, concerning profession, even in the most extremity the Lord graciously assisted him. For when he stood at the stake without Bocardo-gate at Oxford, and the tormentors about to set the fire upon him, and upon the learned and godly bishop master Ridley, he lifted up his eyes towards heaven with an amiable and comfortable countenance, saying these words: *Fidelis est Deus, qui non sinit nos tentari supra id quod possumus*; "God is faithful, which doth not suffer us to be tempted above our strength." And so afterwards by and by shed his blood in the cause of Christ; the which blood ran out of his heart in such abundance, that all those that were present, being godly, did marvel to see the most part of the blood in his body so to be gathered to his heart, and with such violence to gush out, his body being opened by the force of the fire: by the which thing God most graciously granted his request, which was that he might shed his heart-blood in the defence of the gospel.

How mercifully the Lord heard his second request, in restoring his gospel once again to this realm, these present days can bear record. And what then shall England say now for her defence, which, so mercifully visited and refreshed with the word of God, so unthankfully considereth either her own misery past, or the great benefit of God now present? The Lord be merciful unto us!

Again, concerning his third request, it seemeth likewise most effectuously granted, to the great praise of God, the furtherance of his gospel, and to the unspeakable comfort of this realm. For whether at the request of his prayer, or of other God's holy saints, or whether God was moved with the cry of his whole church, the truth is, that when all was deplorable and in a desperate case, and so desperate that the enemies mightily flourished and triumphed, God's word banished, Spaniards received, no place left for Christ's servants to cover

their heads,—suddenly the Lord called to remembrance his mercy, and forgetting our former iniquity, made an end of all these miseries, and wrought a marvellous change of things, at the change whereof she was appointed and anointed, for whom this grey-headed father Latimer so earnestly prayed in his imprisonment; through whose true, natural, and imperial crown the brightness of God's word was set up again to confound the dark and false-visored kingdom of antichrist, the true temple of Christ re-edified, the captivity of sorrowful Christians released, which so long was wished for in the prayers of so many good men, specially of this faithful and true servant of the Lord, master Latimer. The same God, which at the request of his holy and faithful saints hath poured upon us such benefits of his mercy, peace, and tranquillity, assist our most virtuous and christian prince and her subjects, that every one in his state and calling we may so serve his glory, and walk in their wholesome example, that we lose not that which they have obtained, but may proceed in all faithfulness to build and keep up the house and temple of the Lord, to the advancing of his glory, and our everlasting comfort in him! And thus much concerning the prayers of master Latimer, to the which prayers only he gave himself, as I said, in this his latter imprisonment: for else we read but little that he did write at Oxford, save only a few lines to one mistress Wilkinson of London, a godly matron, an exile also for the gospel sake, and by whom divers of God's saints and learned bishops, as master Hooper the bishop of Hereford, master Coverdale, master Latimer, master Cranmer, with many more, were graciously supported and relieved, the copy and effect of which letter here followeth¹.

Mistress
Wilkinson.

* * * * *

And thus hast thou, gentle reader, the whole life both of master Ridley and of master Latimer, two worthy doers in the church of Christ, severally and by themselves set forth and described to thee, with all their doings, writings, disputations, sufferings, their painful travails, faithful preachings, studious service in Christ's church, their patient imprisonment, and constant fortitude in that which they had taught, with all other their proceedings from time to time, since their first institution to this present year and month of queen

[¹ See p. 444.]

Mary, being the month of October, anno 1555. In the which month they were both brought forth together to their final examination and execution. Wherefore, as we have heretofore declared both their lives severally and distinctly one from the other, so now joining them both together, as they both joined together in one cause and kind of suffering, so will we by the grace of Christ prosecute the rest that remaineth concerning their latter examination, disgrading, and constant martyrdom, with the order and manner also of the commissioners, to wit, master White, bishop of Lincoln, master Brockes, bishop of Gloucester, with others, and what were their words, their objections, their orations set out as it was, and what again were the answers of these men to the same, as in process here followeth to be seen¹.

(.·.)

[¹ See pp. 278—293 of this volume, and also the volume of Bishop Ridley's works, pp. 255—299.]

LATIMER'S FIRST CONVERSION AT CAMBRIDGE.

[Printed by Strype², Eccl. Mem. III. i. 368, Oxf. Harl. MS. No. 422, Art. 12.]

WHEN as it pleased Almighty God to call Mr Hugh Latimer unto the knowledge of the truth of God's holy word by the godly lecture of divinity, read by Mr Geo. Stafford³ in the university school at Cambridge, and of a Saul had, as it were, made him a very Paul; for otherwise, all the days of his life he had bestowed his time in the labyrinth study of the school-doctors, as in Dunce⁴, Dorbell⁵, Tho. of Aquine⁶, Hugo de Victore⁷, with such like; insomuch that, being mightily affected that way, he of purpose (perceiving the youth of the university inclined to the reading of the scriptures, leaving off those tedious authors and kinds of study, being a bachelor of divinity, and for his gravity and years preferred to the keeping of the University Cross, which no man had to do withal but such an one as in sanctimony of life excelled other) came into the Sophany⁸ school among the youth, there gathered together of daily custom to keep their sophanis and disputations; and there most eloquently made to them an oration, dissuading them from this new-fangled kind of study of the scriptures, and vehemently persuaded them to the study of the school-authors, which he did, not long before that he was so mercifully called to the contrary. And as he felt, by this his divine vocation, that all his other study little profited him, but was rather a stumbling-block

[² Strype observes, "I do now but transcribe from a writing of Ralph Morice, bishap Cranmer's secretary."]

[³ Foxe, Acts and Mon. Vol. III. p. 375. Edit. 1684.]

[⁴ Duns Scotus.]

[⁵ Nicholas Dorbell, a French Minorite, and a strenuous disciple of Scotus. Cave, Hist. Liter. Append. p. 174. Oxon. 1743.]

[⁶ Thomas Aquinas.]

[⁷ See Cave, Tom. II. pp. 207 et seq.]

[⁸ Or *Sophister*, now abbreviated into *Soph*. This term designated, at that time, a student who, having completed his studies in logic, was authorised to take part in the disputations in the public schools of the university.]

unto him then intending to preach to the world the sincere doctrine of the gospel; so he mightily, tracting no time, preached daily in the university of Cambridge, both in English and *ad clerum*, to the great admiration of all men that aforetime had known him of a contrary severe opinion. Insomuch that bishop West¹, then bishop of Ely, hearing of this Mr Latimer's conversion², determined with himself to come to hear him preach; but that should be sudden, and withouten any intelligence to be given to Latimer. And so it came to pass, that on a time when Mr Latimer had prepared to preach in the university church a sermon *ad clerum*, in Latin, the bishop, hearing thereof, came secretly and suddenly from Ely, and entered into the university church, accompanied with certain men of worship (Latimer being then well entered into his sermon); whose approach being honourable, Latimer gave place, and surceased from farther speaking until the bishop and his retinue were quietly placed. That done, after a good pause, Latimer begetteth to speak to his auditory after this sort: "It is of congruence meet" (quoth he) "that a new auditory, namely being³ more honourable, requireth a new theme, being a new argument to entreat of. Therefore it behoveth me now to divert from mine intended purpose, and somewhat to entreat of the honorable estate of a bishop. Therefore let this be the theme, (quoth he) *Christus existens pontifex futurorum bonorum, &c.*" This text he so fruitfully⁴ handled, expounding every word, and setting forth the office of Christ so sincerely, as the true and perfect pattern unto all other bishops that should succeed him in his church, that the bishop then present might well think of himself that he, nor none of his fellows, were of that race of bishops which Christ meant to have succeed in his church, but rather of the fellowship of Caiaphas and Annas.

This notwithstanding, the bishop, being a very wise and politique worldly man, after the sermon finished called to him Mr Latimer, and said, "Mr Latimer, I heartily thank you for

[¹ Nicholas West, bishop of Ely, 1515—1533. Godwin, De Præsul. pp. 271, et seq. Edit. Richardson.]

[² new conversion. Harl. MS.]

[³ audience being namely. Harl. MS.]

[⁴ so fruitfully he. Harl. MS.]

your good sermon; assuring you that, if you will do one thing at my request, I will kneel down and kiss your foot⁵ for the good admonition that I have received of your sermon; assuring you that I never heard mine office so well and so substantially declared before this time." "What is your lordship's pleasure that I should do for you?" quoth Mr Latimer. "Marry," quoth the bishop, "that you will preach me, in this place, one sermon against Martin Luther and his doctrine." Said then Mr Latimer again, "My lord, I am not acquainted with the doctrine of Luther; nor are we permitted⁶ here to read his works; and therefore it were but a vain thing for me to refute his doctrine, not understanding what he hath written, nor what opinion he holdeth. Sure I am," quoth Latimer, "that I have preached before you this day no man's doctrine, but only the doctrine of God out of the scriptures. And if Luther do none otherwise than I have done, there needeth no confutation of his doctrine. Otherwise, when I understand that he doth teach against the scripture, I will be ready with all my heart to confound his doctrine, as much as lieth in me." "Well, well, Mr Latimer, I perceive that you somewhat smell of the pan; you will repent this gear one day." And so the bishop, never a whit amended by the sermon, practised with Mr Latimer from that day forwards to put him to silence; in-somuch that grievous complaint was made of him by divers papists of the university, as by Mr Tirrell [fellow of the king's hall] and others, unto cardinal Wolsey, that he preached very seditious doctrine, infecting the youth of the university with Luther's opinions. Whereupon the cardinal sent for him to York place; and there attending upon the cardinal's pleasure he was called before him into his inner chamber by the sound of a little bell, which the cardinal used to ring when any person should come or approach unto him. When Mr Latimer was before him, he well advised him, and said, "Is your name Latimer?" "Yea, forsooth," quoth Latimer. "You seem," quoth the cardinal, "that you are of good years nor no babe, but one that should wisely and soberly use yourself in all your doings; and yet it is reported to me of you, that you are much infected with this new fan-

[⁵ feet, Harl. MS.]

[⁶ nor we are not permitted, Harl. MS.]

tastical doctrine of Luther and such like heretics; that you do very much harm among the youth, and other light heads, with your doctrine." Said Mr Latimer again, "Your grace is misinformed; for I ought to have some more knowledge than to be so simply reported of, by reason that I have studied in my time both of the ancient doctors of the church and also of the school-doctors." "Marry, that is well said," quoth the cardinal; "I am glad to hear that of you; and therefore," quoth the cardinal, "Mr doctor Capon¹, and you Mr doctor Marshal, (both² being there present,) say you somewhat to Mr Latimer touching some question in Dunce." Whereupon Dr Capon propounded a question to Mr Latimer. Mr Latimer, being fresh then of memory, and not discontinued from study as those two doctors had been³, answered very roundly; somewhat helping them to cite their own allegations rightly, where they had not truly nor perfectly alleged them. The cardinal, perceiving the ripe and ready answering of Latimer, said, "What mean you, my masters, to bring such a man before me into accusation? I had thought that he had been some light-headed fellow that never studied such kind of doctrine as the school-doctors are. I pray thee, Latimer, tell me the cause why the bishop of Ely and other doth mislike thy preachings: tell me the truth, and I will bear with thee upon amendment." Quoth Latimer, "Your grace must understand that the bishop of Ely cannot favour me, for that not long ago I preached before him in Cambridge a sermon of this text, *Christus existens pontifex, etc.*, wherein I described the office⁴ of a bishop so uprightly as I might, according to the text, that never after he could abide me; but hath not only forbidden me to preach in his diocese, but also found the means to inhibit me from preaching in the university." "I pray you tell me," quoth the cardinal, "what thou didst preach before him upon that text?" Mr Latimer plainly and simply (committing his cause unto Almighty God, who is director of princes' hearts) declared unto the cardinal the whole effect of his sermon

[¹ Caponer, Harl. MS.]

[² as I suppose, both being, Harl. MS.]

[³ Dr Capon seems to have proceeded to his doctor's degree in 1517; Dr Marshall in 1533.]

[⁴ estate, Harl. MS.]

preached before the bishop of Ely. The cardinal, nothing at all misliking the doctrine of the word of God that Latimer had preached, said unto him, "Did you not preach any other doctrine than you have rehearsed?" "No, surely," said Latimer. And, examining thoroughly with the doctors what else could be objected against him, the cardinal said unto Mr Latimer, "If the bishop of Ely cannot abide such doctrine as you have here repeated, you shall have my licence, and shall preach it unto his beard, let him say what he will." And thereupon, after a gentle monition given unto Mr Latimer, the cardinal discharged him with his licence home to preach throughout England.

Now, when Latimer came to Cambridge, every man thought there that he had been utterly put to silence. Notwithstanding, the next holiday after, he entered into the pulpit, and shewed his licence, contrary to all men's expectation. Not long after, it chanced the cardinal to fall into the king's displeasure; whereupon divers report that Mr Latimer's licence was extincted. Mr Latimer, answering thereunto in the pulpit, said, "Where ye think that my licence decayeth with my lord cardinal's temporal fall, I take it nothing so. For he being, I trust, reconciled to God from his pomp and vanities, I now set more by his licence than ever I did before, when he was in his most felicity."

[^s all expectation, Harl. MS.]